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GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1-13)

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE BOEOTIAN-ATHENIAN ALLIANCE OF 395 B.C.

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the right side and back, found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ on December 18, 1936, during the period of demolition.¹

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4352.

ca. August 395 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30

a [Θε]οί

vac. 0.03 m.

	[Συμ]μαχία Βοιω[τῶν καὶ Ἀ]θηναί[ων ἐς τὸ]	b
	[ν ἀεὶ] χρόνον vacat	
	[ἐάν τ]ις ἴη ἐπ' [Ἀθηναίος] ἐπ[ὶ] πολέμω[ι ἢ]	
5	[κατὰ] γῆν ἢ κατ[ὰ θάλαττ]αν βοηθῆν Βοι[ω]	
	[τὸς π]αντὶ σθέ[νει καθ]ότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλ	
	[ωσιν] Ἀθηναί[οι κατὰ τὸ] δυνατὸν καὶ ἐ[ά]	
	[ν τις ἴ]η ἐπὶ [Βοιωτὸς ἐ]πὶ πολέμωι ἢ [κα]	
	[τὰ γῆν ἢ] κατὰ [θάλατταν] βοηθῆν Ἀθηνα[ί]	
10	[ος παντὶ σθένει καθότι] ἂν ἐπαγγέλλ[ω]	
	[σι Βοιωτοὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνα]τόν· ἐὰν δέ τ[ι δ]	
	[οκῇ ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖ]ν Ἀθην[αίο]	
	[ις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς κοινῇ βουλευομένο]	
	[ις -----]	

The new fragment from the excavations in the Athenian Agora belongs to the Boeotian-Athenian alliance, which was consummated about August, 395 B.C.,² and necessitates certain changes in the text as it is now presented in the *Editio Minor*, *I.G.*, II², 14. In lines 4 and 8 the prepositional phrases within the clauses ἐπ[ὶ πολέμωι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίος] and ἐπὶ [πολέμωι ἐπὶ Βοιωτός] must be reversed. These fragments are similar to *I.G.*, II², 15 and come in all probability from the end of the decree. The restoration of lines 11-14 is suggested on analogy with the regular formulae to be found in treaties of alliance regarding the formal termination or change of any provision within the agreement.

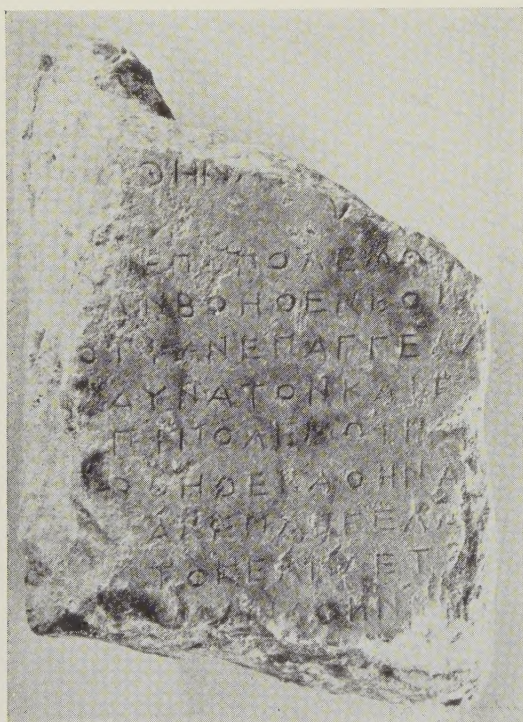
When the "King's Peace" was made in 386 B.C., the alliance of the Boeotians and the Athenians was not formally abrogated. No doubt the pro-Spartan party,

¹ Section numbers may be located on a map by reference to *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335.

² Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 1, pp. 69-70; Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, p. 81.

which for a time at least had had the upper hand in Thebes, regarded the treaty as no longer effective. There is, however, evidence that Thebes itself formally abrogated the alliance at some time between 386 and July, 382 B.C.

In an interesting passage concerning the events of the early fourth century Aelius Aristides relates that when the Kadmeia at Thebes was seized no succor was forthcoming from Athens, for the alliance had been broken formally and the stele



No. 1. Fragment *b* of *I.G.*, II², 14

recording it overturned.¹ Even had it still been in effect it is doubtful if Athens would have sent aid, for the Athenians were strongly disposed toward peace with Sparta. Aristides offers no further comment or explanation of this event; but the statement receives confirmation from the speech of Lysias "On the Scrutiny of Euandros," which was delivered July 1/2, 382 B.C.² The speaker, an ardent defender of Leodamas, the rejected candidate for the archonship, is attacking Euandros, the archon-elect for 382/1 B.C., at his *dokimasia* together with his supporter Thrasyboulos of Kollytos. In a verbal fling at Thrasyboulos he accuses him of accepting a bribe to overthrow the government at Thebes (Lysias, XXVI, 23), as a consequence of which the alliance with Athens was brought to an end. These two passages clearly have reference to the same historical event.

They afford some precious light on the obscure politics of this period. It is known that two parties struggled bitterly

¹ Ael. Aristides, *Panathenaicus*, 173 and Scholiast 173, 5 (Ed. Dindorf).

² It should be pointed out that this speech can be dated July 1/2, 382 B.C. Ptolemy reports (*Almagest*, IV, 11) that Hipparchos noted a lunar eclipse for the month Skirophorion of 383/2 B.C. That observation yields two equations: Skirophorion 15 = June 18, 382, and Skirophorion 29/30 = July 2/3, 382 B.C., for lunar eclipses fall on the fifteenth day of the lunar month (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 300). Since the speech was delivered on the second last day of Skirophorion (XXVI, 6), the day for its delivery is July 1/2, 382 B.C. The revolution of Leontiadas and the occupation of the Kadmeia at Thebes in the period of the Thesmophoria and the Pythia (about the seventh of the month Bukatios = Metageitnion, Xenophon, *Hell.*, V, 2, 29; Plut., *Pelop.*, V; Ael. Aristides, *Eleusinius*, 258; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 317; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 2, p. 232) fell in the month of August, and therefore cannot be related to the attempt of Thrasyboulos. Cf. Cloché, *La Politique Étrangère*, p. 52, n. 1.

to gain the upper hand in Thebes in the post-King's Peace period. The democratic anti-Spartan party was led by Ismenias, Androkleidas, and Melon, while Leontiadas was the leader of the oligarchical pro-Spartan party.¹ At what time could Thrasyboulos have conspired against the government? Little enough evidence remains to show which party was in the ascendancy; no doubt there were many fluctuations of control. On the surface Thebes like Athens was quiescent, resigned temporarily to a peace policy; and the Boeotian League had been broken up and Thebes forced to become a member of the Spartan Confederation.² The anti-Spartan party in resentment against the enforced dissolution of the League and eager to raise Thebes once more to its former position, would have welcomed aid from Thrasyboulos, and cultivated the alliance with Athens. Thrasyboulos was moreover an outstanding democrat, popular at Thebes, and the friendly attitude of the Theban government to the party of Phyle and Peiraeus was fresh in his mind.³ The conspiracy failed, and served as an excuse to the triumphant oligarchical party to terminate the existent treaty with Athens. By the winter of 383/2, however, the government was attempting to negotiate an alliance with Olynthos and intriguing against Sparta. This is evidence that the party of Ismenias must have had control (*Xen. Hell.*, V, 2, 15), for the pro-Spartan party would not have desired alliance with the Olynthians. The party of Ismenias had become so strong that Leontiadas conspired with Sparta to overthrow it by the winter of 383/2 B.C. The most suitable period for the end of the alliance lies between the spring of 386 and the winter of 383.

A STATUE-BASE FOR THRASYBOULOS OF KOLLYTOS, 373/2 B.C.

2. Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble from a large base, found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ on December 30, 1936; in the top is a square cutting for a statue and a smaller round cutting, perhaps for a support; the right side is preserved.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 1.07 m.; thickness, 0.34 m.

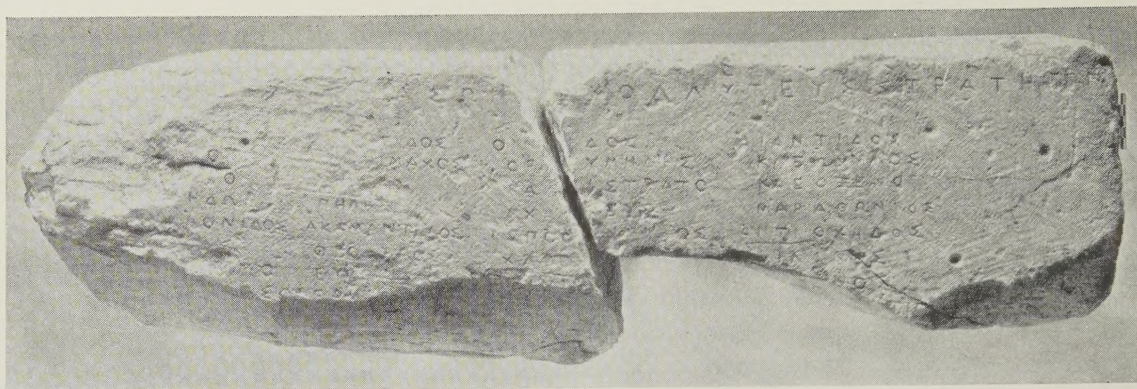
Height of letters, 0.011 m. and 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4373.

¹ *Plut. Pelopidas*, V; *Xen. Hell.*, V, 2, 25, and 4, 2 ff.

² Thebes provided a small contingent to Sparta in the campaign against the Mantineans, *Paus.* IX, 13, 1; *Plut. Pelop.*, IV, 5; Plataea was restored as a buffer state against Thebes, *Paus.* IX, 1, 4, and received a Spartan garrison, *Isocrates*, XIV, 13; Tanagra was allied to Sparta, *Xen. Hell.*, V, 4, 49. Cf. *ibid.*, V, 1, 36.

³ Thrasyboulos was one of those patriots who took part in the opposition to the Thirty, *Demosthenes*, XXIV, 134. His popularity at Thebes is attested by the numerous occasions on which he served as ambassador of the Athenians at Thebes; see *Aeschines*, III, 138; cf. *I.G.*, II², 43, A, 77. The friendly attitude of the Theban government to the Athenian resistance to the Thirty



No. 2. Statue-base for Thrasyboulos of Kollytos

373/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Δόξαντος τῇ βο]λῇ [ἐπὶ] Ἀστέϊο ἄρχοντο[ς] ^{v v v}
 [Θρασύβολος Θ]ράσων[ος] Κολλυτεὺς στρατηγῶν
 [ἀνέθηκεν ^{v v v v}] *vacat*

	[Ἐρεχθίδος]	[Λεων]τίδος	Οἶν[η]ίδος	Διαντίδος
5	... οκλῇ[ς]	[Ἀν]τίμαχος	Θρασυμήδης	Κλεώνυμος
	... τίο	[...]ο	Καλ[λ]ιστράτο	Κλεοξένο
	[ἐκ Κ]ηδῶν	Πήλη[ξ]	Ἀχαρνέως	Μαραθώνιος
	[Πα]γδιονίδος	Ἀκαμαντίδος	Ἱπποθωντίδος	Ἀντιοχίδος
	... as	Θεόφιλος	Χαρ[ίδη]μ[ος]	Φιλῖνος
10	... ἴμο	Εὐα[γγέλο]	[Ε]ὐν[κ]----	... νος
	[Μυρρι]νόσιος	Ἑρμ[εῖος]	-----	[Ἀναφλύσ]τιο[ς]

This inscription on a statue-base is concerned with the well-known statesman Thrasyboulos of Kollytos (*P. A.*, 7305; also no. 1 above). That the cause of the honor and praise of Thrasyboulos and the eight men whose names are listed by tribe below was of a military character is disclosed by the use of the active participle *στρατηγῶν*. Thrasyboulos in the capacity of general together with these eight men had performed a service to the state deserving honor. Who are the eight men? They are listed by tribe, and only the tribe *Κεκροπίς* is missing (Thrasyboulos represents *Αἰγής*). The little that is known of several of the men yields no clue as to the underlying cause of the dedication of the statue.¹ From their close juxtaposition to the

made a deep impression everywhere. In his speech of justification at Sparta Leontiadas alludes to it, *Xen. Hell.*, V, 2, 33; the Athenians gave asylum to the Theban exiles of 382 largely because of their memory of the Theban decree which forbade any interference with the Athenians then plotting in Boeotia against the Thirty, *Plut. Pelop.*, VI, 4.

¹ For Θεόφιλος Ἑρμείος cf. *P. A.*, 7138, 5225; for Θρασυμήδης Ἀχαρνέως *P. A.*, 7365, 8158-8159, 3223; for Κλεώνυμος Μαραθώνιος *P. A.*, 8607; for Φιλῖνος Ἀναφλύστιος *P. A.*, 14321, 3212.

name of Thrasyboulos one may deduce that they were military aides; and of all the possibilities either taxiarchs or phylarchs seem most probable (see Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 61, 3 and 5). Little is known about the military campaigns of the year 373/2 with the exception of Iphikrates' successful expedition in the spring around Corcyra. The probabilities are that the campaign of Thrasyboulos, aided as he was by eight commanders, was independent and not part of the expedition in the west. Hitherto nothing whatever was known about Thrasyboulos after his embassy to Thebes in 378 (cf. *P. A.*, 7305), and his only other known use of the office of general was a failure (387 B.C.; *Xen. Hell.*, V, 1, 26, 27; *Lysias*, XXVI, 23). His interest in Boeotia and the capture of Plataea in the spring of 372 B.C. may have fostered a little known, but successful campaign from the military point of view in or near Boeotia.

The reading ΔΗΙ of line 1 is difficult and uncertain because of the worn and battered state of the stone; but if the letters are ΔΗΙ they may be part of [δόξαντος τῇ βο]λῇ.¹

A DECREE CONCERNING THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE, 367/6 B.C.

3. Two fragments of Pentelic marble from a pedimented stele of unusually good workmanship of which fragment A, found on April 26, 1937, in modern fill in Section ΘΘ, preserves the pedimental top with acroteria, the back, and the right side; fragment B, found on January 17, 1937, in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ, preserves the back and the left side. The thickness of the stele decreases rapidly from the right side to the left.

Frag. A: Height, 0.433 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.127 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 4384 b.

Frag. B: Height, 0.151 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.101 m.

Inv. No. I 4384 a.

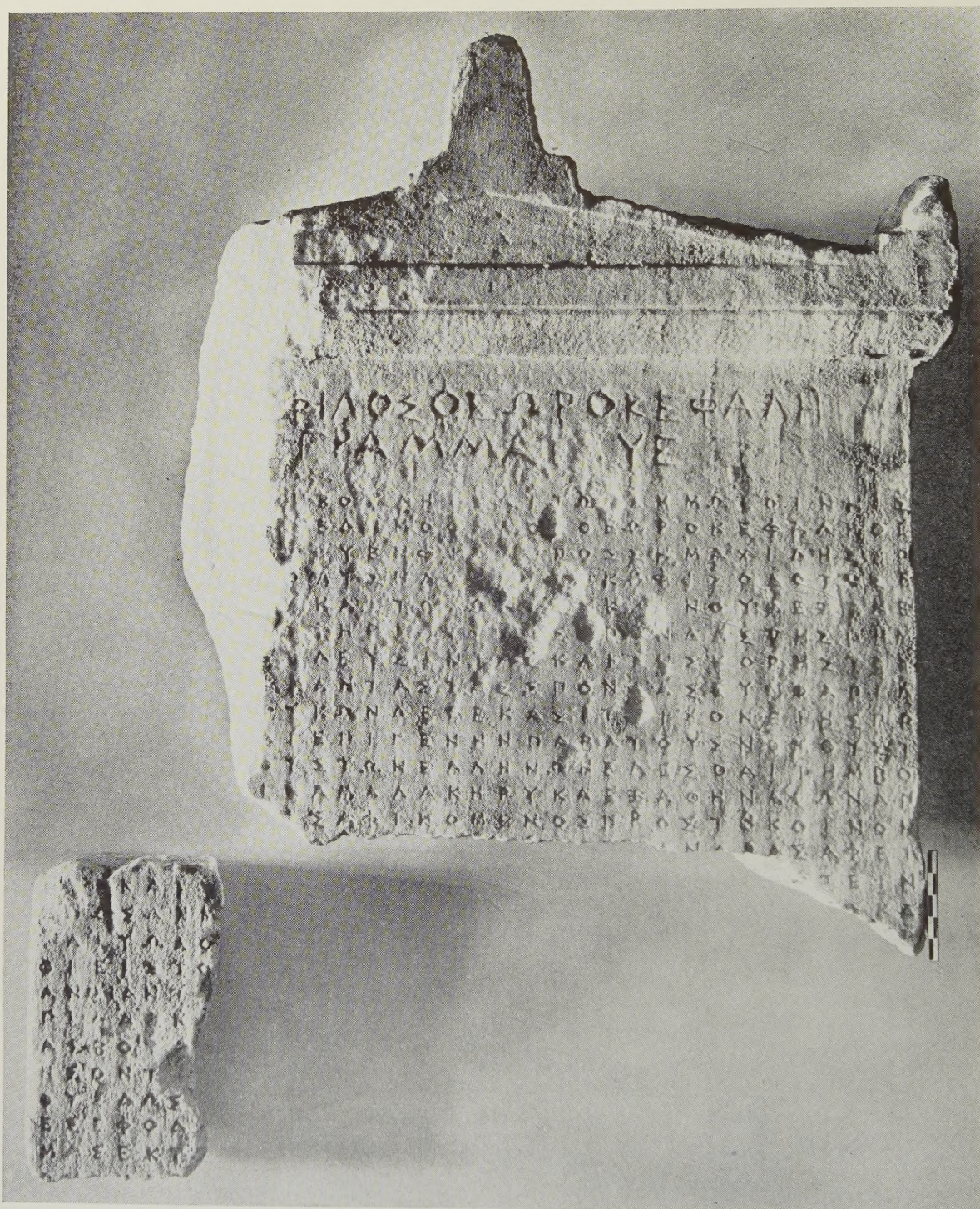
367/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

A

[Θε]οί
[Δημό]φιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλῇ
[θεν] ἔγραμμάτ[ε]νε vac.
[ἔδοξεν τῇ]ι βουλῇ καὶ τῶ[ι] δήμῳ· Οἰνηὶς
5 [ἐπρυτάν]ε[ν]· Δημόφιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλῇθε
[ν ἔγραμμ]άτενε· Φί[λι]ππος Σημαχίδης ἐπ
[εστάτει· Π]ολύζηλος [ἦρχ]ε· Κηφισόδοτος ε

¹ Suggested to me by Meritt.



No. 3. A Decree concerning the Aetolian League

- 10 [ἴπεν· ἐπει]δὴ Αἰτωλῶν [τ]οῦ κ[ο]ινοῦ δεξαμέ
 [νου τὰς μυ]στηριώτιδ[α]ς [σ]π[ο]νδὰς τῆς Δήμ
 [ητρος τῆ]ς [Ἐ]λευσινίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης τοῦ
 [ς ἐπαγγε]ίλαντας τὰς σπονδὰς Εὐμολπιδ
 [ῶν καὶ Κη]ρύκων δεδέκασι Τ[ρ]ιχονειῆς Πρ
 [οφήτην (?) κ]αὶ Ἐπιγένην παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τ
 [οὺς κοιν]οὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐλέσθαι τῇμ βο
 15 [υλὴν αὐτ]ίκα μάλα κήρυκα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπ
 [άντων ὅστ]ις ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν
 [τὸ τῶν Αἰτω]λ[ῶν ἀξιώσ]ει τὸς] ἄνδρας ἀφεί
 [ναι²¹..... δικ]άζειν
 [.....²⁹.....]σκα
 20 [.....³¹.....]ο

B

- [...] καὶ [.....²⁶.....]
 [ὅ]πως ἂν μ[.....²⁴.....ο]
 ἰ Αἰτωλο[ἰ²⁴.....]
 οἱ εἰς το[.....²⁵.....]
 25 αν οἱ ἂν τ[.....²¹..... Εὐμολ]
 πίδας κ[αὶ Κήρυκας¹⁷.....]
 ας βουλ[.....²⁶.....]
 ἥσονται [αι²⁵.....]
 οὺς δώσ[ουσι²².....]
 30 ἐς ἐφόδ[ια τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔΔ δραχ]
 μὰς ἐκ τ[ῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομέν]
 ων τῶι [δήμωι]

TRANSLATION OF FRAGMENT A

Gods.

Demophilos, the son of Theoros, of Kephale was secretary. It was resolved by the Council and the Demos; Oineis held the prytany; Demophilos, the son of Theoros, of Kephale was secretary; Philip of Semachidai was chairman; Polyzelos was archon; Kephisodotos made the proposal: whereas the Aetolian League has accepted the sacred truce of Eleusinian Demeter and Kore; and whereas the Trichoneians have apprehended contrary to the universal laws of the Greeks those of the Eumolpids and Kerykes who announced the truce, namely, Prophetes and Epigenes; the Council is to elect at once a herald out of all the Athenians who is to go to the Aetolian League and demand the release of the men — — — — —

COMMENTARY

In the year 367/6 B.C. the Aetolian League accepted the Sacred Truce proclaimed by the Athenians for the celebration of the Greater Eleusinian mysteries, but broke it soon thereafter when the Trichoneians, members of the League, arrested the *σπονδοφόροι*. This act was a breach of international law, and called forth a formal protest on the part of Athens. The present decree is concerned with the decision of the Athenian people to select a herald to be sent to the League for this purpose. It is therefore of considerable importance for the history of the League and the significance of the Mysteries in Central Greece. Students of Aetolian history have long lamented the lack of evidence concerning Aetolia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. With this new evidence it is now possible to revise our previous conception of the rôle of the League in the fourth century.

The new text from the Agora contains the earliest reference to the Aetolian League (*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν*). Hitherto there had been no mention in literary evidence before the year 314 in which the Aetolians became temporary allies of Antigonos (Diod., XIX, 66, 2). It has been an assumption on the part of some scholars, a fixed conviction on the part of others, that the League had not come into existence until the time of Alexander, and perhaps not before his death.¹ Almost no regard was paid to an Athenian honorary decree for an Aetolian in which the name of the League was restored thus: *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν* (I.G., II², 358, line 13). The restoration is certified by the word *βουλαρχησα-* (line 14), a verb referring to the functions of the *βούλαρχος*, an official of the League. Unfortunately the name of the archon is almost entirely gone together with the greater part of the name of the secretary; but despite these deficiencies the decree must be dated before 318/7, because no *συνπρόεδροι* are mentioned, and the archon's name is limited to names with *ος* or *ους* in the genitive. The possible candidates can be reduced to two: Hegemon (327/6) and Nikokrates (333/2). Dinsmoor has adduced good reasons for dating it in the year of Nikokrates (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 357-358; cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, p. 4). The chief evidence against the existence of the League before 335 has been the passage in Arrian (*Anab.*, I, 10, 2) in which he states that ambassadors were despatched by the Aetolians to Alexander *κατὰ ἔθνη* (*Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πέμψαντες ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο*). The phrase *κατὰ ἔθνη* has occasioned considerable debate. Usually it is interpreted with the meaning that the loosely-knit *Stammstaat* of the Aetolians had selected representatives from each of its tribes, and

¹ Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, II, p. 22; Klaffenbach, *I.G.*, IX², p. xiii, 6-19, who suggested tentatively the year 334 for the founding of the League; Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 208, places the change from the "cantonal League, or rather Commune" into the strongly-knit League of the third century after the Lanian war; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, p. 42, like Klaffenbach, places the founding between 335 and 326.

that the League, as it was known in the third century, was not yet in existence.¹ Had it existed the League would have sent ambassadors selected from the whole nation, laying thereby no emphasis on its tribal divisions. This interpretation is intrinsically open to objections, for our knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the selection of these men is very meagre; and it may have been deemed expedient to choose an ambassador from each tribe.² It may also be that the League had suffered under the strain of the war an internal schism which split the League temporarily. In any case, the League is now known to have been in existence in the years 367 and 333/2, and most probably remained unchanged. A clue to its organization is to be found in the word *βουλαρχησα-* mentioned above, which makes it probable that the structure was the same as we know it from third century evidence. It may be assumed that the general Alexander, who led the campaign in Thessaly in 321, was a league-general (Diod., XVIII, 38, 1; cf. Klaffenbach, *I.G.*, IX², p. xlix).

In line 8 there can be no ambiguity about the meaning of the phrase *τοῦ κοινοῦ*: it means "league," not "assembly." The Demos of Athens sent its herald to the *κοινόν* of the Aetolians to complain of the breach of international law by one of its subordinate members, the Trichoneians. Had the Trichoneians been independent, or had the Aetolian nation possessed only a cantonal organization, the Athenians would have sent their herald directly to the Trichoneians: i. e., the machinery of the League was used. The phraseology of lines 8-9 finds many good parallels: e. g., in the decree about the city of Lamia (*I.G.*, II², 778; *Hesperia*, VII, p. 120, lines 9-11): [ἐπε]ιδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ [τοῦ κοινοῦ] τοῦ Βοιωτῶν σύμβολον ποιησαμ[ένων]; and again in Diodoros (XX, 99, 3) concerning the events of 304 B.C.: τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀποστείλαντος πρεσβευτὰς περὶ διαλύσεων οἱ Ῥόδιοι συνέθεντο πρὸς Δημήτριον.

The usage of the word *κοινόν* is of considerable interest, for when it is used in connection with a league, it usually means only "league," and the meaning "assembly" is eschewed in formal usage in order to avoid confusion. Its meaning in official documents is completely analogous to that of *δῆμος* in Attic decrees. The distinction between *δῆμος* and *ἐκκλησία* is clear in the following common Athenian formula: *προσαγαγείν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν* (e. g., *I.G.*, II², 110, 10-11) and it is maintained in such phrases as *δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ*. Admittedly in every-day usage *δῆμος* may be loosely synonymous with *ἐκκλησία*, but one never finds *ἔδοξεν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* in Attic inscriptions.³ The relationship of *κοινόν* to its assembly is closely analogous. No clear epigraphical example of *κοινόν* meaning "assembly" can be found in connection with Aetolia. The expression used by Polybios (IV, 5) is *ἡ κοινὴ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύνοδος*, and elsewhere the regular assemblies were called *Θερμικά* and *Παναιτωλικά*.⁴ Similarly with regard to other *κοινά* (leagues) the same distinction is pursued.

¹ Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, II, p. 22, n. 1; Klaffenbach, *I.G.*, IX², p. xiii, 6-19; Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, p. 327, n. 10, p. 328; Hohmann, *Aitolien u. die Aitolier*, p. 37.

² Cf. Freeman, *Hist. of Federal Gov't in Greece*, p. 256, n. 1; recently, too, Flacelière, *op. cit.*, p. 42, has expressed doubt about the previously accepted interpretation of this passage.

³ Cf. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 1109, lines 93-94: *ἔδοξεν [τῇ βουλῇ] καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*.

⁴ Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*, p. 1521-1522 and note 8; Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens*, p. 43.

In Acarnanian decrees the following prescript ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖ κοινοῖ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων (cf. the Attic formula) is normal (*I.G.*, V, 1, 29), and its assembly was called κοινὴ ἐκκλησία (Polyb., XXVIII, 5, 1). The Boeotian Assembly was called by Hypereides (I, 18) κοινὸς σύλλογος, by Polybios (XXVII, 1, 12) ἐκκλησία.¹

The new decree sheds further light on the importance of the Eleusinian mysteries and their sphere of influence; for during both the Greater and Lesser Mysteries of Demeter and Kore a period of truce was declared which lasted fifty-five days. Evidence for this exists in the following passages from an inscription of the fifth century (*I.G.*, I², 6): ἄρχε[ν δ] ἐ τὸν χρόνον[ν τ]ὸν σπονδὸν [τὸ] Μεταγεινι[ὸ]νος μενὸς ἀπ[ὸ] διχομενίας [κ]αὶ τὸν Βοεδρ[ο]μιῶνα καὶ τὸ [Π]υανοφσιδῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ηῡσταμένο (lines 57-67, col. B); and again in lines 76-87; τοῖσι δὲ ὀλείζοσι μυστηρίοισιν τὰς [σ]πονδὰς εἶνα[ι] τὸ Γαμελιῶνος μενὸς ἀπὸ δ[ι]χομενίας κα[ὶ] τὸν Ἀνθεστε[ρι]ῶνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλαφεβολιδῶνος μέχρι δεκάτης ηῡσταμένο. This sacred truce was called in literary and epigraphical sources αἱ μυστηριώτιδες σπονδαί.² Special messengers, the σπονδοφόροι, proclaimed it throughout Greece and the islands. Its importance may be realized from a perusal of the following passage in the second speech of Aeschines (133); καὶ τοῖς σπονδοφόροις τοῖς τὰς μυστηριώτιδας σπονδὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φωκεῖς οὐκ ἐσπέισαντο. These messengers were despatched, of course, to their various destinations with sufficient time to arrive and come to an agreement with that state. In the year 329/8 the σπονδοφόροι to the islands for the truce of the Greater Mysteries departed in the first prytany (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1883, p. 110, l. 4). The σπονδοφόροι of the Greater Mysteries of 328/7 were sent out in the tenth prytany of 329/8, thereby leaving a minimum of forty-five days for their journey. In 367/6 they had already delivered their proclamation and received the acceptance of the League, when they were arrested by the Trichoneians. An unpublished inscription of the same year found in the Agora gives us the number of the prytany Oineis. Since it was the third prytany the σπονδαί are concerned with the Greater Eleusinian Mysteries.

The σπονδοφόροι were selected from the *gene* of the Kerykes and the Eumolpids. An inscription dated approximately in the first half of the second century contains the following provision: δεδόχθαι τοῖς γένε]σιν ἐξ ὧν οἱ σπονδοφόροι ἐκπέμποντ[αι] (*I.G.*, II², 1236, line 14). They received their instructions in written form, sometimes as a decree (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1914, p. 168, 35-38) from the *hierophantes*, who was chosen from the Eumolpids (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 71; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsk.*, p. 1174, n. 2). An inscription of the third quarter of the third century B.C., passed in honor of the hierophantes Χαιρήτιος Προφήτου Ἐλευσίνιος describes his duties: ἐπειδὴ — — Χαιρήτιος — — τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδοφορίας διατελεῖ μετ' εὐνοίας ἀπογράφων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν κτλ. (*I.G.*, II², 1235; cf. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936,

¹ Xenophon uses κοινόν with both meanings, VII, 4, 34; 35; 38.

² Ael. Aristides, *Eleusiniος*, 258 (Dindorf): μόνοι δ' αἱ μυστηριώτιδες σπονδαὶ τοῦνομα ἔσωσαν; Aesch., II, 133; Pollux, I, 36.

pp. 60-62). The name of the father of this hierophant is of interest in view of the fact that he is a Eumolpid, for if we recede three or five generations from this *Χαιρήτιος* (ca. 230 B.C.), we arrive at a hypothetical great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather named *Προφήτης* in the early fourth century. In the broken portion of line 13 there is space for six letters following *Πρ* (line 12) in which the proper restoration seems to be *Πρ[οφήτην]*. The name *Ἐπιγένης Λυσανίου Ἐλευσίνιος* (*P. A.*, 4794) probably belonged to the same family as the Epigenes of line 13.

Several of the men mentioned in the decree were well-known. Philip of Semachidai (line 6) is probably the orator of the decree providing for the sending of cleruchs to Potidaea, 362/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 114). The orator of the present decree was the well-known statesman Kephisodotos (line 7), who served as ambassador in Sparta (in 371: *Xen. Hell.*, VI, 3, 2). It was on his motion that Athens decided to share the five-day hegemony with Sparta in 369 (*ibid.*, VII, 1, 12-14). The proxeny-decree passed in honor of Straton, king of Sidon, was also moved by him (*I.G.*, II², 141); and it was he who urged the Athenians to make the expedition into Euboea in 357 (*Arist. Rhet.*, III, 10, p. 1411a). The secretary of this decree, Demophilos, is otherwise unknown.

The new evidence presented by this decree opens the way toward speculation about the previous history of the League. When did the transformation from cantonal state to League take place, and under whose influence? No conclusion, however plausible, is susceptible of formal proof owing to the lack of evidence. But one attractive possibility is at least worthy of consideration. The reorganization may have been brought about under the guidance of Epaminondas and the Boeotian League. The policy of that statesman was the creation of a strong Boeotian front against Sparta.

The rapidity with which states like Messenia and Arcadia were erected and organized as leagues makes the organization of the Aetolian League in the same years possible. It is known that the Aetolians became members of the Central Greek Boeotian alliance in 370 (*Diod.*, XV, 57, 1) and that Epaminondas handed over the city of Kalydon, which had been in the hands of the Achaeans since 389, to the Aetolians in 367 (*Schol. B to Il. B 494*; *Wilamowitz, S.B. Berl. Akad.*, 1921, p. 730; *Klaffenbach, I.G.*, IX², p. xii, ll. 39 ff.). This generosity is not without significance, for Aetolia was, figuratively speaking, under the wing of the Boeotian League. Admittedly, these facts are not specific evidence; they only lend plausibility to this explanation of the origin of the Aetolian League. No occasion and no agency for the consolidation of the Aetolian League existed before Leuctra and Epaminondas' league-making proclivities. Ancient authors are silent about the inception of the League; but so far as they are preserved, they are also silent until 314 B.C. about the League, and so the *argumentum ex silentio* proves nothing. Mention of the League escapes the account of Diodoros because that nation took no prominent part in international affairs until the Lamian war; and, unless a state was closely involved in an historical event, it

escapes notice in Diodoros. The silence of Xenophon is the result of his prejudice against Thebes. No act which redounds to the glory of Thebes receives full attention from him. He barely mentions Epaminondas and does not allude directly to the founding of the new Arcadian League. No doubt the reorganization of the state of a semi-barbarous race like the Aetolians was regarded with indifference by historian and layman.

The year 367/6 was a critical one in the history of the period. The growing coldness between Thebes and Athens, which began soon after the short-lived peace of 374, had changed into hostility by 367/6. The Congress at Thebes (366) failed largely through Athenian and Arcadian opposition. In that year Oropos was again lost to Athens. The feeling in Athens was one of exasperation against Thebes. The tone of the above decree seems curt and sharp; and although the cause of the arrest may have been slight, it threatened to develop into an international incident. The fact that Kephisodotos, who interested himself largely in diplomatic and international affairs, was orator of the decree, and that a herald, not an ambassador, was sent reveals the gravity of the situation. It is quite likely that the general hostility of Athens toward Thebes extended also to her allies.

A DECREE CONCERNING ELAIOUS, 357/6 B.C.

4. A large fragment of Pentelic marble which is broken away at the base and sides. The back of the fragment is rough-picked and the face of the moulding above the text of the decree is badly battered. It was found on October 20, 1937 in Section AA during the period of demolition.

Height, 0.457 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.; width, 0.18 m.

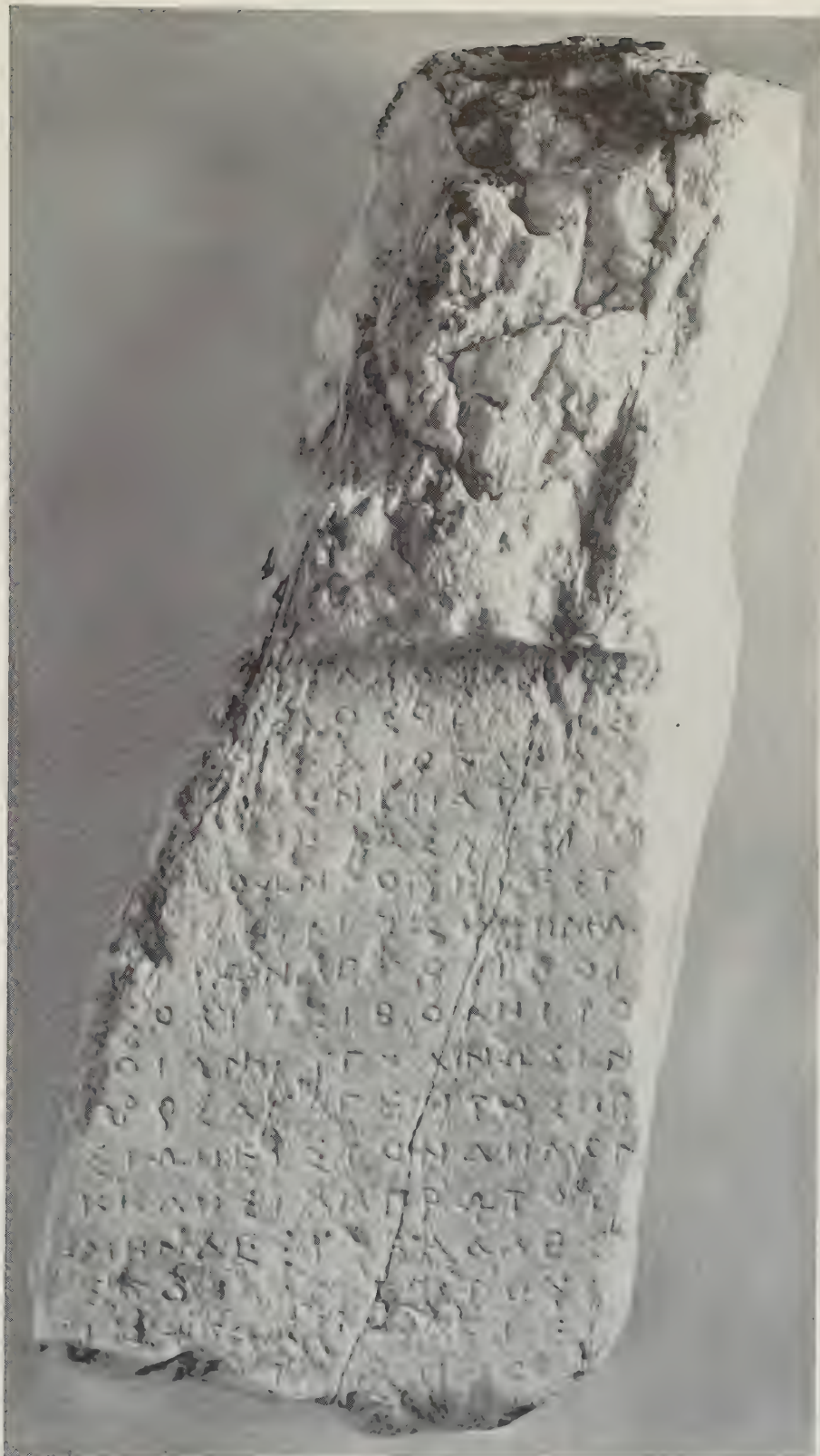
Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5030.

357/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[ἐπὶ Ἀγαθο]κλέος ἄ[ρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰ]
 [πποθωντ]ίδος ὀγδόης [πρυτανείας ἥ]
 [ι Διόδοτο]ς Διοκλέος Ἀ[γγεληθεῖν ἐγ]
 [ραμμάτε]νεν· ἐνάτε[ι] κ[αὶ εἰκοστῇ τ]
 5 [ῆς πρυτα]νείας· Λύσιππ[.....¹⁰.....]
 [. . Μαρ]αθώνιος ἐπεστά[τει· ἔδοξεν τ]
 [ῆι βο]λῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ [ι.....⁷... εἰπ]
 [εν· πε]ρὶ ᾧ λέγουσιν οἱ [Ἐλαιόσιοι ἐφ]
 [ηφί]σθαι τῇ βολῇ το[ῦς μὲν προέδρ]
 10 [ους] οἱ ἂν τυγχάνωσιν [προεδρεύοντ]
 [ες] προσαγαγεῖν τὸς πρ[έσβεις τῶν Ἐλα]
 [ιο]σίων εἰς τὸν δῆμον [εἰς τὴν πρώτη]



No. 4. A Decree Concerning Elaious, 357/6 B.C.

- [ν ἐ]κκλησίαν πρώτου[ς μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, γ]
 [ν]ώμην δὲ συμβάλλουσ[θαι τῆς βολῆς ε]
 15 [ι]ς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δο[κεῖ τῇ βολῇ ἐπ]
 [ε]ἰδῇ Ἐλαιόσ[ι]οί ε[ἰσιν ἄνδρες ἀγαθ]
 [οὐ περ]ὶ τὸ[ν δ]ῆμον[ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων . . .]

The new decree concerning the Elaiousian ambassadors was passed on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth prytany of the year of Agathokles (357/6 B.C.) in the same prytany as the fragmentary decree, *I.G.*, II², 122, and falls approximately two weeks before the well-known decree providing for the defence of Andros, *I.G.*, II², 123.¹ In the new decree the ambassadors from Elaious reiterate the friendship and loyalty of their state to Athens. Both decrees are to be related to the Social War.

The installation of the garrison on the island of Andros has been accepted as clear evidence that the war must have just begun, for the Athenians would hardly have left so important a post unguarded for a long time after the opening and decisive battle of the war. Therefore the sea-battle of Chios, which initiated the war, has been dated in the spring of 356;² but it is quite likely that these decrees belong in the period of great concern occasioned by the attacks on the islands Imbros and Lemnos, and by the siege of Samos, while Chares was operating in Hellespontine waters against the Byzantians. The statement of Diodoros that the expedition into Euboea was undertaken and successfully brought to a swift conclusion under the archonship of Kephisodotos (358/7), and that subsequently Athens became involved in a serious war with her allies, has not been accepted, because it is believed that he has forced the events of several seasons into one year. The contemporary evidence which is preserved in a fragmentary speech of Isaeus corroborates the statement of Diodoros.³ The speaker states that he had been trierarch in the archonship of Kephisodotos and that a rumor had reached his relatives that he had been slain "in the sea-battle" (*τριηραρχοῦντος γάρ μου ἐπὶ Κηφισοδότου ἄρχοντος καὶ λόγου ἀπαγγελθέντος πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ὡς ἄρα τετελευτηκὼς εἶην ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ*). This is clearly to be related to the statement of Diodoros: ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας προσπλεύσας τῷ λιμένι ναυμαχίαν καρτερὰν συνεστήσατο. The phrase ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ with its definite article refers to a particular well-known event. Both Isaeus and Diodoros are in accord in assigning one sea-battle to the archon Kephisodotos. It may be that owing to the unexpected crises which had arisen the

¹ *I.G.*, II², 122 may be restored in line 5 as follows: [εὐεν· ἔκτει ἰσταμέ]νον [. . .⁵. .] without the name of the month, as in *I.G.*, II², 330, 331. This restoration removes the last objection to dating *I.G.*, II², 404, the important decree concerning Keos, in 356 B.C. (see note at *I.G.*, II², 404), for in these decrees we have the two earliest examples of the day of the month in the prescript of a decree. The subject-matter, phraseology, and letter-forms of II², 404 are eminently suitable to the year 356 (cf. Hiller, *I.G.*, XII, 5, p. xv, note 1278).

² Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 2, pp. 258-259; Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, p. 198.

³ Diod., XVI, 7; Thalheim, *Isaei Orationes*, frag. 15, 2.

trierarchs of that year had been compelled to remain in service after the expiration of their official year; but it is highly improbable that they remained in service until the spring of 356. The evidence of the fragmentary speech of Isaeus is contemporary and should outweigh any arguments *a priori* against the dating of the sea-battle in the year 358/7.

The date of the expedition into Euboea is a matter of some moment, for it is closely connected with the beginning of the Social War (usually dated 357/6 B.C.: Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 2, p. 258; Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, p. 187; Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 124, note). At the time of the Euboean expedition Demosthenes himself is known to have been a trierarch, for in his speech *Against Meidias* he boasts that when the voluntary trierarchs were requested he and not Meidias had volunteered, and that his colleague had been Philinos of Lakiadai. This statement is supported by the epigraphical evidence of the naval record of 356/5, which in a list of the debtor-trierarchs for previous years yields the names of Demosthenes and Philinos.¹ Philinos is known to have served again as a trierarch with Pheidippos in the year 357/6 in which they were debtors also.² There are only two possible years, 358/7 or 357/6. Since neither he nor Demosthenes nor Pheidippos was able to equip even one trireme completely in his year as trierarch, it must be regarded as highly unlikely that Philinos would have volunteered to undertake the syntrierarchy with Demosthenes in the same year in which he was also serving as trierarch with Pheidippos (357/6). This eliminates the year 357/6 and leaves 358/7 as the only possible year for their syntrierarchy during the Euboean campaign. Beloch noticed in the speech of Demosthenes *Against Meidias* that Meidias was steward of the Paralos at the time of the Euboean expedition and that while he was steward he had plundered the Cyzicenes of some five talents. The Scholiast on this passage rightly attributes these plundering activities to the Social War. Since the stewardship of the Paralos is an elective office, it is clear that these two incidents must belong in the same Attic year.³ The evidence adduced so far, namely, that of Diodoros (XVI, 7, 2-3), of Isaeus (frag. 15), of the naval records (*I.G.*, II², 1611 and 1612), points to the year 358/7 for the Euboean campaign and the battle of Chios.

One more important source for the date of the Euboean expedition remains to be

¹ Dem., *Against Meidias*, 161; *I.G.*, II², 1612, 301 ff.

² *I.G.*, II², 1611, 363-364; *I.G.*, II², 1612, 282-284. The date of *I.G.*, II², 1611 is certain, for the inventory of special ships, which is presented in column b, gives the archons under whom select triremes had been built. This list ends with the archon Kephisodotos, 358/7, line 121. The trireme of that year was not finished, but it was taken over by the *epimeletai* of the current year in its half-finished state and completed. Compare the following statement from lines 130-133: *ταύτην ἡμέτερον παραλαβόντες ἐκ τῶν Τηλεγονείων [ναυπηγί]ων ἡμεῖς*. Compare also the formula in *I.G.*, II², 1612, lines 232-235: *σύμπας ἀριθμὸ[ς] τριήρων ὧν ἡ[με]ῖς ἐπεσκευάσ[α]μεν* ΠΔ.

³ Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 171-173; Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 61, 7; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 2, p. 258. For the scholiast see Dindorf, *Demosthenes*, vol. IX, p. 638, schol. ad 570, 15.

considered. There is extant an inscription recording the treaty between the Carystians and Athens, *I.G.*, II², 124, which states that the Council of the year 357/6 together with eight generals swore the necessary oaths for this treaty. The name of Chabrias headed the list, but was erased subsequently (not totally, for it can still be read). This has been interpreted as meaning that he had been cashiered in the year 357/6 for some unknown reason. It is clear, however, that oaths which a general had taken in full powers would not have been invalidated by subsequent dismissal or death. Beloch has given the correct explanation of this erasure: the name was expunged because he had been expected to swear the oaths for the treaty, but before he could do so he had been slain at Chios.¹

It has been assumed that since the treaty was signed and sworn in the year 357/6 and since the campaign itself was of such short duration—for it lasted only thirty days—and the Euboeans were so favourable to Athenian intervention, that a long period between the end of the campaign and the signing of the treaty is unlikely. Therefore the whole campaign is placed in 357/6. But all the evidence so far adduced dates this event in 358/7. The conclusion to be drawn is that the battle of Chios falls at the very close of 358/7, probably in the month of Skirophorion. The newly-elected general Chabrias had gone off with Chares to Chios. In their absence the treaty with Carystus had been concluded and Chabrias together with seven other generals was expected to swear the oaths. His death disappointed them of his participation, and through inadvertency his name was inscribed on the stele. If the battle of Chios is placed tentatively in Skirophorion, there is time in the spring of 357 for the Euboean campaign, the beginning of the siege of Amphipolis, and Chares' campaign in the Chersonese. No more than a month need be allotted for the making of the Euboean alliances.

The defeat at Chios was a great blow to the prestige of Athens. The city did not recover swiftly. No relief expedition was sent out until 356/5 under the generals Iphicrates and Timotheos (*I.G.*, II², 1612, 232-235; Diod., XVI, 21, 1). Chares had sailed to the Hellespont and was occupied throughout the summer and winter in carrying out military operations against the Byzantians.² The trade route had to be

¹ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, III², 1, p. 238. There is a conflict in the statements of Nepos and Diodoros. In his life of Chabrias (ch. 4) Nepos relates that Chabrias had served in a private capacity at Chios, but that his influence had been so great that the soldiers regarded him with greater respect than the actual commander. Diodoros on the other hand (XVI, 7, 3) says that Chares and Chabrias were generals. I suspect that Nepos would not have said that he served in a private capacity unless there had been some ancient authority for that statement. The opinion of Diodoros sounds more like a deduction than a statement of fact, for he probably assumed that a general whose reputation was as great as that of Chabrias could not have been sent out in a private capacity. It is probable that he had not been elected general for the year 358/7 owing to his failure in the Chersonese in the preceding season (Dem., *Against Aristocrates*, 171-172).

² *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 288, 291, 292, 325 contain the names of trierarchs who, according to *I.G.*, II², 1953, distinguished themselves in the Hellespont. They must have served with Chares during this period.

protected at all costs. During the following winter and spring the rebellious cities engaged in attacks on the islands Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos (Diod., XVI, 21, 2). It is at this time that the ambassadors from Elaious arrived in Athens. Their city occupied a point of great strategic importance on the Hellespont, and it is quite likely that the Byzantians had attempted to win them over to their confederacy. It was to the advantage of Athens to make certain that this city remained loyal.

The lost portion of the inscription probably continued with praise of the Elaiousians (for a similar decree, cf. *I.G.*, II², 107 [368/7 B.C.], lines 8-16).

FRAGMENTS OF THE NAVAL RECORD OF 357/6 B.C.

5. Five fragments of Hymettian marble; fragment A, found on January 9, 1936 in the wall of a modern house, is broken away at the back and on all sides except the left, which bears traces of anathyrosis; of fragment B, found on November 3, 1937, in the wall of a modern house, the left side, which also has anathyrosis, the back, and the base of the stele are preserved; the two small fragments C and D, which are broken all around, were found in Section OE on June 8, 1934, in the disturbed fill beneath the exedra to the west of the Metroön; fragment E, found on a marble pile in the southwest area on February 26, 1935, is broken on all sides.

Fragment A: Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3227.

Fragment B: Height, 0.276 m.; width, 0.269 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Inv. No. I 2012 c.

Fragment C: Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.077 m.; thickness, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 2012 b.

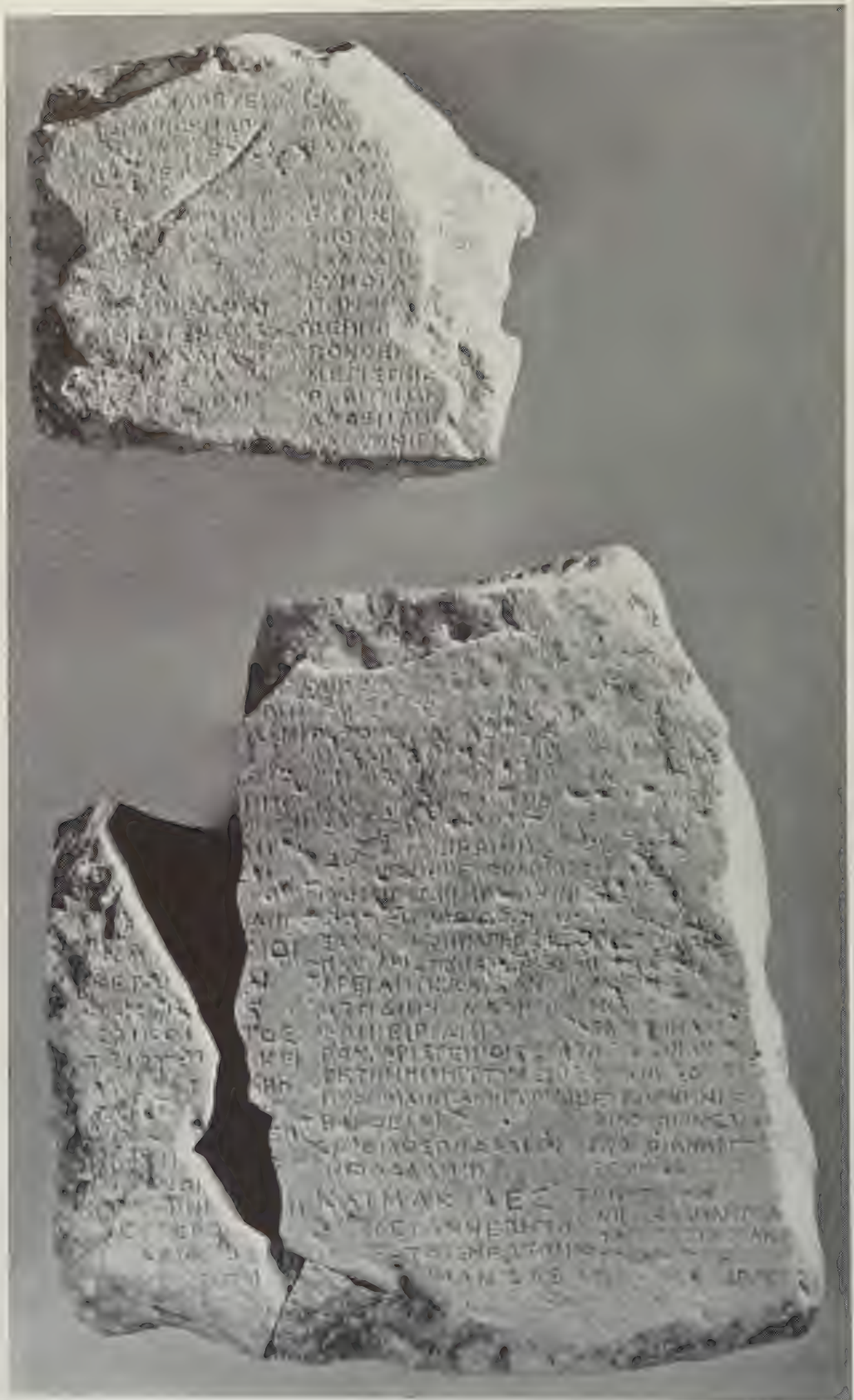
Fragment D: Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 2012 a.

Fragment E: Height, 0.088 m.; width, 0.057 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Inv. No. I 2542.

The inscription is not stoichedon, and no very serious attempt was made by the stonecutter to balance the lines of one column against the lines of columns on either side. The disposition of the inscription on the stone, therefore, must be made out from the photographs, for it can be shown only approximately in the printed text. The weathering of the surface has been particularly severe in col. a of fragment A and in the upper part of col. c in fragment B; many of the readings on these parts of the stone have been made with great difficulty.



No. 5. Fragments A and B

FRAGMENT A

357/6 B.C.

Munychia

col. a

- [---^{s-9}---]ει Ἀρετῇ
 [---^{ca. 5}---]ι ἐνδεῖ περί ΔΠΙΙΙΙ
 [Με]λίττε[ι] Πρώτε[ι]
 [..]ρὺπ. α[---^{ca. 3}---] Ἑωι
 5 [..]αμμοσ[ο] [----]
 [...]ἐνεμο. .νεων
 ἐ[νδεῖ] θάλα ΙΙΙ
 [ἀριθ]μός · Η
 [Πη]δάλια
 10 [ταῖσδ]ε τ[ὼν] νεῶ[ν τ]ο
 [ύτων] ἐν [τ]οῖς νεωσ
 [οἴκοι]ς [π]ηδάλια
 [παρα]κείμενα
 [κατ]ελάβομεν
 15 [τῶν] πρώ[των]

Zea

col. b

- Ἰππ[οθωντίδι] ---
 Ῥώμη[ι Ἰκανεῖ]
 Πανδία[ι vac.]
 τῶν δευτ[έρων]
 20 Τροπαί[αι ἐνδεῖ]
 περὶνε[ων] [-----]
 Ἀποτομ[άδι ἐνδεῖ]
 θάλα ΔΠΙΙ [-----]
 Εὐνοῖαι [-----]
 25 Πανθήρ[αι ἐνδεῖ]
 περὶνε[ων] [-----]
 Βοηθεία[ι vac.]
 Μεγίστει ἐ[νδεῖ]
 περὶνεων Δ[---]
 30 Ἀκοεῖ Ἰππο[κάμπει]
 Ἀλκύνονι ἐνδ[εῖ]
 [περὶνεων] [-----]

FRAGMENT B

col. a

- [-----]
 [-----]ει ΙΙ
 [-----]άδι ΙΙ
 [-----] vac.
 [---- Νικηφ]όρωι ΙΙ
 [-----]ηι ΙΙ
 [---- Πολυ]νίκει ΙΙ
 [-----ε]ι ΙΙ
 [-----]ει ΙΙ
 [Ἀριθμός] vac.
 [κεραιῶ]ν μ[εγάλων] ΔΠΙΙ
 [ἴστο]ι ἀκ[άτ]ξειοι
 [ταῖσ]δε τῶν [νεῶ]ν
 [τούτ]ων ἐν [τοῖ]ς

col. b

- Αἴγλη ΙΙ [-----]
 Εὐν[ομία] ΙΙ [-----]
 Ὀ[ρθ]οπόλει [ΙΙ] [-----]ι ΙΙ
 Εὐχάρι[δι ΙΙ Νικ]ησῶι ΙΙ
 30 Γενναίαι ΙΙ Ἑριδι ΙΙ
 Μακ[αρία] ΙΙ Ἡ[πιόν]ηι ΙΙ
 Σφε[νδόν]ηι ΙΙ Ἀρίσ[τ]ηι ΙΙ
 Εὐ[νο]ία ΙΙ Ἡβηι ΙΙ
 Ἐ[ρ]ωμένη ΙΙ Εὐφραινόσει ΙΙ
 35 Πανδήμωι ΙΙ Πρόκνηι ΙΙ
 Ἀγύσει ΙΙ Εὐνοῖαι ΙΙ
 Σαλαμίνιαι ΙΙ Παγκρα[τίω] ΙΙ
 Πανταρίστη ΙΙ Σα[λ]αμίνιαι ΙΙ
 Ἀρεῖαι ΙΙ Κωλιάδι ΙΙ
 40 Θέτιδι ΙΙ Ψαμάθηι ΙΙ

Kantharos

col. c

- [-----]νη[ν] [-----]
 Κρα[τίστην] [-----]
 Σάλ[πιγγα] [-----]
 55 Ἀγαθήν [-----]
 Ἐρωμ[ένην] [-----]
 τῶν δευτ[έρων]
 [-----]
 [-----]ε[-----]
 60 Δορκ[άδα] [-----]
 Εὐπ[ορί]αν [-----]
 . . Ξ[-----]
 Δ[ελφι(?)]νίαν [-----]
 Ἰκανήν Μεγίσ[την]

FRAGMENT B—continued

col. a	col. b	col. c
15 [νε]ωσοίκοι[ς ισ]τὸς [ἀκ]ατείους πα[ρ]ακει [μέ]γους κατε[λ]άβο [μεν] τῶν προ[ώτῳ]ν [-----]νο[-----]ει	Φῶι Εἴριδι Πολυαρίσται Οἰστῶι Πετηνῆι Εὐτυχεῖ Κυθηρίαι Πανηγύριδι	65 Ἐλ[εν]σίνα Αἶαν[τα] Ἡγεμονίαν Φυλ[λίδα] Φήμην Σουνιά[δα] Εὐρώπην Νίκην Φιλονίκην Σωῖζο[μένην]
20 [Προθ]υμίαι Ἀ[νθιππα]σίαι [-----] οι[-----] [-----]εἶαι Νε[-----ι]	45 Βοηθείαι vac. Ἀριθμὸς πηδαλίῳ ΗΨΔΔΔΔΠ Κλιμακίδες	70 Πρόνοιαν Ἀργυρ[ᾶν] Σειρήνα vac. τῶν τρίτων Νίκην Ἀσκληπιά[δα] Παγκράτιον Πανθ[ήραν]
[τῶ]ν δευτέρων [---] Ἀριθμὸς	50 τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωσοίκο [ις κλ]ιμακίδας vacat	75 Τρί[αινα]ν Ἀριθμὸς [ς τρ]ιήρων vac.
25 [ιστῶν ἀ]κατεῖ Π [ι]		

FRAGMENT C

col. d	col. e
[-----]ει [Σειρ(?)]ῆνι Ἀριθμ[ός] [ι]στῶν ἀκατεῖ Δ [κε]ραῖαι ἀκάτει 5 [τα]ῖσδε τῶν νεῶν [το]ύτων ἐν τοῖς [νε]ωσοίκο[ις] [κερ]α[ί]ας ἀκα [τείου]ς παρα 10 [κειμένας κ]α [τελάβομεν]	π[αραρυμάτων λευκ] ἀρ[ιθμός-----] τα[ῦτα γίγνεται] 15 ἐπὶ [ναῦς-----] παραρ[υμάτων τριχ] ἀριθμὸς[ς-----] ταῦτα γίγ[νεται] ἐπὶ ναῦς [-----] 20 [παραρ]υμ[άτων (?)]--- [-----]Λ[-----]

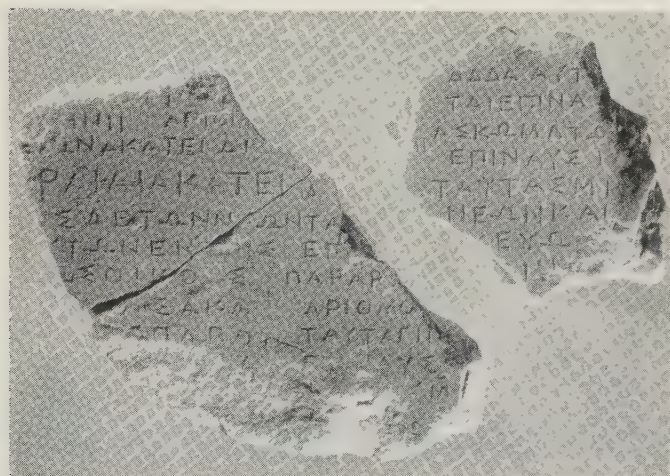
FRAGMENT D

[ἀγκυρῶν ἀριθμὸς]
ΔΔΔΔ αὐτ[α]ι γίγνον
ται ἐπὶ ναῦ[ς-----]
ἀσκωμάτω[ν ἀριθμὸς]
5 ἐπὶ ναῦς ι[-----]
ταύτας μι[-----]
νεῶν καὶ [-----]
σκευῶ[ν-----]
[---] | Ν[-----]

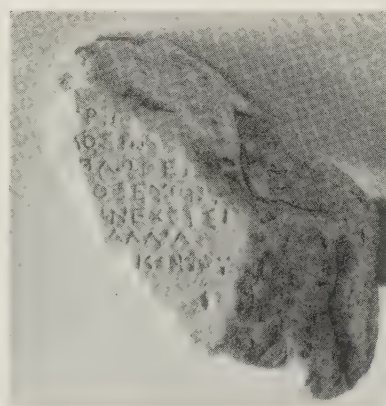
FRAGMENT E

[---^{ca. 6}---] τριή[ραρχοι]
[---^{ca. 6}---]μος Παμ[βωτάδης]
[---^{ca. 7}---] Πλωθεύ[ς]
[---^{ca. 8}---]ος Εὐωνυμεύς
5 [τῶν ξυλίν]ων ἔχουσι
[ταρρὸν πη]δάλια vac.
[παραστάτα]ς κοντούς
vac.
vac.
10 [-----]ς

These fragments are part of a copy of the naval record of 357/6 B.C., already partially represented by *I.G.*, II², 1611, which had been set up originally in the Peiraeus and is now to be found in the Epigraphical Museum. It was not suspected that another copy of the same record existed. The new fragments which have been found in the excavations belong to such a copy and presumably had been placed in or near the Agora. The workmanship and the letter-forms of the new fragments are almost identical with those of the stele in the Epigraphical Museum; but the fragments can not possibly belong to the same stele. The order and disposition of the columns in the two records are quite different. The left face of *I.G.*, II², 1611 was



No. 5. Fragments C and D



No. 5. Fragment E

inscribed, but the left faces of fragments A and B bear unmistakable traces of anathyrosis, as if the intention had been to erect the stele next to similar stelae. Column a of fragment B ends with the list of *ἱστοὶ ἀκάτειοι* (small-boat's masts), and the top of column b would have continued the list of *κεράλαι ἀκάτειοι*, but the top of column b of *I.G.*, II², 1611 contains part of the introductory list of the first-class triremes of the harbor Zea, and therefore can not possibly be identified with column b of fragment B.

Of the record *I.G.*, II², 1611 only parts of eight columns are preserved and the stele has been broken away at the right side; but since no other naval record is so precise nor so hierarchically rigid in its composition, it is possible to determine approximately what each column contained, including the lost portions. Thanks to this efficient and regular arrangement the new fragments can be proved to be part of a copy of the naval record of 357/6 and can be assigned to their proper places in the

record. A preliminary analysis of the record as it was preserved in *I.G.*, II², 1611 will be necessary.

The inventory was intended to be most complete. It presents a list of all the triremes in the Athenian navy, whether in the ship-sheds or in the docks in the open air or on the high seas, together with a complete list of the equipment on or intended to be placed on each of those ships.¹ The order in which both the ships and the equipment are mentioned is almost invariable and unique. The first column contained a summary of the triremes in the Athenian navy, followed by a statement of the equipment by category.² The inventory proper was then divided into four large sections: a list of the ships by class according to the harbor in which they were stationed, always followed by a list of their equipment by category; a list of equipment lying on the docks or in the storage-rooms; a list of the triremes on actual service presented according to the harbor from which they had sailed; and finally a list of the equipment which certain officials and trierarchs owed the state. The first of these sections is divided into three main parts according to the harbors Munychia, Zea, and Kantharos, and each part contains a complete introductory list of triremes by class, followed by a complete list of equipment.

The new fragments preserve this same unique arrangement and order. In fragment A parts of two columns are preserved. The rubric of lines 9-15 of fragment A introduces the list of rudders (*πηδάλια*) for the triremes of a certain harbor. Above this formula is to be found the conclusion of a list of oar-blades (*ταρροί*) for ships of the same harbor. In the second column of this fragment a similar list of oar-blades is partially preserved, but the ship-names are demonstrably different from those of the first column, and therefore belong to a different harbor. A comparison of column b, lines 74-79 of *I.G.*, II², 1611 with column b, lines 20-31 of fragment A will prove that these are second class ships of Zea, and, moreover, that they are listed according to the form recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1611:

¹ The order and composition of the whole record is summed up in the introductory sentence (*I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 3-18):

	[ἀ]ριθμὸς τριήρων ὧν		[νω]ν καὶ κρεμαστῶν,
	[ἐ]ν τοῖς νεωσοῖκοις ἀν-		[ῶ]ν ἐν τοῖς νεωροῖσι
5	[εἰλ]κυσμένων κατελά-		[καὶ] ἐν τῇ σκευοθήκῃ
	βομεν καὶ τῶν ὑπαιθρί-		[κατ]ελάβομεν, καὶ τῶν
	[ω]ν καὶ τῶν ἐκπεπλευ-	15	[ἐκπ]επλευκότων καὶ
	[κ]υῶν παραδο(θ)εισῶν.		[τῶ]ν ὀφειλομένων πα-
	HHΠΔΔΔIII.		ρὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς
10	[ἀρ]ιθμὸς σκευῶν ξυλί-		τριηράρχοις.

² The order in which the equipment is mentioned is established by this summary. The order is as follows: *ταρροί*, *πηδάλια*, *κλιμακίδες*, *κοντοί*, *παραστάται*, *ἱστοὶ μεγάλοι*, *κεραῖαι μεγάλαι*, *ἱστοὶ ἀκάτειοι*, *κεραῖαι ἀκάτειοι*, *ὑποζώματα*, *ἱστίον*, *τοπεῖα ὑποβλήματα*, *καταβλήματα*, *παραρύματα λευκά*, *παραρύματα τρίχινα*, *σχοινία*, *ἄγκυραι*.

I.G., II², 1611, lines 74-79

Tropaia
 Apotomas
 Eunoia
 Panthera
 Boetheia
 Megiste
 Sphendone
 Theoris
 Akoe
 Hippokampe
 Alkuon

Frag. A, col. b, lines 20-31

Tropaia
 Apotomas
 Eunoia
 Panthera
 Boetheia
 Megiste
 Akoe
 Hippokampe
 Alkuon

The first column is part of a complete list of triremes; the other is a partial list of ships included in the list of equipment. But the order of mention in both lists is identical, for the order of ships in the list of equipment follows that established by the introductory list of ships. Likewise, the ships of lines 16-18 of fragment A belong to the first-class ships of Zea (compare with *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 71-72, col. b).¹ In fragment B the ships of column b are proved by a similar comparison to belong to the list of special triremes of Zea (compare col. b, lines 26-45 with col. b of *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 105-128; col. c, lines 135-140; 157-170), and the ships of lines 53-56, col. c of fragment B are demonstrably first-class ships of the harbor Kantharos (compare *I.G.*, II², 1611, col. d, lines 216-221), followed in lines 57-75 by the triremes of the second and third classes of the same harbor (cf. col. d, *I.G.*, II², 1611). The ships of column a of both fragments A and B must belong to the harbor Munychia because the order of harbors as established by *I.G.*, II², 1611 is Munychia, Zea, and Kantharos. The position of fragment A with regard to fragment B is determined from the order of equipment. It must precede fragment B because the latter preserves the bottom of the stele and in any case the lists of oar-blades and rudders precede the list of ship-ladders (see p. 22, n. 2). The positions of fragments C and D are determined from a comparative study of the formulae of *I.G.*, II², 1611 and those of the new pieces. Not only are the order and arrangement of this record unique, but the formulae are unusual. Column e of fragment C preserves a partial list of equipment (*παράρματα*) which was ready for certain ships. The formulae are to be compared with those of columns e and f of *I.G.*, II², 1611. A similar formula is also to be found in column a of *I.G.*, II², 1611 in the preliminary statement of equipment, lines 25 ff.; but there can be no confusion between the two formulae, for in column d of fragment

¹ The ship Pandia was accidentally omitted from the list in 65-72 of *I.G.*, II², 1611, but is mentioned in line 406. There are similar omissions: the *Σώτεια* is missing from lines 65-66, but is to be found in line 149 in its proper place.

C there is a partial list of equipment of ships in a certain harbor. A comparison of this column with columns d and e of *I.G.*, II², 1611 proves that the harbor must be Kantharos. Fragment D preserves a similar formula, and similarly it must be determined whether the formula corresponds to that of column a or columns e and f of *I.G.*, II², 1611. It will be excluded from column a because the two remaining numerals between lines 4 and 5 prove that there was a preceding column. It must belong therefore in a position corresponding to columns e and f of *I.G.*, II², 1611. It will be excluded from the end of the list of equipment in the storage-rooms, because column f, lines 279-281, of *I.G.*, II², 1611 contains no mention of askomata, which fragment D includes; nor is the number of anchors the same as that of line 2 of fragment D. It must, then, belong in a position corresponding to the lost portion of column e, below line 273 of *I.G.*, II², 1611.

The columns of the new copy must have been slightly shorter than the corresponding columns of *I.G.*, II², 1611. For example, column a of fragment B ends with the list of small-boat's masts (*ἱστοὶ ἀκάτειοι*), but column a of *I.G.*, II², 1611 concluded with that list and the list of *keraiai akateioi*, and part of the list of first class ships of Zea. The stele must therefore have been considerably shorter, and there must have been more columns.

In fragment B, line 5, restore [*Νικηφ*] *όρωι* and compare *I.G.*, II², 1613, line 55 (of which columns c and d belong to Munychia; cf. lines 41, 60, 68). Again, in line 7 of fragment B the only possible restoration is [*Πολυ*] *νίκει* (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1611, lines 285-286, 427).

Fragment E must be assigned to a position corresponding to the list of triremes on active service, columns f and g, *I.G.*, II², 1611. The ship of line 1 can not belong to Munychia, for the list is complete (*I.G.*, II², 1611, 285-326) and the trierarchs here named do not occur in this list. Therefore, the ship belongs either to Zea or Kantharos. This ship had three trierarchs (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1611, 384-385; 1613, 212-214).

For information about the history of single ships the reader is referred to the dissertation of K. Schmidt, *Die Namen der att. Kriegsschiffe*, 1931. The following list of ships presents supplementary information:

Ἀγαθή,	line 55, frag. B, first class ship of Kantharos
Αἶας,	line 65, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Ἀνυσίς,	line 36, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἀργυρά,	line 70, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Ἀρετή,	line 1, frag. A, ship of Munychia
Ἀρίστη,	line 32, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἀσκληπιάς,	line 73, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Δορκάς,	line 60, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Ἐλευσίς,	line 65, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos

Ἔρις,	line 30, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἐρωμένη,	line 34, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἐυνομία,	line 27, frag. B, special ship of Zea; cf. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1612, line 44 also listed among special ships of Zea.
Εὐρώπη,	line 68, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos. This proves that Schmidt is right in affirming that there was more than one trireme named Εὐρώπη (K. Schmidt, <i>Die Namen der attisch. Kriegsschiffe</i> , p. 19).
Εὐφραίνουσα,	line 34, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἡβη,	line 33, frag. B, special ship of Zea. This ship proves that the ships of <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1611, lines 351-373 belong to the list of triremes of Zea which begins in line 327. In line 361 restore Εὐτυχ[εῖ, a special ship of Zea.
Ἡγεμονία,	line 66, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Θέτις,	line 40, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Ἰκανή,	line 64, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Μακαρία,	line 31, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Μέλιττα,	line 3, frag. A, ship of Munychia (cf. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1616, 24 [Μέ]-λιττα, also of Munychia)
Νίκη,	line 73, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Παγκράτιον,	line 37, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Παγκράτιον,	line 74, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos. In <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1604*, line 6, the restoration should be Παγκ[ράτιον], and in <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1612, line 294 Παγκράτ[ιον]; cf. Schmidt, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 8.
Πάνδημος,	line 35, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Πανθήρα,	line 74, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Πολυαρίστη,	line 42, frag. B, special ship of Zea
Πρώτη,	line 3, frag. A, ship of Munychia
Σειρήν,	line 71, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Σουνιάς,	line 67, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Σωιζομένη,	line 69, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Τρίαίνα,	line 75, frag. B, third class ship of Kantharos
Φήμη,	line 67, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Φιλονίκη,	line 69, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos
Φυλλίς,	line 66, frag. B, second class ship of Kantharos

For a complete knowledge of the original naval record of 357/6 B.C. the reader must consult these new pieces from the Agora excavations together with *I.G.*, II², 1611.

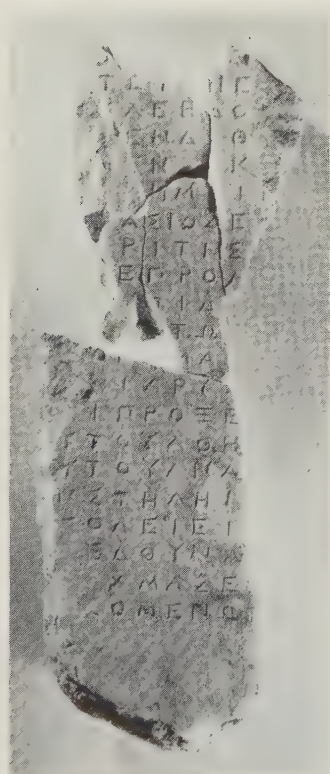
A PROXENY DECREE IN HONOR OF AN ABDERITE, 332/1 B.C.

6. Five small fragments of Pentelic marble making up this inscription, broken on all sides, were found over a short period of time on February 10 and 12, and on March 18, 1936, among the débris of the demolished Church of Christ.

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.108 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 3364.



No. 6. A Proxeny Decree

Spring 332/1 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- [Ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιο]
 [χίδος ὀγδῶς πρυτανείας ἥι Ἀριστό]
 [νο]υ[ς Ἀριστόνου Ἀναγυράσιος ἐγγραμ]
 [μά]τευ[ε]ν· Ἐ[λαφηβολιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ]
 5 [δέ]κα ἐβδό[μηι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη]
 [σία] ἐν Διο[νύσου· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή]
 [φιζ]εν Ν[ι]κ[όστρατος Κόπρειος· ἔδοξεν]
 [τῶι δ]ήμωι· Ε[ὕβοιος Κρατιστόλεω Ἀνα]
 [γυρ(?)]άσιος εἰ[πεν· ἐπειδὴ⁹... ὁ Ἀ]
 10 [βδη]ρίτης [.....²¹.....]
 [...]ε προα[.....²¹.....]
 [...] τῶι δ[ήμωι¹⁵..... δεδ]
 [όχθαι] τῶ[ι δ]ήμωι ἐπαινέσαι⁷...]
 [.]ν Ὀν[ο]μά[ρχον Ἀβδηρίτην καὶ στεφαν]
 15 [ώ]σαι χρυσ[ῶι στεφάνωι· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν]
 [κ]αὶ πρόξε[νον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμ]
 [ο]ν τοῦ Ἀθη[ναίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους]
 [α]ὐτοῦ· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα]
 <τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν>
 20 [ἐ]ν στήλῃ [λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκρ]
 [ο]πόλει, εἰ[ς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στή]
 [λη]ς δοῦνα[ι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔΔ]
 [δρ]αχμὰς ἐ[κ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ]
 [ισ]κομένων [τῶι δ]ήμωι]

vacat

This document belongs to the year of the archon Niketes, 332/1 B.C., in which three other Attic decrees were passed on the same day and in the same assembly as this new decree (*I.G.*, II², 345, 346, 347). The assembly was held in the theatre of Dionysos just after the Dionysiac festival, when many illustrious foreigners were wont to be present and when the Demos voted numerous honorary decrees.

The recipient of honors at this time was⁹. . . . , son of Onomarchos, whose ethnic, line 9-10 and 14, has been restored by Meritt. The orator of the decree may have been Euboios, son of Kratistoleos, of Anagyrous, who is known to have been active in public affairs in the 'thirties of the fourth century (*P.A.*, 5313). In line 19 the phrase τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν has dropped out of the text through oversight on the part of the engraver. Although examples of such omissions are to be found, they are very rare (e. g., *I.G.*, II², 508).

AN HONORARY DECREE, 323/2 B.C.

7. Six fragments of Pentelic marble, five of which have been found in the Agora excavations. All except fragment A, which preserves the left margin, are broken on all sides; fragments A and B retain also part of the moulding above the inscription. The height of the letters throughout is *ca.* 0.008 m., except in the first line (invocation) where they are somewhat smaller.

Fragment A: Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.101 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

Inv. No. I 4935 e.

Fragment B: *I.G.*, II², 369.¹

Fragment C: Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Inv. No. I 4935 b.

Fragment D: Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.

Inv. No. I 4935.

Fragment E: Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.042 m.; thickness, 0.066 m.

Inv. No. I 4935 d.

Fragment F: Height, 0.127 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.

Inv. No. I 4935 c.

The Agora fragments were all found in Section OA, fragment D on June 3, 1937, and fragments A, C, E, and F from June 6 to June 9, 1938.

Spring 323/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

A θ ε [ο ί] B

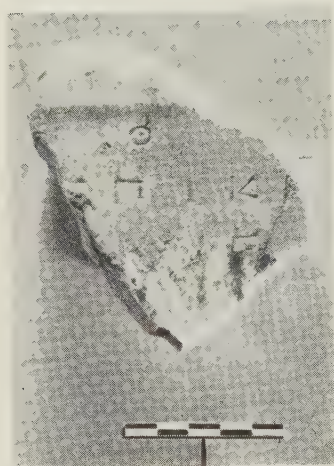
Ἐπὶ Κη[φισοδ]ώρου [ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς]

[Ο]ὐνεῖ[δος οὐγ]δόης [πρυτανείας ἡμ. Εὐ]

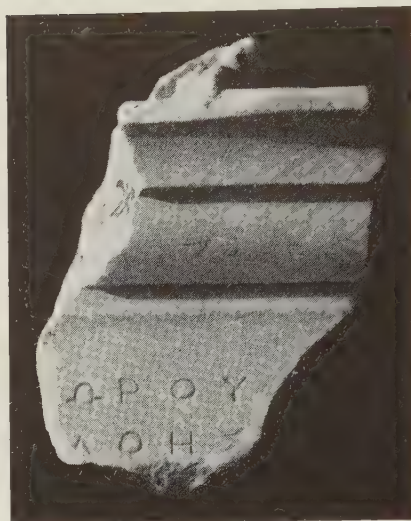
[κλήσ Πυθοδώρου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ἔγραμ]

5 [μάτενεν -----]

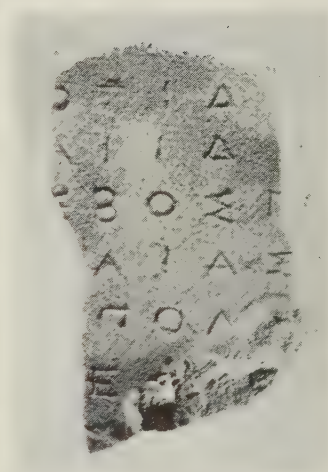
¹ None of the fragments of *I.G.*, II², 414 belongs with either *I.G.*, II², 369 or Inv. No. I 4935 excepting possibly fragment c, which the writer has not been able to find in the Museum. See the note of Kirchner on this matter in the *Corpus*. In the opinion of the writer fragment a of *I.G.*, II², 414 stands alone; neither of the other fragments, b or d, belongs with it. The lettering is distinctive and the physical characteristics different. Fragment d probably belongs to *I.G.*, II², 285.



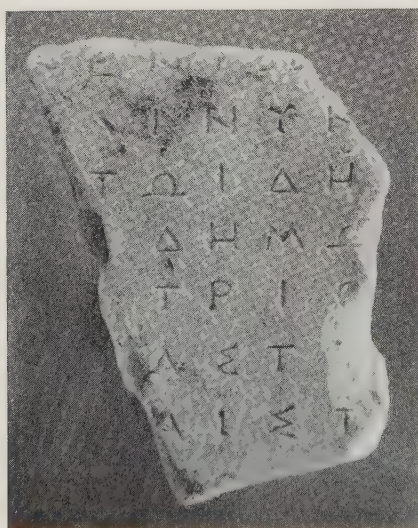
A



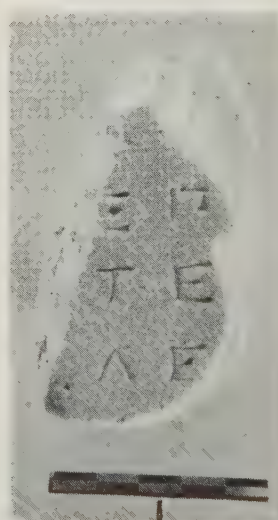
B



C



D



E



F

No. 7. Fragments A-F

Lacuna

- C [. 'Αθ] ην [αίων¹⁹]
 [. .] ὅτι δ[ύνανται ἀγαθὸν δημοσίαι τ]
 [ε κ] αἰ ἰδ[ίαι τοῖς τε ἀφικνουμένοις]
 [εἰ] ς Βόσπ[ορον καὶ¹⁴]
 10 [. . .] αιας [-----]
 [. . .] πολ[-----]
 [. . .] εφ[-----]
 [. . .] σ[-----]

Lacuna

- D [. . ἐπιδέδω] κεν τῶ [ι δῆμωι ΧΧΧ μεδίμ]
 15 [νους πυρῶν (?)] καὶ νῦν [ἐπιδέδωκεν εἰς]
 [τὸν πόλεμον] τῶι δῆ[μωι¹⁰]
 [δεδόχθαι τῶι] δῆμω [ι ἐπαινέσαι . . .]
 [.⁷ Δημη] τριο [υ εὐνοίας ἔνεκα]
 [καὶ φιλοτιμί] ας τ [ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τ]
 20 [ὃν Ἀθηναίων κ] αἰ στ [εφανῶσαι αὐτὸν]
 [χρυσῶι στεφά] νωι [ἀπὸ --- δραχμῶν]

Lacuna

- E [. . . .] ω -----
 [. . . .] επ -----
 [. . . .] τε -----
 25 [. . . .] λε -----

Lacuna

- F [.....²⁷ δ]
 [οὔναι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον τοὺς]
 [πρυτ] άνει [ς τῆς Οἰνείδος εἰς τὴν πρ]
 [ὡτην] ἐκκλ [ησίαν¹⁵]
 30 [. . .] αιος ε [-----]
 [. . .] προγ [-----]
 [. . . .] ονα [-----]

There are numerous extant examples of Attic decrees passed in honor of citizens and foreigners who had performed outstanding service for the state, either through large donations of money or of corn in time of crisis. In the period 330-326 B.C. a great famine ravaged the major part of the whole Greek world, which, owing to her especial dependency on imported corn, Athens found hard to surmount.¹ The present inscription discloses a common formula signifying more than one bequest; i. e., through the use of the phrase *καὶ νῦν* (line 15). It is impossible because of the loss of so much text to determine positively what gifts had been made. There are, however, several possibilities. Not only were the effects of the famine still to be felt in 323/2 B.C., but they were also aggravated probably by the Lamian war, which was raging at this time. The text of lines 14-16 has been reconstructed therefore on the supposition that the bequest of lines 14-15, introduced undoubtedly by the phrase *ἐπειδὴ ὁ δεῖνα* — — — — *πρότερον*, referred to the previous shortage of corn,² and that the other gift alluded to donations made for military funds for the conduct of the war.³

In line 18 only part of the patronymic is preserved;⁴ the ethnic was probably given in an earlier part of the decree, now lost. Geographically it must have been near the Bosporos (line 9).

AN HONORARY DECREE, 318/7 B.C.

8. Two small fragments of Pentelic marble; fragment *a*, preserving only the left side and back, found on April 22, 1937 in the surface fill in Section OA, joins E. M. 2537 (heretofore unpublished); fragment *b*, of which the right side and back are preserved, was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on April 29, 1937. To these fragments must be added still another, published as *I.G.*, II², 535 (here called fragment *c*).

¹ The dates of the famine are determined from *I.G.*, II², 360. See also *I.G.*, II², 398; Ps. Arist., *Oeconomica*, 1352a; Demosthenes, XXXIV, 39 (delivered in 327/6 B.C.; Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit*, III², p. 578); Ps. Plut., *Mor.*, 851 B. Several good examples among Attic decrees of honors voted to donors of great quantities of grain are *I.G.*, II², 400, 401, 499.

² This is made more probable by the reference to the Bosporus in line 9.

³ The phraseology of *I.G.*, II², 351, lines 11-16 is helpful although obviously connected with different circumstances.

⁴ The omission of the ethnic of the person praised is comparatively rare, but good examples of such practice occur: *I.G.*, II², 373, line 23; 467, line 25; 542, line 5; and 652, line 21.

Fragment *a*: Height, 0.141 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.
Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.
Inv. No. I 4772 a.

Fragment *b*: Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.142 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.
Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.
Inv. No. I 4772 b.

All these fragments, with the exception of *I.G.*, II², 535, bear a later inscription of the Roman imperial period.

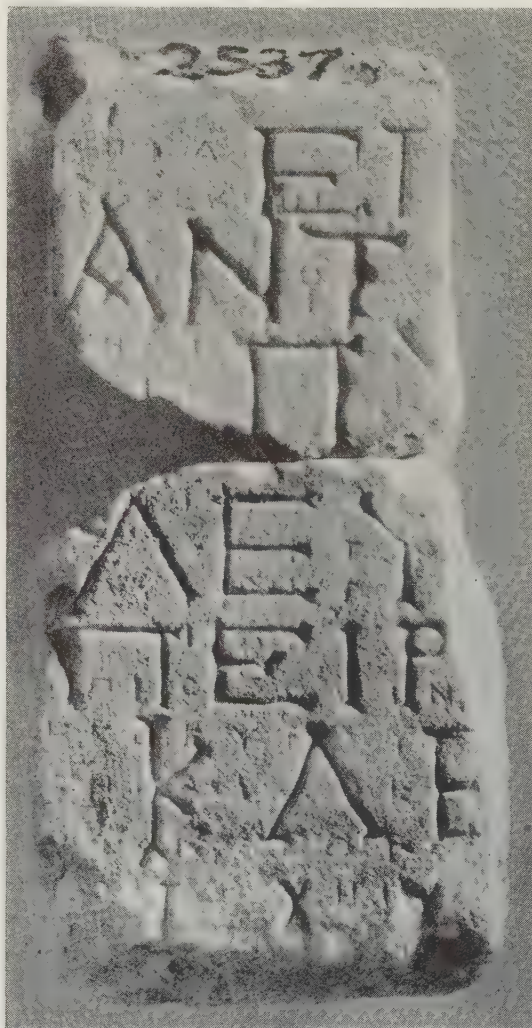
318/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

E.M. 2537

- Ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππ[ου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τ]
ῆς Κεκροπίδ[ος ἑκτης πρυταν^{v v}]
έας [ῆ]ι [Θέ]ρ[σιππος Ἴππο...⁵...]
[.] Κ[ο]λλυτε[ὺς ἐγραμμάτευνε· Γα]
5 μηλι[ῶ]ρος ξ[ναι καὶ νέαι πέμπ]
[τ]ει καὶ δε[κάτει τῆς πρυτανε]
[ίας· ἐκ]κλ[ησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐ]
a [πε]ψήφισ[ε¹⁵.....]
ἔδοξεν τῶ[ι δήμῳι⁸..... Π]
10 [ο]λυκρίτο[ν⁹..... εἶπεν·]
ἐπειδὴ Ἑρμ[ο⁷..... ἐν τῶι ἔ]
[μ]προσσθεν [χρόνῳι διατετέλ]
εκε εὖνον[ς ὧν τῶι δήμῳι τῶι Ἀ]
θηναίων κ[αὶ νῦν¹⁰.....]
15 [Ἀ]θ[η]ναῖον [.....¹⁵.....]
..... ΗΡ[.....¹⁵.....]

Lacuna

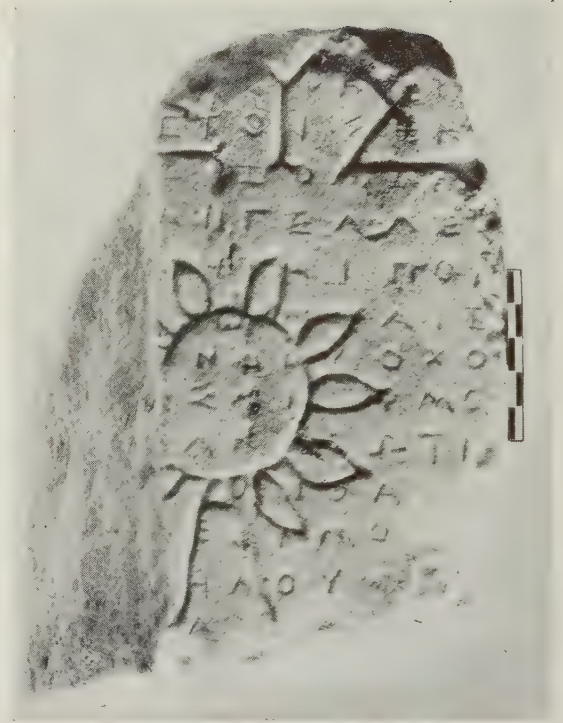


No. 8. E. M. 2537 + Fragment *a*

- b* [.....¹⁸.....]ι[.....]
 [.....¹⁴..... καὶ | χρήσι[μ]
 [ον αὐτὸν παρέσχηκ]ε τοῖς ἐκ[.]
 20 [.....¹³..... κο]μ[ι]ζομεν[.]
 [.....¹³..... ἐπ | ἀνγέλλε[τ]
 [αι¹⁰..... βού]ληται ποε
 [ἰν (?)¹⁴.....]νην [κ]αὶ ε
 [.....¹⁶.....]ν δεδόχθ
 25 [αι τῶι δῆμῳ ἐπαινέ]σαι Ἑρμο
 [.....¹⁴..... Ἑρ]ακ[λ] <ε>ώτη
 [ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐ]τὸν θαλ[λ]
 [οῦ στεφάνῳ· εἶναι δ]ὲ Ἑρμο[. .]
 [.....¹²..... τοῦ δ]ήμον τ[οῦ]
 30 [Ἀθηναίων⁸.....]αν[.....⁵.....]

Lacuna

- c* [-----ε]
 [ἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι τ]
 [ὃ]ν τ[αμίαν τοῦ δήμου Δ δραχμὰ]
 [ς] ἐκ τῶ[ν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ]
 35 ἱσχομέ[ων τῶι δῆμῳ]

No. 8. Fragment *b*

The inscription is dated by the archon Archippos in the year 318/7 B.C. The absence of any mention of the ἀναγραφεὺς in the preamble shows that the Archippos here in question is not the earlier archon of 321/0, and the date 318/7 is confirmed by the fact that the secretary is the same Thersippos whose name appears in *I.G.*, II², 448, line 36. The demotic is here given for the first time, and the restoration in *I.G.*, II², 448 must now be changed to read Θέρσιππος Ἴππο[.....⁶... Κολλυτε] | ύς. The restoration in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 5, line 1 must also be changed, and the demotic Ἀχαρνεύς in *I.G.*, II², 845, line 24 must be eliminated for lack of supporting evidence (cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 138).

It will be observed that after the oligarchy of 321/0–319/8 the secretary cycle was resumed in 318/7 (II) where it was broken off in 322/1 (I). This democratic reform was destined to have short life; there is no evidence for the nature of the secretaryship under Demetrios of Phaleron.¹

This new piece makes it possible to assign still another inscription to the same year. *I.G.*, II², 350 preserves the demotic only of the name of the secretary. It has been assigned to the year 331/0 by Ferguson (*Ath. Secretaries*, p. 40), but since its

¹ Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 498-499.

In the year of Archippos (318/7) the Athenians were in high hopes of recovering Munychia and the Peiraeus, partly through the efforts of Olympias, who was then in Illyria (Diodoros, XVIII, 65, 2 and 74, 1). Their expectations were vain, and finally they decided to come to what terms they could with Cassander (Diodoros, XVIII, 74, 3), but the present decree may have been passed at some stage in the negotiations between Athens and Olympias before Demetrios of Phaleron was appointed ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς πόλεως.

[...⁶... ἐβδόμης πρυτανεί]α[ς ἥι Θ]
[ἐρσιππος Ἴππο...⁶... Κ]ολλυτε[ὺς ἐγ]
[ραμμάτεε· Ἀνθεστ]ηριῶνος ἐ[νάτε]
[ι ἰσταμένου τρίτ]ει καὶ δεκάτ[ει]
5 [τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐ]κκλησία ἐν Δι[ο]
[νύσου· τῶν προέδρ]ων ἐπεβήφιζε[ν]
[.....¹⁸.....]ύς ^v Πολύευκτ[ο]
[ς Σωστράτου Σφήτ]τιος εἶπεν· ἐπ[ε]
[ιδῇ¹⁰..... Ἀ]γῆνος Ἐπιδάμ[ν]
10 [ιος καὶ ...⁶... Ἡγ]ελόχου Ἀπολλ[ω]
[νιάτης εὐνοί]οῖσι[ν τῶι δῆμωι τ[ῶ]
[ι Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐπι]μελοῦνται τ[ῶ]
[ν ἀφικνουμένων Ἀθ]ήνηθεν καὶ π[έ]
[ρυσιν¹⁰.....] ἀνεδέξατο τ[ὸ]
15 [ν πρεσβευτήν (?) πεμφ]θέντα ὑπὸ Ἀπ[ο]
[λλωνιατῶν ἐπὶ τὰς] ναῦς τὰς Ἀθην
[αίων] κτλ.—For the continuation see *I.G.*, II², 350.

¹ The Athenians had been interested in the Adriatic largely as a more certain source of the grain supply (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1629, 13-21; 217-232). The colony sent out under Miltiades in 325 probably helped to cement the friendship between Athens and the Illyrians.

the son of Sostratos, and that in *I.G.*, II², 363, lines 7-8, Sostratos of Sphettos is the father of a man whose name is⁷. . . . tos. Also in *I.G.*, II², 350, Polyuktos is of the deme Sphettos. Therefore in *I.G.*, II², 363, line 7 restore [Πολύενκ]τος, in *I.G.*, II², 368, line 8, restore Σωστρά[του Σφήττιος εἶπεν^v], and in *I.G.*, II², 350, line 8, restore [Σωστράτου].

The calendar problem presented by these three inscriptions of the year 318/7 is difficult and perhaps not to be solved with present evidence. However, the restorations here given represent three equations which indicate an intercalary year, with a second Gamelion rather than a second Posideion, and with the following arrangement of prytanies and months (cf. also Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 375 and 430):

Prytanies		Months	
I	37	30	Hek.
II	38	29	Met.
III	38	30	Boe.
		29	Pyan.
IV	40	Pryt. IV, 35 = 148 = Maim.	30 Maim.
V	39		29 Pos.
VI	40	Pryt. VI, 15 = 207 = Gam.	30 Gam. I
			29 Gam. II
VII	38	Pryt. VII, 13 = 245 = Anth.	9 30 Anth.
VIII	38		30 Ela.
			29 Moun.
IX	38		30 Thar.
X	38		29 Skir.
<hr/>		<hr/>	
384		384	

The reading of line 26 of the new decree found in the Agora is difficult, but the ethnic appears to be Ἑρ[ακλ]<ε>ώτη[ν. Only the vertical stroke of the E was finished. The name of the man may have been either Ἑρμόκλειτος or Ἑρμόστρατος. In Roman imperial times the following inscription was inscribed over the decree of the fourth century B.C.

Ἑρ[ακλ]<ε>ώτη[ν
 Ἀντ[ι]στ[ρα]τος
 Πύ[ρ]ρος
 Λευ[κ]ός
 Πειρ[α]ίης
 Κλε[ύ]τος
 Ἰλά[ρο]ς
 Lacuna
 [-----]εὐς

AN ATHENIAN-SICYONIAN ALLIANCE, 303/2 B.C.

9. A badly preserved inscription, consisting of many small pieces of Hymettian marble found in the course of the excavations between March 18 and March 23, 1935, on the road level in Section Ξ. Measurements of only the largest fragments will be given. For convenience a table of fragments is here appended:

D = 2636 m	G = 2636 e	J = 2636 k
E = 2636 b	H = 2636 h	K = 2636 f
F = 2636 l	I = 2636 g	L = 2636 j

Frag. A: Height, 0.270 m.; width, 0.257 m.; thickness, 0.098 m.
Height of letters, 0.005 m.
Inv. No. I 2636 a.

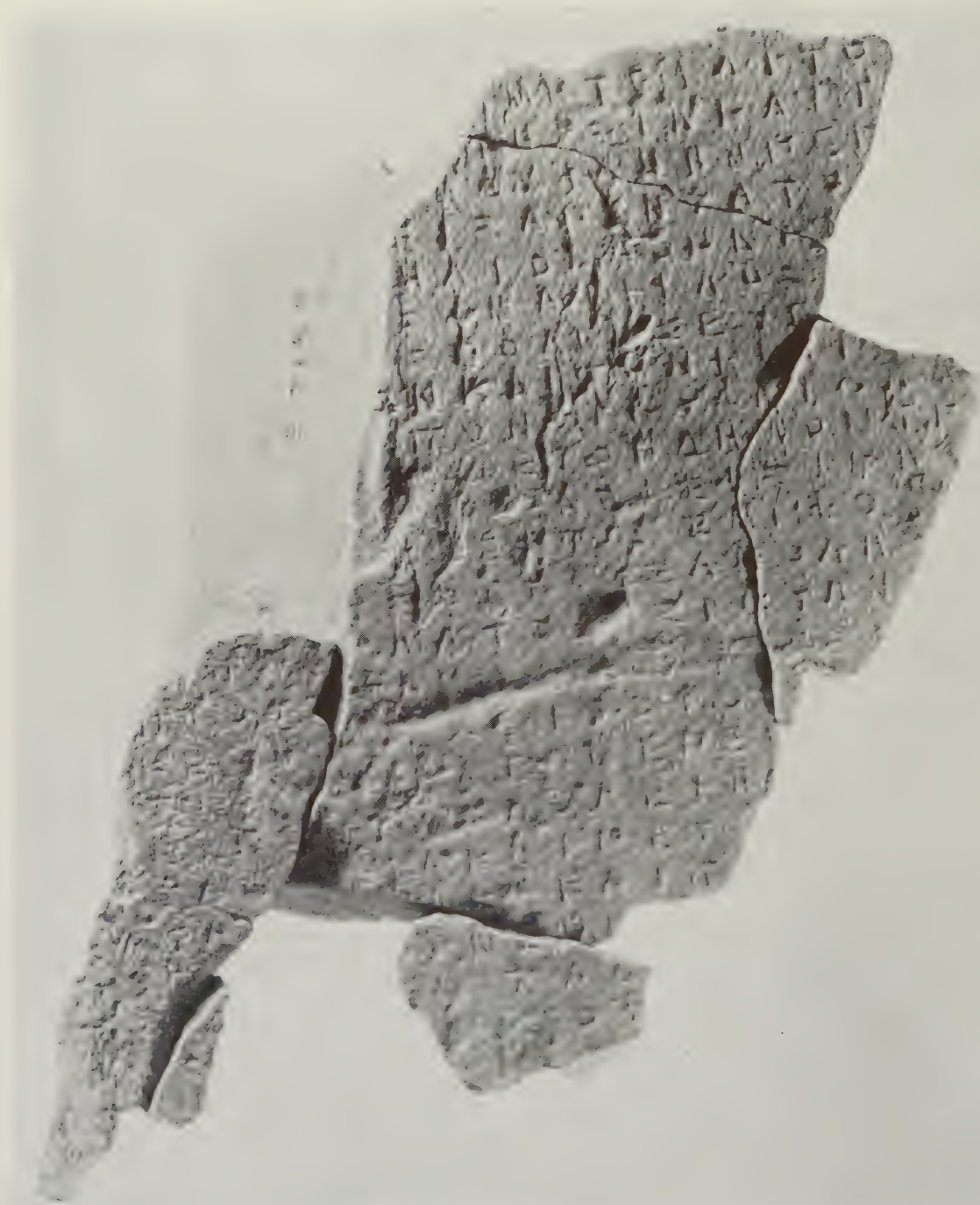
Frag. B: Height, 0.190 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.053 m.
Inv. No. I 2636 d.

Frag. C: Height, 0.152 m.; width, 0.062 m.
Inv. No. I 2636 c.

A 303/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

- [.....¹⁸.....] ξ / [.....³⁰.....]
 [.....¹¹..... Δ] ημητρίῳ του [.....²⁷.....]
 [.....⁶..... τοῖς Σω] τήρσιν καὶ γ [.....²⁸.....]
 [.....⁵..... τὴν συμ] μαχίαν ἥνπερ [ἐποίησαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τοὺς]
 5 [Σικωνίους] εἰς ἅπ[α]ντα τὸ [ν χρόνον ὃ δὲ ὄρκος ἔστω κατὰ τὰδε· ὁ]
 [μνύω· Δία, Γῆν], ἥλιον, Ἀθηνᾶν [Ἀρείαν, Ποσειδῶ, Ἄρη, καὶ θεοὺς πάντα]
 [ς καὶ πάσας· ἔ] σομαι φίλος [καὶ σύμμαχος¹⁹.....]
 [.....⁸..... τῇ]ς πόλε[ω]ς εὐγ[.....²¹..... τὸν δῆμον τ]
 [ὃν Σικωνί(?)]ων καὶ τ[ῇ]ν φιλί[αν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν προτέραν ε]
 10 [ἰς τὸν δῆμο]ν τὸν Σικωνίων δ[ιαφυλάζω ?¹⁹.....]
 [..... ἐλέσθα]ι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τρ[εῖς ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ο]
 [ἵτινες ἀφικό]μενοι εἰς Σικων[ίους²².....]
 [.....¹¹.....] ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσ[θεν χρόνῳ¹⁹.....]
 [.....⁶..... το]ὺς ὄρκους ἀπολήψ[ονται παρὰ τῶν Σικωνίων⁷.....]
 15 [.....⁵.....] τὰ ἄλλα το[ῖ]ς Σικων[ίοις²⁵.....]
 [.....]ν τοὺς ταμί[ας] .ε.μ...ε[.....⁵..... τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πα]
 [ρασ(?)]κενήν [κ]εχειροτονημένον³¹.....]
 [.....]τι[.....] γὰρ ἔπει[δὲ³¹.....]
 [.....]ειπ[.....]ι [κ]αθὰ ἐψη[φισ³¹.....]
 20 [.....]ατας [.....]κα καὶ πε[.....³⁴.....]



No. 9. Fragment A

¹⁴.....]ιον [-----]
¹³.....]οαν [-----]
¹².....]τεο [-----]
¹².....]ολ [-----]
¹¹.....]λον [-----]
¹¹.....]φεν [γ-----]
¹⁰.....]ομε [-----]
 τοῦ δῆμον τοῦ Ἀθηναίων [-----]
⁷.....]ξδ(?) οξεν [-----]
⁸.....]ονα εν [-----]
⁶.....]Xο]λαργ [-----]
⁷.....]τιχα [-----]

F]ο [-----]
]λ [-----]
]ο [-----]
]ε [-----]
]να [-----]
]ιξ [-----]
 ...]νμ. [-----]
 ..]ρσι [-----]
 ..]ους [-----]
 .]ινο [-----]

G [-----]α [-----]
 [-----]ντ [-----]
 [-----]οις [-----]
 [-----]εν [-----]
 [-----]οσοτ [-----]
 [-----]αιπ [-----]
 [-----]ρν [-----]
 [-----]ω [-----]

H [-----]ον [-----]
 [-----]δη [-----]
 [-----]ηλ [-----]
 [-----]σ [-----]
 [-----]ρ [-----]

I [-----]δεδ]όχθαι [-----]
 [-----]Σικ[ωνι [-----]

J [-----]ι [-----]
 [-----]σ [-----]
 [-----]ν [-----]
 [-----]ον [-----]
 [-----]πε [-----]

K [-----]ιδι [-----]
 [-----]αν [-----]
 [-----]αι [-----]
 [-----]νο [-----]
 [-----]μ [-----]
 [-----]ν [-----]

L .]εααο|
 τω |ι δῆμ|ωι
 ..]ιωις|
 ...]σα[

The inscription can be dated on purely epigraphical grounds with considerable certainty at the close of the fourth century B.C. Distinguished for its slovenliness in arrangement and lack of precision in engraving the letters, the hand of the lapidary is easily recognizable and falls in that period when there seems to have been a dearth of good stone-cutters. The various styles of letter-cutting declined noticeably in the years when Demetrios of Phaleron had control over Athens. Many single observations might be made about this hand: e. g., the letters are very loose-jointed, especially E and Σ, the letter P is shaped like an E without the lowest horizontal stroke and Φ becomes in most cases merely a cross (the



No. 9. Fragment B

vast majority of the examples of this kind of Φ occur in the period 310-300; cf., *I.G.*, II², 457, 470, 478, 497, 505, 506, 556, 577). In general appearance this decree resembles very closely *I.G.*, II², 497 (303/2) and 504 (302/1).

COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

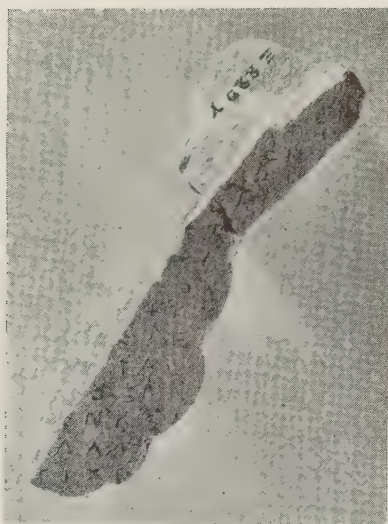
Line 2: Considered in the light of the reading Σω]τῆρσιν in line 3, the name Δ]ημητρίῳ can refer only to Demetrios Poliorketes. Following directly upon the heels of his victorious entry into Athens, the Athenians in 307 B.C., on a motion of Stratocles, voted extraordinary honors to Antigonos and Demetrios. Golden statues were to be erected near those of the Tyrannicides, gold crowns worth two hundred talents were presented to them, and they were hailed as Saviour Gods (Diod., XX, 46, 2; Plut., *Demetrius*, X, 3; *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, VI, p. 497).

Lines 6-7: The oath is a significant feature of every Greek alliance. The form of oath used in this alliance was peculiar to the latter half of the fourth century and to the third century B.C., and is not found in treaties (Attic) prior to the year 356/5 (*I.G.*, II², 127). Recently the oath has been restored in this form in the decree concerning Philip's League of Corinth (Schwahn, *Klio*, Beiheft XXI, 1930, pp. 36 ff.), and most of the known Attic treaties involving the several leagues popularized this form, for it is to be found everywhere thereafter.¹



No. 9. Fragment C

¹ Cf. the Aetolian-Boeotian Alliance, *I.G.*, IX², 170, most recently discussed by Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 57 ff.; compare also the constituent act of the League of Corinth, 302 B.C., *I.G.*, IV², 68 and *I.G.*, II², 686, 687.



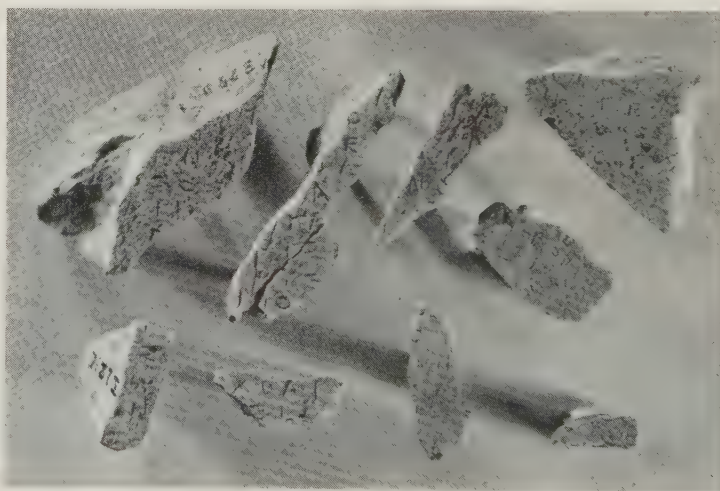
No. 9. Fragment E

Line 11: To judge from this passage the Demos of the Sicyonians had been re-established. It is doubtful if it had been existent under Cratesipolis (313-309) or Ptolemy I (309-303).¹ After it was captured from Ptolemy by Demetrios in 303 (Polyaenus, *Strat.*, 4, 7, 3), the democratic form of government was restored. Demetrios is said to have changed its name to Demetrias (Diod., XX, 102, 2-3; Plut., *Demetrius*, 15 25), yet the new name does not appear in this text. It may be that it had already passed out of existence (for Diodoros says that it did not last long); or perhaps it was not used in official documents. Both these suppositions seem unlikely since Demetrios was at his peak of power and no state would have disregarded his will. Rather, it may be that the name "Demos of the Sicyonians" (line 10) continued in official use

beside the new name for the city. The name of the city itself does not actually occur in the text, only the ethnic derived from it.

Line 26: There is enough uninscribed space before the N to determine that the original margin existed there.

Lines 43-47: The formulae of these lines are the strongest reason for creating a *stoichedon* line of 50 letters. All known Attic treaties were set up on the Acropolis, and in all probability the present alliance contained a phrase in lines 44-45 providing that the stele be erected on the Acropolis. For the formula compare Thucydides, V, 23; *I.G.*, II², 43, lines 65-66.



No. 9. Fragments D, F-L

This alliance, as the commentary shows, had been contracted under the aegis, so to speak, of Demetrios. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the fact that Ptolemy Soter is known to have occupied Sicyon with troops until 303, for no treaty would

¹ Diod., XIX, 67, 2; XX, 37, 1-2.

have been possible between Athens and Sicyon before that date. It is unlikely that an alliance would have been contracted in the period 294-289/8 B.C., when Demetrios again had control over Central Greece, including Athens and Sicyon. On his return to power Demetrios had altered drastically his policy toward his Greek subjects: "the days of free alliance were over, and henceforth he (Demetrios) would act like Cassander."¹ His garrisons occupied Athens and Sicyon; Munychia as well as Corinth were his chief fortresses in Greece. When all Greece was safely in his grasp and he was guiding the foreign policies of the cities under his control there was no need of alliances.

The most suitable period for the contraction of the alliance is in the year 303/2 B.C. In a whirlwind campaign Demetrios had captured Sicyon and Corinth. The League of Corinth had been founded once more and Demetrios hailed as the "Leader of Greece" (*ἡγεμὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*; Plut., *Demetrius*, 25, 4). Independence and autonomy were not regarded as inconsistent with the compulsion to become members of this new league, and states made voluntary alliances, preparatory to becoming members. Presumably, the constituent members first made inter-state alliances, containing all the necessary guarantees, concessions, and oaths for the allaying of national fears and prejudices. The well-known Epidaurian inscription, an alliance in its form, records the names of a group of Peloponnesian states, including the Eleans, Achaeans, and six or seven other cities, which had entered the league. In it there is a provision which implies that the members of the league could or should make inter-state alliances.² The Peloponnesian cities whose names are recorded in this document probably had made such preliminary pacts. That there are so few names in the text has occasioned discussion. The explanation may be that these cities, gravitating naturally together, had made binding alliances, and therefore only their names were included in that particular copy of the constitutive act. Similarly, other states would have made alliances and their names too would have been inscribed on still other copies of the act.³ The present inscription is probably to be regarded either as a pact preliminary to entrance into the League, or at least as a treaty contracted under the tutelage of Antigonos and Demetrios.⁴ This inscription and the Epidaurian document form a unique group, and add greatly to our scanty knowledge of the important historical events which happened in the years 303/2 B.C.

¹ *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, VI, p. 79; cf. also Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, IV², 1, pp. 223-224.

² The following phrase which is an important feature of almost every alliance signifies that the several parties to the alliance should make formal treaties of friendship with mutual friends and allies: *ὥστε καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοις*; cf. *I.G.*, IV², 68, I, line 10. Cf. Tarn, "The Constitutive Act of Demetrius' League of 303," *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 198-206.

³ See Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, 5th Ser., XVII, 1923, p. 137; Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, XX, 1925, p. 315.

⁴ The reference to *Σω]τῆρων* in line 3 in the plural presupposes a date before the battle of Ipsus and the defection of Athens from Demetrios as a result of that defeat.

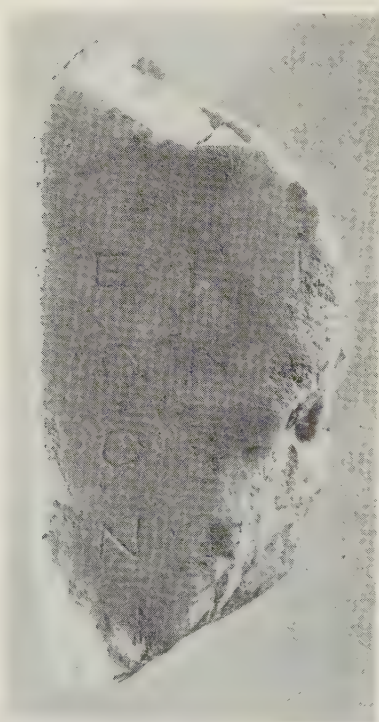
FRAGMENTARY PRESCRIPT OF A DECREE, 288/7 B.C.

10. Fragment of Pentelic marble of which only the left side is preserved, otherwise broken all around, found on May 2, 1935 in black fill in Section II.

Height, 0.110 m.; width, 0.055 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2841.



No. 10

288/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

Ἐπὶ [Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λε]
ων[τίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανείας ἥι Ξεν]
οφ[ῶν Νικέου Ἀλαιοὺς ἐγγραμμάτευε]
ν· Ἀ[νθεστηριῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐ]
5 ν[άτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας]

The decree of which the above fragment is part was passed on the same day and in the same assembly as the text of *I.G.*, II², 651. This identification enables us to restore the name of the prytanizing tribe in lines 3-4 of *I.G.*, II², 651, of which I quote lines 3-8 for purposes of comparison:

[Ἐπὶ Διοκ]λέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Λ]
[εωντίδο]ς ὀγδόης πρυτανείας ἥι [Ξ]
5 [ενοφῶν Ν]ικέου Ἀλαιοὺς ἐγγραμμά[τ]
[ευεν· Ἀνθ]εστηριῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δ
[έκα, ἐνάτ]ῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτα
[νείας κτλ.]

A DECREE IN HONOR OF ARISTOMENES OF PAEANIA

11. A small fragment of Hymettian marble of which only the right side is preserved; it was found on May 15, 1937 in the débris of a large monument in the Great Drain of Section Z.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

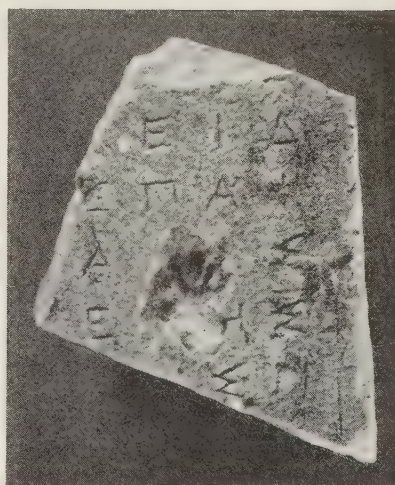
Inv. No. I 4848.

This fragment is part of the stele on which *I.G.*, II², 691, also very badly preserved, was engraved.

A

Early third Cent. B.C. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

- [.....¹⁹.....]α
 [.....⁸..... ἀγαθεῖ τυ]χει δ
 [εδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευῖ] ἐπαι
 [νέσαι Ἀριστομένην] Ἀ[ρ]ισ
 5 [τ.....⁵..... Παιανία ἀρ]ε[τ]ῆς
 [ἐνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης] ἡ
 [ν ἔχων διετέλεσεν περὶ] τ
 [ἡν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον]



No. 11. Fragment A

I.G., II², 691

B

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>[-----]εἰς τὴν πρώτ]
 [ην] ἐκκλησ[ίαν χρηματίσα]
 ι περὶ τούτ[ων, γνώμην δὲ ξ]
 υμβάλλεσθα[ι τῆς βουλῆς]
 5 εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅ[τι δοκεῖ τ]
 εἰ βουλευῖ ἐπα[ινέσαι Ἀρι]
 στομένην Ἀρ[ι]στ[.....⁵..... Πα]
 ιανία ἀρετῆς ἔ[νεκα καὶ]
 δικαιοσύνης [ἡ]ν [ἔχων διε]</p> | <p>10 τέλεσεν περὶ τῇ[ν βουλὴν]
 καὶ τὸν δῆμο[ν καὶ στεφαν]
 ῶσαι αὐτὸν [χρυσῶι στεφά]
 νωι κατ[ὰ τὸν νόμον· ὅπως δ']
 αὖν ἐ[.....¹⁶.....τ]
 15 ἥς πόλε[ως.....¹².....]
 ἔχειν [.....¹⁵.....]
 ς νομ[.....¹⁶.....]
 ον[-----]
 τ[-----]</p> |
|--|---|

The two above decrees were passed respectively by Council alone and by the Demos in honor of Aristomenes of Paeania. In fragment A, lines 2-3 the significant phrase is *δεδοχθαι τεῖ βουλευῖ* followed immediately by the verb *ἐπαινέσαι*, which introduces the purpose of the bill. It is thus recognized at once as a *probouleuma* or decree of the Council, of which there are two types: the one authorizes the *proedroi* or committee on legislation to introduce a bill to the public assembly for final ratification, and the other is an independent administrative order, effective only for the duration of the conciliar year, which required the ratification of the assembly to become a permanent decree. *I.G.*, II², 691, however, is a full-fledged decree passed by the Council and Demos. There is no better example of the relationship that existed between these two decrees than *I.G.*, II², 330, which consists of three short decrees in honor of Phyleus, the state-hieropoios. Decree number one, passed by the Demos in honor of Phyleus, and granting him a gold crown since he had passed his *euthynae*, is the

latest, dating as it does in the third prytany of 335/4. Decree number two, passed by the Council in the ninth prytany of 336/5, the year of Phyleus' office, granted him a gold crown, providing he passed his euthynae, and authorizes the introduction of the bill to the Demos. Decree number three, passed in the tenth prytany of 336/5 by the Council and Demos, is the ratification of the probouleuma. The new Agora piece (fragment A) is like Decree number two of *I.G.*, II², 330, and *I.G.*, II², 691 is like Decree number three. The following passage from Decree two will illustrate very well how the Agora fragment continued:

- [-----δεδό]
 [χθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἐ]παιν[έσαι Φυλέα Πανσανίου Οἰναῖον ἀρετῇ]
 40 [ς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης [τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸ]
 [ν Ἀθην]αίων [κ]αὶ στεφανῶσα[ι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ Χ δρα]
 [χμῶ]ν ἐπειδὴ τὰς εὐθύνας [δῶι· ὅπως δ' αὖ καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν τιμ]
 [ήσ]ηι τοὺς προέδρους οἱ αὖ λ[άχωσι προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρώτ]
 [ην] ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι π[ερὶ αὐτοῦ, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθ]
 45 [αι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον[ν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ εἶναι αὐτῶ]
 [ι ε]ὑρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δῆμον ἀγ[αθὸν ὅτι αὖ δύνηται]

With regard to the phrase ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης it may be said that most usually it is employed in formulae honoring those who have served the state in some official capacity either secular or religious. Since both *I.G.*, II², 691 and Inv. No. I 4848 use this phrase, it may be assumed that Aristomenes had been a state official or priest.¹

A FRAGMENTARY DECREE

12. Two non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble; fragment *a*, found on March 3, 1936 in Section IIΘ preserves only the left side; fragment *b*, broken all around, was found on April 6, 1935 in the foundation of a house in section B.

Fragment *a*: Height, 0.061 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.017 m.
 Height of letters, 0.005 m.
 Inv. No. I 3687.

Fragment *b*: Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.031 m.
 Height of letters, 0.005 m.
 Inv. No. I 2701.

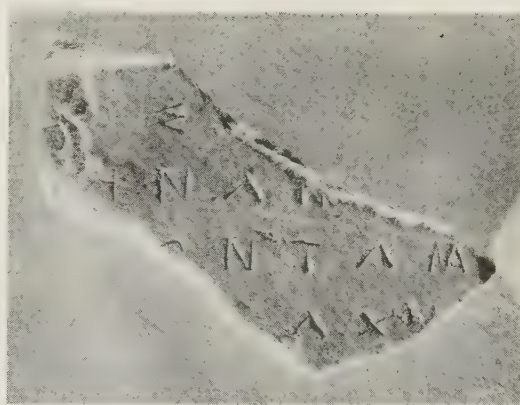
¹ See, for example, *I.G.*, II², 223, 338, 354. A few isolated examples are to be found where no official relationship is easily detectable. But even these cases if examined closely reveal some remote connection with the state; e. g., *I.G.*, II², 347 in honor of the poet Anphis, who took part in the Dionysiac festival.

Ca. 229 B.C.

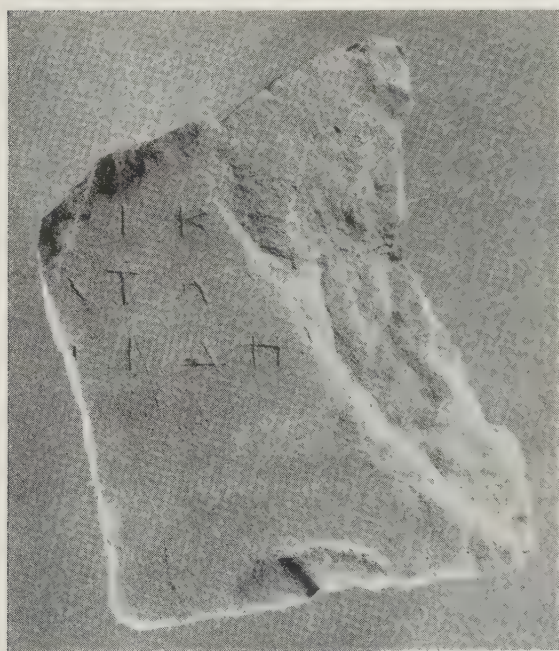
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

[----- ἀνα]
 [γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρ]
 [αμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν]
 a [σ]τ[ήλει λιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι ἔμπρ]
 5 οσ[θεν¹⁵ εἰς δὲ τ]
 ἦν ἀν[αγραφὴν τῆς στῆλης δ]ο[ῦναι] b
 [τ]ὸν ταμ[ίαν τῶν στρατιωτ]ικ[ῶν. .]
 [.δ]ραχμ[ὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κ]ατὰ ψ[ηφι]
 [σματα ἀναλισκομένων τ]ῶι δῆ[μωι]

vacat



No. 12. Fragment a



No. 12. Fragment b

Epigraphic considerations necessitate a date about the beginning of the last quarter of the third century B.C. Significant, also, with regard to the date of the document is the provision (lines 5-9) that the expense of engraving the decree was to be paid by the treasurer of military funds from the regular fund voted by the Demos (ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δῆμωι; cf. also *I.G.*, II², 806, 809). This treasurer began to pay regularly about 229 B.C. the sums needed for inscribing the decrees (with the exception of decrees concerning the prytaneis), sometimes in conjunction with the plural board (οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει).¹ After ἔμπρ]οσ[θεν there are fifteen letter-spaces in which either τοῦ βουλευτηρίου or τῆς τοῦ Διὸς στοᾶς can be restored.

A FRAGMENTARY LIST OF OFFICIALS

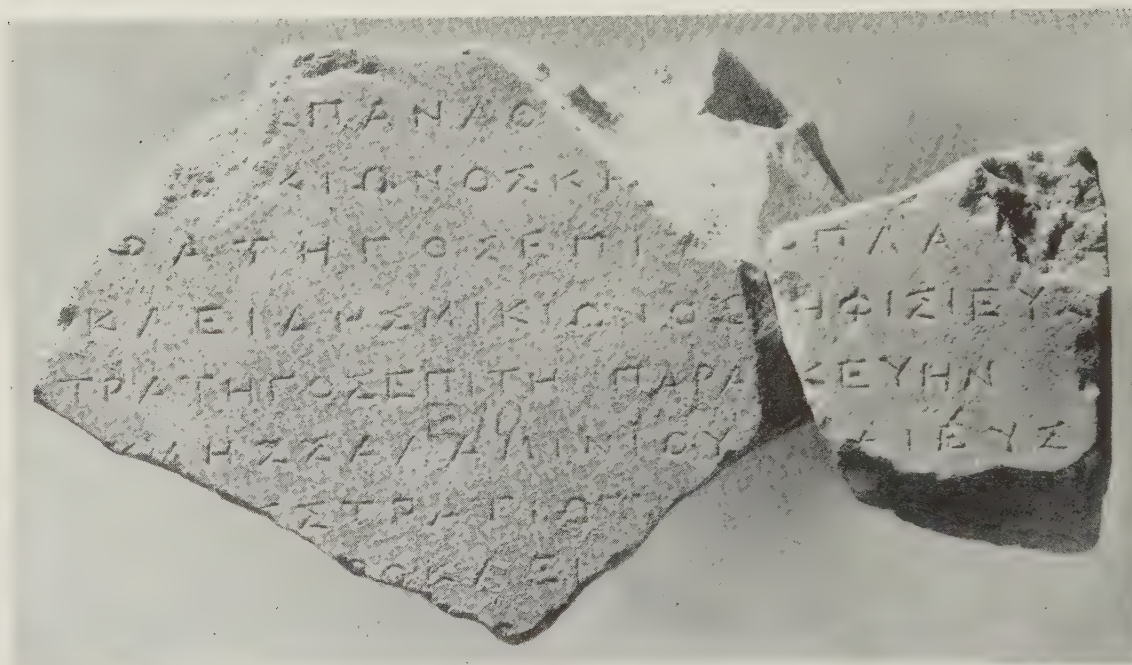
13. Fragment of Hymettian marble of which the right side is preserved, slightly beveled along the front edge, found on April 1, 1936, in Section Σ; it joins *I.G.*, II², 1705.

¹ See Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 12-13. For a convenient summary of the history of this official consult Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 159, note 1, pp. 203-204; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsk.*, pp. 1145-1146.

Height, 0.124 m.; width, 0.099 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3951.



No. 13

[-----]ΔΙΟΥ[.] [-----]
 [ἀγωνοθέτης] Παναθη[ναίων]
 [Μικίων Μι]κίωνος Κη[φισιεύς]
 [σ]τρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τ[ὰ] ὅπλα
 5 [Εὐρυ]κλείδης Μικίωνος [Κ]ηφισιεύς
 [σ]τρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρα[σ]κευήν
 [-----]κλῆς Σαλαμινίου [Ἄλ]λαιεύς
 [ταμία]ς στρατιωτι[κῶν]
 [-----]ροκλείδ[ου] [-----]
 10 [-----]ον[-----]

The new fragment confirms to a large extent the restorations already inserted in *I.G.*, II², 1705. In line 4, although the office of the general remains unchanged, the qualifying phrase ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας is replaced by its more frequent alternative ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. Eurykleides of Kephisia seems to have held this strategia more than

once; he was honored in this capacity by the soldiers stationed at Sounion.¹ The στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν held an office not wholly military. He served regularly in a civil capacity on boards supervizing the reconstruction and erection of public and religious buildings (cf. *I.G.*, II², 839-842). The demotic in line 7 seems to be [Ἀλ]αῖεύς. There is room for two letters before the Α; although the inscription is not inscribed *stoichedon*, the letters are spaced with a certain uniformity.

EUGENE SCHWEIGERT

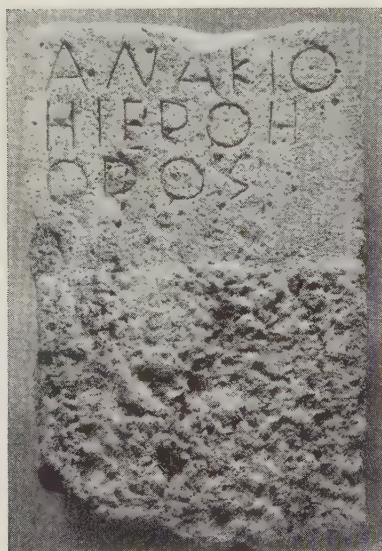
¹ *I.G.*, II², 1300, lines 17-23 (date *ca.* 230 B.C.):

Ἀθηναίων οἱ τετα
γμένοι ἐπὶ Σου
νίου τὸν στρατη
γὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς
ὀπλίτας Εὐρυκλεί
δην Μικίωνος
Κηφισιέα

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (14-27)

BOUNDARY OF THE ANAKEION

14. Boundary marker of poros, found on Nov. 19, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section O. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 41.



No. 14

Height, 0.60 m.; width, 0.38 m.;
thickness, 0.22 m.
Height of letters, 0.055 m.-0.06 m.
Inv. No. I 2080.

ca. 450 B.C.

Ἀνακίο
ἱερὸν ἡ
ὄρος

The approximate date of the inscription is determined by the forms of the letters, especially nu, kappa with short diagonal strokes, rho with tail-stroke, and sigma with three bars. For the site of the Anakeion see Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 304. The form Ἀνάκιον is epigraphically attested at Athens in the fourth-century records of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods (*I.G.*, II², 1400, line 44: *τάδε ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνακίου*).

A CHOREGIC DEDICATION

15. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, and with the surface much weathered, found on March 30, 1934 in a modern wall in Section A.

Height, 0.237 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness, 0.104 m.
Height of letters, 0.016 m.
Inv. No. I 1740.

The inscription is stoichedon. Two lines occupy a vertical space of 0.07 m., and four letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal span of 0.12 m.

ca. 440 B.C.

[Ἀκα]μαντῖς ^v [ἐνίκα]
[Λέα]γρος ^{v v} [ἐχορέγε]
[Παντ]ακλῆς ^v [ἐδίδασκε]

vacat



No. 15

The restorations proposed above as [Ἀκα]μαντῖς and [Λέα]γρος seem certain, for Leagros is known to have belonged to the deme Kerameikos of the tribe Akamantis. It is my suggestion that the monument was erected by the victorious choregos, Leagros, and that the name which followed his upon the stone was that of the poet with whose composition the victory was won. The verbs ἐνίκα, ἐχορέγε, and ἐδίδασκε must therefore be supplied to the right of the uninscribed spaces upon the stone after the names.

It should be noticed that this simple form of dedication is that which Plutarch records in his *Life of Aristides* (§ 1) for a choregic monument which Demetrios of Phaleron thought to have been erected by Aristeides, son of Lysimachos, naming him as the choregos and Archestratos as the poet. Panaitios claimed that Demetrios was wrong in his attribution because of the Ionic letters of the dedication and because no one had recorded a poet named Archestratos in the time of the Persian wars, though many had recorded the poet Archestratos from the time of the Peloponnesian war (Plutarch, *Aristides*, § 1). The inscription has been assigned, accordingly, to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, II², 3027) and in its epigraphic form probably appeared as follows:

Ἀντιοχῖς ἐνίκα
Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγε
Ἀρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε.

This general form was characteristic of the years when the tribe, not the choregos, was thought of as the victor and in its simple arrangement belongs to the fifth century.

The interpretation of this monument as a choregic dedication gains support from

the probable restoration [Παντ]ακλῆς as the name of the poet. He appears on a choregic monument of the fifth century now published as *I.G.*, I², 771, and is named by Antiphon in his speech *περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ* (§ 11) as didaskalos in still another choregic contest.¹ Inasmuch as the date of this speech of Antiphon has now been fixed by the evidence of the calendar equations between conciliar and civil years as 419 B.C.,² it follows that Pantakles had been didaskalos in the preceding year 420/19 B.C.³

The date of *I.G.*, I², 771 must be put on the basis of letter forms (sigma with four bars) probably later than 446 B.C. The letter forms of the present text, particularly the nu and the tailed rho, indicate a date for the choregia of Leagros in the early part of this career of Pantakles, and I have suggested a date for the inscription *ca.* 440 B.C. Leagros himself must have been at that time a relatively young man, for he is to be identified as the brother-in-law of Kallias (*P.A.*, 9029) and not as the Leagros who was a contemporary of Themistokles (*P.A.*, 9028).

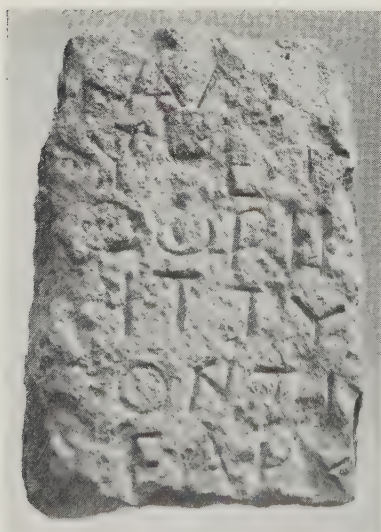
BOUNDARY MARKER

16. Part of a boundary stone of poros, broken below, behind, and at the left, found on October 13, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section O.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.186 m.; thickness, 0.244 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.–0.031 m.

Inv. No. I 2045.



No. 16

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Δεῦρε Ἀ]καμ[α]
[ντὶς φ]υλὲ τ
[ελευτᾶι] Θορικ
[ῖον δὲ τ]ριττύ
5 [ς · ἡιππο]θοντὶ
[ς δὲ φυ]λὲ ἄρχ
[εται -----]

¹ For Pantakles, see Harpocration, *s. v.* διδάσκαλος: --- Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ “ἐλαχον,” φησί, “Παντακλῆα διδάσκαλον.” ὅτι γὰρ ὁ Παντακλῆς ποιητῆς, δεδήλωκεν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις. See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, pp. 46-47.

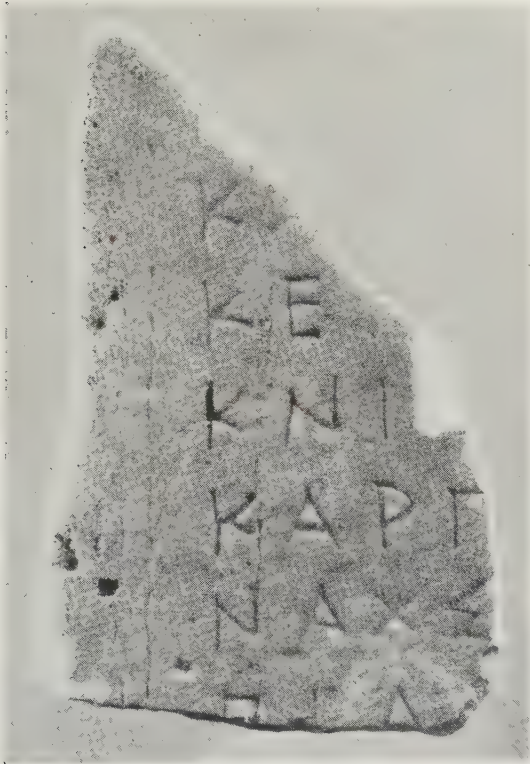
² Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 121-122; *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 174.

³ Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I², p. 195.

The inscription is of the type of *I.G.*, I², 900, and names the "Coastal Riding" of the tribe Akamantis. All three ridings of this tribe are now known. See Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, p. 175, and Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, pp. 883-887.

FRAGMENTS OF THE QUOTA LISTS (Nos. 17-20)

17. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 21, 1937 near the surface of Section OA.



No. 17

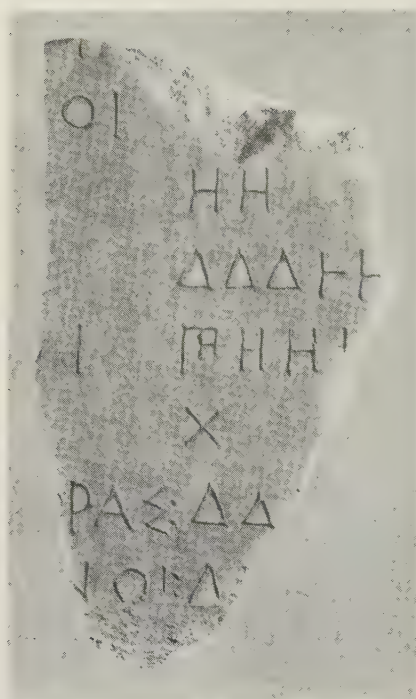
Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4903.

[Η]ΙΙΙ	Πεδιᾶς ἐλ Λίνδοι
[Δ]ΓΗΙΙΙ	Καρπάθιοι
[Η]Α	Κεράμιοι
[ΗΗ]Η	Κνί[δ]ιοι
[ΔΓ]ΗΙΙΙ	Καρπάθο Ἀρκέσει(α)
[Γ]Η[ΗΙ]	Ναχσ[ι]έται
---	Πλαδ[ασέ]ς

This fragment preserves parts of the names from the tribute-quota list *S.E.G.*, V, 12 (Col. IV, lines 18-24). It must have been broken away from the original fragment 91 of *I.G.*, I, 237. Much of the contact surface between the two stones has been lost, because fragment 91 suffered still further damage between the dates of its publication by Rangabé (*Ant. Hell.*, I, 1842, no. 161) and Koehler (*Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, 1869, Plate V, no. 76). The complete reading of the names is given in the above transcript with one suggested change in the text of the last line. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 58.



No. 18

18. Fragment of Pentelic marble found on May 18, 1937 in the road near the entrance to the Acropolis.

Height, 0.177 m.; width, 0.098 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4910.

This fragment belongs with Cols. IV and V of *S.E.G.*, V, 20, the tribute-quota list of 435/4 B.C. (lines 22-29). It has been broken from the original stone as first published, and until now lost. Its re-discovery confirms the established text, and adds the mark of punctuation after [Λα]μψακενοί in Col. IV, line 29. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 85.

19. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with right side and back preserved, found on February 15, 1938 in the wall of a Turkish pit in Section II.

Height, 0.305 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.147 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5229.

This fragment belongs to the tribute-quota list of 430/29 B.C. and joins two already known fragments. The text is reproduced here as it appears in Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 149 (Col. III, lines 36-44).

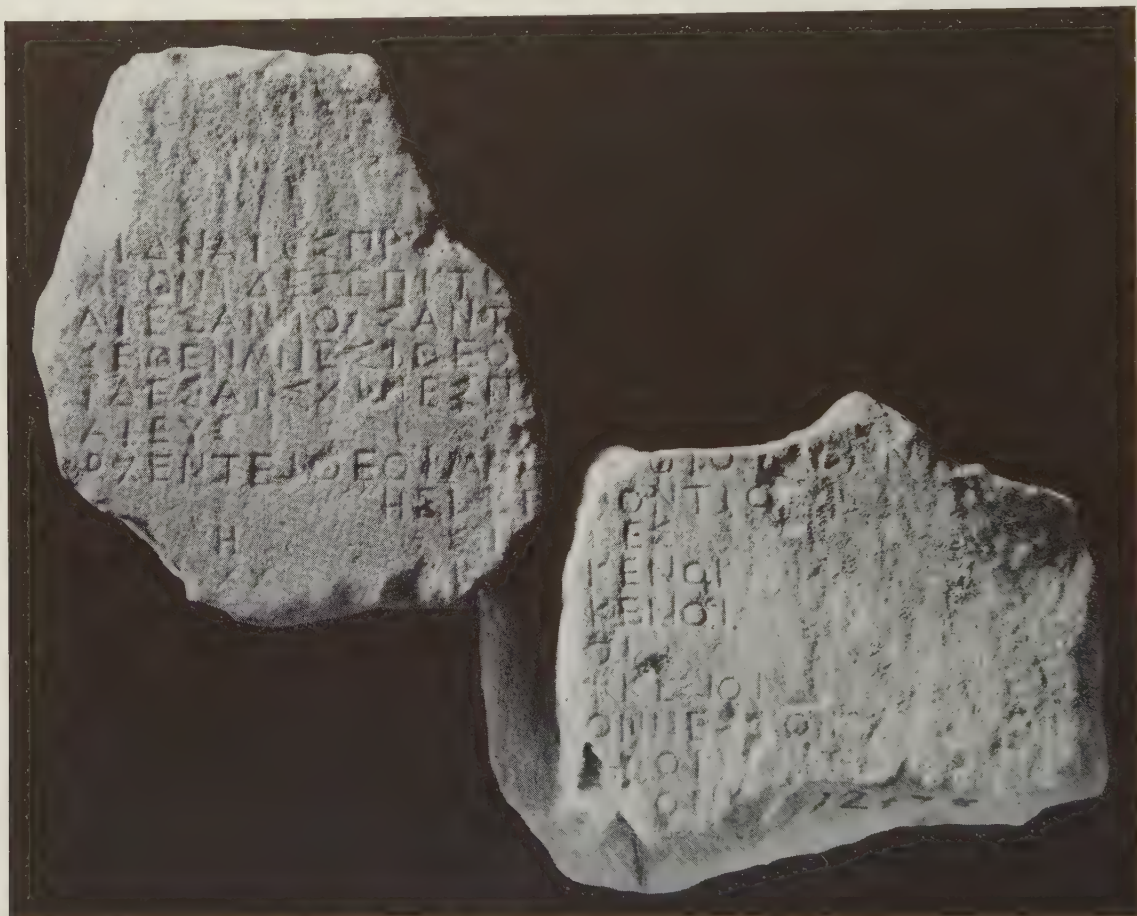
-----	[Νεάπολι]ς
-----	[Νε]άνδ[ρ]εα
-----	Ἀρισβα[ῖοι]
-----	Πρίαπος
40	<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>
	[μισθὸν ἐτέ]λεσαν haίδε ἄ[πὸ] τῷ
	[ἡε]λλ[εσποντί]ο φόρο
[Δ]Γ	[Καλχεδ]όγιοι
	etc.

20. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the original top and back (?) preserved, found on April 27, 1937 in a disturbed fill in Section OA.

Height, 0.208 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4809.



No. 20. Agora Inv. No. I 4809 + E. M. 12798

The inscription is easily recognizable as one of the tribute-quota lists, and soon after its discovery it was found to make a direct join with another piece (E.M. 12798) recently published by Broneer.¹ With these two pieces, though not making a join with either, is to be associated a third fragment long known and now published by Broneer from the text as given in *S.E.G.*, V, 30 (*I.G.*, I², 223).

There are thus recovered three fragments of one of the separate yearly lists of quota from the period after the assessment of 425 B.C. The new stone helps greatly

¹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 154-157, with a photograph on p. 155.

in establishing the text, and the high quotas of the Hellespontine district give clear evidence of the scale of the assessment. The following restoration is proposed:

Quota-List of 422/1 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

[Ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεὶ Πρέπης Ἀ]φιδναῖος πρῶτ[ος ἐγραμμάτευε· ἔρχε]
 [δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Ἀλκαῖος Σκ]αμβονίδες· ἐπὶ τῇ[ς τρίτες καὶ τρια^{v v}]
 [κοστῆς ἀρχῆς· ἔλλενοταμί]αι ἔσαν ἡοῖς Ἀντ[.....¹⁶.....]
 [.....¹⁶..... Περγ]ασέθεν, Μνεσίθεο[ς Ἀραφένιος,⁶...]
 5 [.....¹⁶..... Εὐπυ]ρίδες, Αἰσχίνες Π[εριθοίδες,⁷...] 5
 [Θυμαιτ]άδε[ς,¹¹.....] αἰεύς *vacat*
 [πόλεις ἡ]αῖδε [ἀπέδοσαν ἀπα]ρχὲν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶ[ν ἀπ]ὸ τῷ ταλάντ[ο^{v v}]

	Νεσιοτ[ικός]		ἡελλε[σ]πόντιο[ς]	
	----- Ἀναφ[αῖοι]	Η	Σι[γε]ῖς	
10	----- Θερα[ῖοι]	XX	Κυ[ζι]κενοί	10
	----- Σερίφ[ιοι]	ⲘⲘ [Ⲡⲏⲓⲓⲓ]	[Ἀρτα]κενοί	
	----- Ἰῆτα[ι]	-----	[Κιαν]οί	
	----- Τένιο[ι]	-----	[Βυσβ]ικενοί	
	----- Σίφνιο[ι]	-----	[Προκ]οννέσιοι	
15	----- Ἀνδριο[ι]	-----	[Παρια]νοί	15
	[ΔⲠⲏⲓ] Σικινῆ[ται]	-----	[Χαλχεδ]όνι[οι]	
	----- Κύθνι[οι]	-----	-----	
	-----	-----	-----	

One notices first the great similarity between the heading of this list and that of *S.E.G.*, V, 34, the list of the year 421/0 B.C. The very full formulae used, though not precisely the same as those of *S.E.G.*, V, 34, belong none the less to the period of the late 'twenties or to the penultimate decade of the century. The date is given by the first secretary of the Council, and by the name of the archon, in addition to the number of the ἀρχή for the board of hellenotamiai themselves. With reference to *S.E.G.*, V, 34, one must restore in lines 1-2 the formula for date by archon [ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίοις -- nomen -- Σκ]αμβονίδες. It so happens that the archon from the late fifth century who is known to have had the demotic Σκαμβωνίδης was Kallias of 412/1, and one's first inclination is to date the inscription in his year. But the difficulties of assuming that this date is correct are considerable. The name of the first secretary in 412/1 is not known, so there is no trouble with the restoration of line 1; a name of any desired length might be here assumed. In lines 2-3, however, the number of the ἀρχή should be restored as forty-third. Reading the inscription with a stoichedon text of 50 letters as determined by the restored name Καλλίας in line 2, one finds that the necessary numeral τρίτες καὶ τετταρακοστῆς exceeds by one letter space the maximum amount of stone available even if the word [ἔλλενοταμί]αι in line 3 is written without the initial rough breathing. Furthermore, on the analogy

of *S.E.G.*, V, 34, a syllabic division of words at the ends of the lines seems probable, and this can be achieved only by crowding in the extra letter at the end of line 2. The right margin of the stone is securely fixed by the fragment discovered by Broneer, and is correctly shown in the transcript given here.¹

Epigraphically, the inscription might be assigned to 412/1 B.C., if the irregularity that must then be assumed in the stoichedon order at the end of line 2 could be allowed. But the historical difficulties are more serious. Thucydides says that in 414/3 the Athenians gave up the collection of tribute in favor of a five per cent tax (VII, 28, 4). There was, therefore, no assessment of tribute for the Panathenaic period 414/3–411/0, and in fact we next learn of collection of tribute after a reassessment in 410 B.C.² It would do violence to the evidence of Thucydides to date a quota-list two years after he says that the collection of tribute was abandoned, and during a period for which no assessment was imposed. The evidence of the archon's demotic *Σκαμβωνίδης* in line 2 is not sufficiently weighty to warrant the assumption of a tribute assessment in 413/2 or 412/1 of which Thucydides says nothing, especially since it involves also a violation of the stoichedon order in the restoration of the quota-list as assigned to 412/1.

It is unusual to find the name of the archon given with the demotic so early as the fifth century. In 406/5, Kallias was called *Καλλίας Ἀγγεληθεύς* to distinguish him from *Καλλίας Σκαμβωνίδης* of 412/1 (cf. *I.G.*, I², 124), and later writers gave to the earlier Kallias his proper demotic *Σκαμβωνίδης* to make the distinctions mutually complete. This is probably the explanation of the name as it appears (*Καλλίας Σ[καμβωνίδης]*) in the *fasti* of the Asklepieion (*S.I.G.*, I³, 88), which were published, according to Koehler's view, early in the fourth century; and it is the reason for the abundant preservation of the demotic in the literary tradition. But in 412/1, when—according to hypothesis—the quota-list here published must have been inscribed, there was no more reason to give the demotic of the archon than there was in any other year before 406/5. Its appearance here on the stone is equally extraordinary, whether the association is with Kallias or with someone else, and except as a matter of coincidence is not an argument in favor of a date for the stone in 412/1.

Other evidence points with equal validity to a date in 418/7, without incurring the disadvantage of placing the document after the collection of tribute was suspended in 414/3. The first secretary of the Council in 418/7 was from Aphidnai;³ so also was the first secretary of the Council mentioned in the quota-list. The chairman of the college of hellenotamiai in 418/7 was *Ἐργοκλῆς Βησαιεύς* (*I.G.*, I², 302); the last hellenotamias mentioned in the quota-list, presumably from the tribe Antiochis,

¹ See also *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 156, note 4.

² See *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 386–389.

³ The name was [. . . ? . . .] *Ἀφιδναῖος*. See *I.G.*, I², 370 and *I.G.*, I², 302 (text of *I.G.*, I², 302 in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 160–163).

was [.....¹¹.....]αιεύς, a name easily restored as [Ἐργοκλῆς Βεσ]αιεύς. Furthermore, the number of the ἀρχή of the hellenotamiai in 418/7 must have been the thirty-seventh, and the numeral *ἑβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς* fits admirably the stoichedon spacing at the end of line 2 and beginning of line 3. The archon's name Ἀντιφῶν requires the same space as the name Καλλίας in line 2.

These coincidences are even more striking than those of the restorations for 412/1, but there are still difficulties of interpretation. A minor objection to a date in 418/7 may be that the known hellenotamias of that year with demotic Αἰξωνεύς (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 160, line 12) cannot have appeared in his proper tribal order (VII) in the catalogue of hellenotamiai on the quota-list. But the list is incomplete in that it gives only seven names from a normal board of ten. For whatever reason, the names of the representatives from three tribes were omitted, and the hellenotamias from Aixone may be supposed to have been one of these. More serious is the fact that in order to restore the name [...[?]... Ἀ]φιδναῖος in line 1 as first secretary of the Council it is necessary to assume a crowding of one letter at the beginning of the line or to assume that the relative *ἡεῖ* was written without the rough breathing, as it was in *I.G.*, I², 304, line 1. This awkward reading [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεῖ ...[?]... Ἀ]φιδναῖος πρῶτ[ος ἐγραμμάτευε --] has been the deciding factor in leading us here to hesitate in assigning the inscription to 418/7. In time there may be other evidence to show that the date should after all be 418/7, but at present the best interpretation seems to be that given in the transcript on p. 55, that the document belongs to 422/1 B.C.

McGregor's recent demonstration that the records of the epistatai from Eleusis, now published as *I.G.*, I², 311, do not represent primarily successive years of annual responsibility to the Council, but rather bookkeeping accounts of actual dates of payments from the hieropoioi, has opened again the possibility of considering Prepis (mentioned in line 8 of *I.G.*, I², 311) as first secretary of the Council in 422/1 instead of 421/0.¹ The quota-list here under discussion can be restored with a stoichedon line of 50 letters, without irregularity, by reading the name Πρέπης in line 1 for the secretary, and the name Ἀλκαῖος in line 2 for the archon. The number of the ἀρχή of the hellenotamiai in 422/1 was thirty-third, and (with syllabic division) the numeral *τρίτης καὶ τρια^v | κοστῆς* may be restored in lines 2-3.²

The demotic of Prepis is not otherwise known, but his father's name is given as Eupheros in the heading of a decree now preserved at Eleusis (*I.G.*, I², 81); the reading is [Π]ρέπης Εὐφέρο ἐγραμμάτευε. In Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* the rather rare name Εὐφῆρος is attested once for Aphidnai and once for Kephisia, so

¹ *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 158-162.

² The analogy is with *S.E.G.*, V, 34, where the principle of syllabic division is observed, even though with one "natural" division in lines 3-4. For the division *τριακοστῆς* see Kühner-Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, I, p. 350; Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges*, § 140 e (p. 35).

the restoration [Πρέπης Ἀ]φιδναῖος in line 1 of the present text is not prosopographically improbable.

For one reason or another the years from 425/4 to 414/3, except for 422/1 and 418/7, may be shown to be impossible for the date of this quota-list. For 425/4 the combination of the names Πλειστήας for first secretary and Στρατοκλῆς for archon with τριακοστῆς for the number of the ἀρχή does not conform to the epigraphical requirements of the stone. A similar difficulty is found in 424/3 with the names Ἐπίλυκος and Ἰσαρχος and the numeral μῆς καὶ τριακοστῆς. In 423/2 the demotic of the first secretary of the Council was Κολλυτεύς (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 139, line 37), and in 421/0 it was Ἀναφλύστιος (*I.G.*, I², 370, line 5). In any case the quota-list of 421/0 is already known and published as *S.E.G.*, V, 34. In 420/19 the demotic of the first secretary was Πήληξ (*I.G.*, I², 370, line 10) and, moreover, the demotic of the archon was Κυ[δαντίδης] (*S.I.G.*, I³, 88). In 419/8 the name of the first secretary, which contained nine letters (*I.G.*, I², 311, line 22), and the name of the archon Ἀρχίας cannot for reasons of space be restored simultaneously in lines 1 and 2. Similarly, in 417/6 the archon Euphemos and the first secretary with nine letters (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 161, line 24) and in 416/5 the archon Arimnestos and the first secretary with eight letters (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 161, line 36) cannot be mentioned simultaneously in lines 1 and 2. In 415/4 the hellenotamias from the tribe Erechtheis belonged to the deme Euonymon (*Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 163, lines 66, 70, 72, 74, 76), while the demotic given in the quota-list is [Περγ]ασῆθεν. From 414/3 to 411/0 there was no tribute collected. In fact, the only available years during the period in which the document should be dated are 422/1 and 418/7. The epigraphical evidence favors slightly the earlier date.

If the quota-list belongs to the year 422/1, then the scale of payments must depend on the assessment of 425 B.C. The new assessment, which was planned for the autumn of 422, was probably not sanctioned until after the Peace of Nikias, and so too late to control—as it normally should have done—the payments of 422/1.¹ There is only one figure where a comparison between the quota and the assessed tribute is possible, but the figure [ΔΠΗ||] restored for Sikinos in line 16 is in fact the one-sixtieth part of the assessed figure X of *I.G.*, I², 63 (cf. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, p. 65, line 90). Furthermore the high quotas of the Hellespontine district agree well with the high scale of the assessment, though the individual figures for the Hellespontine district in the assessment decree have not been preserved. Sigeion (line 9) has a quota of one hundred drachmai; its previous record shows consistently an annual quota of sixteen and two-thirds drachmai. The new scale of assessment was in this instance six times as heavy as the old. Kyzikos, whose normal quota had been nine hundred drachmai, is listed in line 10 with a quota

¹ See Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 16.

of two thousand drachmai; and Artakos (line 11) had its last previously known quota *S.E.G.*, V, 28, col. III, line 10) of thirty-three and one-third drachmai doubled to sixty-six and two-thirds. The assessments represented by these quotas may now be restored in the text of the assessment decree, so that the following readings appear: [Τ Σιγελ]ῆς (line 333), [ΔΔ Κυζικηνοί] (line 299), [XXXX Ἀρτα]κενοί (line 322).¹

The symmetrical arrangement of the quota-list on the stone should be noted. Each of the two columns of names of cities occupied exactly half the width of the stele, and in both cases seven of the twenty-five letter spaces were reserved for numerals and eighteen for the names themselves. The order of districts was presumably the same as that in the assessment decree: Nesiot, Ionic-Karic, Hellespontine, Aktaian, Thracian, and Euxine. In the catalogue of the hellenotamiai the demotic Ἀραφένιος has been restored in line 4 with reference to *P.A.*, 10288 (perhaps a grandson), and the demotic Π[επιθοίδης] has been restored in line 5, on the assumption that Aischines was a relative of the treasurer of 342/1, ——— Αἰσχίνου Πεπιθοίδης (*P.A.*, 362). In line 6, the demotic [Θυμαίτ]ᾶδε[ς] has been restored at the beginning of the line in preference to other forms, such as [Κεῖρι]ᾶδε[ς] or [Ἐροι]ᾶδε[ς], for the sake of the syllabic division (here amounting to word division) at the end of the previous line.

See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, pp. 100-101, 151, and 199-200.

AN EARLY ARCHON LIST

21. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 5, 1936 in a modern wall in Section P.

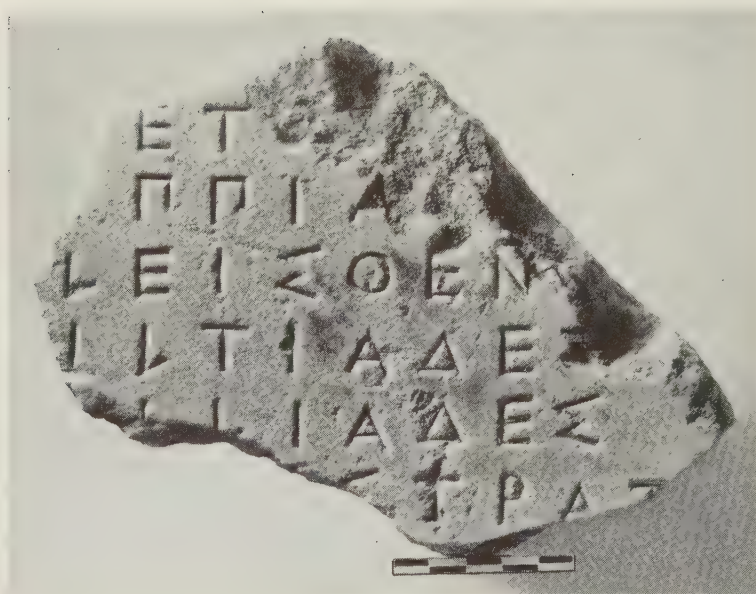
Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.048 m. (not original).

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4120.

The inscription is written stoichedon. Three lines occupy a vertical space of 0.06 m., and five letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.10 m. (a true checkerboard pattern).

¹ See the text in Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, pp. 66-67.



No. 21

ca. 425 B.C.

[Φιλόνεος]	528/7
[Ὀν]ετο[ρ---?]	527/6
[h]ιππία[s]	526/5
5 [K]λεισθέν[ες]	525/4
[M]ιλτιάδες	524/3
[Ka]λλιάδες	523/2
[...].στρατ[ος]	522/1

The beautifully even and carefully cut letters suggest a date *ca.* 425 B.C. for this inscription. It contains only a list of names, evidently broken from a larger catalogue, but those names which can be restored at once and without question are of more than usual interest: [h]ιππία[s], [K]λεισθέν[ες], [M]ιλτιάδες. There is some uncertainty about the other restorations, and reason will be shown below for rejecting the tempting restoration [Πεισί]στρατ[ος] in line 8.

Obviously the names do not belong to Athenians who lived (or died) in the late fifth century when the inscription was cut. There is no known Hippias of this period. Indeed, it would be extraordinary to find any catalogue of Athenians from the late fifth century who bore the hated names of the tyrants. The Hippias of the present document must belong to the sixth century, where he is associated with others appropriately assigned to this early date: Miltiades, and Kleisthenes.

Every indication points to the probability that in this small fragment there is preserved part of an official list of the Athenian eponymous archons.¹ One finds it difficult to explain in any other way how these prominent names from the sixth century came to be inscribed on stone approximately one hundred years later. The restorations here proposed are based on the assumption that this interpretation is correct. The dates are inferred from the known fact that Miltiades (*P.A.*, 10206) held the archonship in 524/3 B.C. (*Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom.*, VII, 3).

¹ On the existence of such lists, see the recent article by A. R. Burn, *J. H. S.*, LV, 1935, especially p. 143.

It is unfortunate that the stone is so broken in line 2 that no part of the name Φιλόνεος is now preserved, for he is known to have held the archonship in 528/7. However, above the tau of [Ὀν]ετο[ρ---?] the surface still exists over part of the theoretical square area of the letter space. An omicron, as in Φιλόνεος, is here possible, but certain letters like alpha, gamma, delta, epsilon, etc., which would extend low and to the right, seem to be excluded; sigma is definitely not a possibility. There is no epigraphical reason, at any rate, against restoring the name Φιλόνεος in this line.

The reading in line 3 may be [Ὀν]έτο[ρ] or [Ὀν]ετο[ρίδες]. Both forms occur as καλός-names on Attic black-figured vases after the middle of the sixth century,¹ and one or the other of these prominent young men may have been in his maturity the archon of 527/6 B.C.

In 526/5 it is entirely appropriate that Hippias should have held the archonship soon after the death of his father; as the eldest son, he fell heir to the mantle of Peisistratos (Thuc., I, 20, 2 and VI, 54, 2).

The archon of 525/4 was Kleisthenes. I identify him as Kleisthenes, son of Megakles, of Alopeke (*P. A.*, 8526) who later carried out the reforms of the Athenian state in 508/7. He belonged to the powerful family of the Alkmeonidai (Aristotle, *Ἄθ. Πολ.*, 20, 1 and 28, 2). To find here the name of Kleisthenes is a discovery of some importance, for it has been believed that the Alkmeonidai were in exile from the time of their expulsion by Peisistratos until the overthrow of the tyranny of Hippias. It now appears that a reconciliation had been effected between the Alkmeonidai and the sons of Peisistratos, probably soon after the death of Peisistratos, and that Hippias was sufficiently anxious to show his good will to allow Kleisthenes to hold the archonship in the year after his own official tenure of that office. The alternative to this view is to suppose that there were in Athens in the late sixth century two Athenians named Kleisthenes, one of whom (otherwise unknown)—the archon of 525/4—was not an Alkmeonid.

This supposition seems most improbable, and is here rejected. The name Kleisthenes was not an Athenian name originally, but came to Athens because of the marriage of Megakles with Agariste, daughter of Kleisthenes, tyrant of Sikyon. There can hardly have been more than one Kleisthenes in Athens in 525 B.C., and he must have been the son of Megakles the Alkmeonid.

This is not the place to review the history of the late sixth century, but certain fundamentally new considerations may be pointed out. It is evident that the Alkmeonidai must have been again expelled, possibly after the murder of Hipparchos in

¹ Cf. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, pp. 33-34. See also Werner Technau, *Exekias (Bilder griechischer Vasen, IX, edited by J. D. Beazley and Paul Jacobstahl)*, pp. 7-12. The difficulties of understanding the chronological development of Exekias' style are noted again by Broneer, who publishes a calyx-krater from his hand which bears the καλός-name Onetorides (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 469-486).

514 B.C., for they were in exile at the time of the battle of Leipsydriion (513 B.C.) and finally brought about, with the aid of Sparta, the overthrow of Hippias in 510.¹ The attempt at restoration, which met disaster first at Leipsydriion, is thus dated soon after their expulsion. This seems intrinsically much more probable than to assume a long and inactive delay in continuous exile after the expulsion by Peisistratos. The narrower limits of the exile will necessitate also a new consideration of the connection between the Alkmeonidai and the restoration of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This historical evidence now, more strongly than ever, yields a date between 514 and 510 for the marble façade and pediment sculptures (see Miss Richter's comments in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 162).

Finally, the rivalry between Isagoras and Kleisthenes cannot be explained on the hypothesis that one was in Athens and one in exile during the rule of the Peisistratidai, though this has been assumed by those who have studied the political history of the late sixth century. It now appears that both Kleisthenes and Isagoras were in Athens until the second banishment of the Alkmeonidai. It seems best to associate this second banishment with the harsher tyranny of Hippias after the death of Hipparchos, and if this is correct it must have been the party of Kleisthenes rather than the party of Isagoras that was most opposed to the tyranny. Since Isagoras and his followers remained in Athens after 514/3, one should lay greater emphasis on their tolerant attitude toward the house of Peisistratos than has generally been the case. Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 20, 1) speaks of Isagoras as φίλος ὦν τῶν τυράννων; it is a judgment which historians must again appraise. Certainly, it is clear that the political attitudes of Kleisthenes and Isagoras differed on the issue of the tyranny after 514/3 if not before.

The archonship of Miltiades is fixed in 524/3 B.C., and the name of his successor is here restored as [Κα]λλιάδης.

It is tempting to restore the name of the archon of 522/1 as [Πεισί]στρατ[ος], grandson of the tyrant of the same name, and son of Hippias (cf. *P.A.*, 11792). But there are several other Athenian names which satisfy equally well the epigraphical requirements of the stone, and Peisistratos would have been a very young man in office if he had held the archonship so soon. Thucydides (VI, 54, 6-7) says that when he was archon he dedicated the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora and the altar of Apollo in the Pythion. Thucydides quotes the epigram from the altar of Apollo, and the inscription has itself survived (*I.G.*, I², 761; photograph in Kirchner, *Imagines*, Plate 5, no. 11). The letters of this inscription seem to belong much more appro-

¹ This later period of exile was imposed by the Peisistratidai, not by Peisistratos. See, for example, the scholiast on Pindar, *Pythian*, vii, 9 (= Philochoros, frag. 70 in Müller's *F.H.G.*, I, p. 395): λέγεται, ὅτι τὸν Πυθικὸν ναὸν ἐμπρησθέντα, ὥς φασιν, ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ Ἀλκμαωνίδαι φνυγαδευθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπέσχοντο ἀνοικοδομησάι ----. See also Herodotos, V, 62: φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας.

priately in the early fifth century than in the late sixth,¹ but no date for the archonship of the younger Peisistratos has been suggested later than the time of the tyranny.

There is now some new light to throw upon the problem. An ostrakon (Inv. No. P. 3629; cf. Shear, *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 361) has been found in the excavations of the Agora bearing the name Πισίω<τ>ρατο[s] (retrograde). Since Aristotle tells us that the first vote of ostracism was held in 488/7 B.C., and that it was directed against the friends and relatives of the tyrants ('Αθ. Πολ., 22, 3-6), it is clear that the younger Peisistratos was still in Athens at that time. There is no longer any need to place the date of his archonship before 510 B.C., for it may be assigned now to one of the available years between 499 and 497.

There are those who insist that Aristotle must be wrong in dating the first ostracism so late (cf. e.g. E. M. Walker in *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, p. 152), but there is no real inconsistency between this date and his assertion ('Αθ. Πολ., 22, 1) that the law on ostracism was embodied by Kleisthenes in his reforms of the state and that Kleisthenes had in mind at the time particularly Hipparchos, son of Charmos, of Kollyte. Whatever may have been the feelings or wishes of Kleisthenes, Aristotle says that the temper of the Demos, with whom lay the power to decide whether the law should be applied, was to allow the friends of the tyrants who had not been active in the late unpleasantness (ταραχαί) to remain in the city ('Αθ. Πολ., 22, 4). Naturally, the democratic faction had most influence, but the mere threat of ostracism contributed its part in preventing the emergence of a too powerful leader of the pro-tyrant party.² In these years, Athens seems to have enjoyed internal peace, threatened only by the machinations of Hippias and his fellow exiles. By the end of the century Hippias had despaired of return to Athens without Persian help, so he began an active campaign of propaganda, particularly at the court of Artaphrenes at Sardis, seeking to arouse ill-will against Athens and thus to achieve his restoration. Herodotos (V, 96) tells the story of these slanderous attacks, and reports that the Athenians sent messengers to Artaphrenes begging him to pay no attention to reports about them that were untrue. The significance of this passage in Herodotos has never been fully understood. It implies that the Athenians were on good terms with Persia and that they were interested in maintaining friendly relations. Of more importance to our immediate problem, we must recognize that Hippias' slander must have concerned particularly the Athenian attitude toward himself and his own house; since we know that many of the friends and relatives of the tyrants were still in Athens, the rebuttal which the Athenians were able to offer was a clear statement to Artaphrenes that the Athenians were not interested in the restoration of Hippias.

¹ E. Löwy, *Sitzungsb. Ak. Wien*, Vol. 216, Abh. 4, 1937, pp. 12-14, was led to suggest that this inscription was recut late in the fifth century partly because of his conviction that it could not be dated earlier than 510 B.C.

² Friedrich Cornelius, *Die Tyrannis in Athen* (München, 1929), p. 99.

phrenes that these friends and relatives were in fact well treated at home, and that the Athenians had no desire for anything except peace with them and good will toward Persia. They could point to the fact that even Peisistratos, the son of Hippias, had not been exiled. It is true that they refused the suggestion of Artaphrenes to allow the return of Hippias himself, but this was a point on which they could not yield, and they regretted the apparent break in their good understanding with Persia which this refusal seemed to them to make inevitable. This much, at least, Hippias had accomplished. At just this time it was the bad fortune of the Athenians to become involved in the expedition of the Milesians which led to the burning of Sardis (Herodotos, V, 97-103). Persuaded by Aristagoras, they sent twenty ships to Miletos to aid the Ionians in their fight for freedom. The burning of Sardis was no part of the Athenian plan; they were shocked when the news of this tragedy reached them; and they recalled their ships to Athens. But the damage had been done. Herodotos rightly calls the sending out of the ships the beginning of trouble between the Greeks and barbarians (V, 97, 3). Before the ships could be recalled, the Athenians had fought against the Persians and suffered disastrous defeat at Ephesos (498 B.C.).¹

At Athens, the reaction to these events manifested itself in part in an attempt to show that their earlier defense before Artaphrenes against the slander of Hippias was justifiable, and it finds tangible expression in the fact that Hipparchos, son of Charmos, was elected eponymous archon in 496/5 B.C. I wish to suggest that the archonship of Peisistratos should be dated in 497/6, that it belongs after the defeat at Ephesos, and that it was part of the same policy of appeasement toward Persia.²

There was never a chance to use the law on ostracism as Kleisthenes intended it until the policy of appeasement toward Persia was proved to be a failure, and the power of the pro-tyrant party broken at the battle of Marathon. Then, *θαρρόντος ἡδὲ τοῦ δήμου* ('Αθ. Πολ., 22, 3) the Athenians proceeded to ostracise the leaders of a discredited party.

The conclusion that Peisistratos was archon in 497/6 B.C. is a matter of importance for the topography of the Agora, where the precinct surrounding the altar of the Twelve Gods has now been discovered (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 356-357 and V, 1936, pp. 358-359), and for the history of Athenian epigraphy, for it yields an almost exact date for a well preserved inscription of the early fifth century.

If the date here proposed for the altar of Pythian Apollo (497/6 B.C.), is correct, a reconsideration is necessary also for the date of the dedication made by Hipparchos

¹ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II², 1, p. 11, note 1, makes an unsuccessful attempt to discredit the account of Herodotos. The fact that Charon of Lampsakos (Müller, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 32, frag. 2) mentions the attack on Sardis and not the battle at Ephesos in no way impugns the historicity of the latter event.

² In the above account I have had the benefit of constant and valuable consultation with Raubitschek.

in the Ptoan sanctuary in Boeotia. The inscription is on a base now preserved in the museum at Thebes, and reads *ἡῖππαρχος ἀνέθε[κεν ἡο Πεισιος]τράτο*. These letters show striking resemblance to those of *I.G.*, I², 761.¹ It has been assumed as a matter of course that this dedication in Boeotia was made by the Hipparchos who was killed in 514 B.C. But the question should at least be raised whether the late letter forms do not belong more appropriately fifteen or twenty years after the death of Hipparchos the tyrant; if they do, then the dedication must belong to another Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos the younger. He must have been very young at the time of the expulsion of Hippias, and indeed as grandson of Hippias may have been one of the *παῖδες* (or *τέκνα*) *τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων* who were captured by the Athenians and for whose release Hippias agreed to abdicate (Herodotos, V, 65).

The original limits of the archon list remain obscure. Possibly it began with the archonship of Solon and ended with the date of publication in the late fifth century. Such a list seems to have been in existence, for in Plato's dialogue, the *Hippias Major*, Socrates is made to remark (285 E) that Hippias was fortunate because the Lakedaemonians did not like to have anyone recite to them the names of the Athenian archons from Solon down, for if they did he would have trouble learning them, and Hippias is made to reply that it would be no trouble at all, for he could memorize fifty names on hearing them only once. The significance of the passage is Plato's implication that one might normally begin a catalogue of Athenian archons with the name of Solon, and that such lists were to be had.² The present fragment is from the public copy inscribed on stone in the Agora.

A DECREE HONORING PROXENIDES

22. Fragment of Pentelic marble with part of the left side and rough-picked back preserved, found on April 19, 1935 in a modern pit in Section II.

Height, 0.232 m.; width, 0.184 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2806.

416/5 B.C. (?)

Προξε[νίδ]ο Προξένο τῷ Κνιδ[ίω]

moulding

Ἀρχικλῆ[ς] Ἀλαιοῦς ἐγραμμάτευεν ^v

¹ See L. Bizard, *B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, pp. 237 ff., with Figs. 4 and 5; the similarity has been confirmed in a communication to the author from A. Raubitschek, who believes that both texts were inscribed by one man.

² Incidentally, it was about this time that Hippias of Elis, according to Plutarch, edited a list of Olympic victors; cf. H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1935), p. 330, no. 3.



No. 22. Agora Inv. No. I 2806 + I.G., I², 144, frags. *d a b*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 27

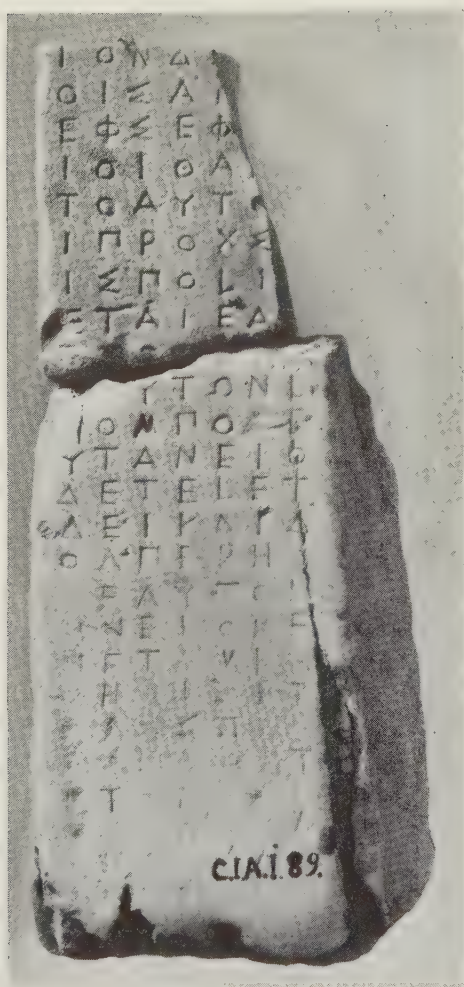
ἔδ[ο]χσε[ν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τοῖ δέμ]οι, Ἄ
κα[μ]αντ[ὶς ἐπρυτάνευσεν, Ἀρχικλῆς ἐ]
5 [γ]ραμμά[τευσεν, Ἀντικράτες ἐπεστάτ]
[ε], Δεμόσ[τρατος εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ εὖ ποι]
εἰ Προχ[σενίδες ἦό, τι ἂν δυνατὸς εἴ]
[ι] Ἀθηνα[ίος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖ πρόσ]
|θε|ν χρό[νοι ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτοῖ κα]
10 [ὶ ἀνα]γρ[άφσαι αὐτὸν ἐστέλει λιθί]
[νει πρόχσενον καὶ εὐεργέτην Ἀθε]
[ναίον καὶ καταθέσθαι ἐμ πόλει . . .]

Lacuna

ιον δ-----
 οἱς αὐ[-----παρὰ τὰ]
 15 ἐφσεφ[ισμένα ἐ ἀποκτένει τις βια]
 ἰοι θαυ[άτοι ἐ δέσει ἐ ἀπάγει]
 το αὐτο-----
 ι Προχσ[ενίδεν-----]
 ις πολι[τ-----]
 20 εται ἐὰ[ν-----στρα]
 τιῶτ[α]ι [. . . .⁸. . . . ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικῇ]
 [ι α]ὐτὸν λ[αγχανέτο Ἀθένεσιν πρὸς]
 [τ]ὸμ πολέ[μαρχον τὰς δίκας ἄνευ πρ]
 ντανείο[ν· ἄλλον δὲ ἀτελὲς ἔστο, τὰ]
 25 δὲ τέλε τ[οῖς ἐγλογεῦσι τελέτο ἡὰ]
 δεῖ Κνιδ[ίος ἐς τὸμ φόρον τελῆν κα]
 θάπερ ἡο[ι ἄλλοι Κνίδιοι· καλέσαι]
 δὲ αὐτὸν κ[αὶ ἐπὶ χσένια ἐς τὸ πρυντ]
 ανείον ἐ[ς αὔριον^v¹⁰. . . . ἐῖ]
 30 πε· τὰ μὲν [ἄλλα καθάπερ⁹. . . .]
 [.] ἡοι [δ]ῆ τ[.²⁰.]
 σας στι-----
 ΟΛΞΥΛΙΤ-----
 . ΤΟΝ-----
 35 . . . Ν. . . /-----
 . Η-----
 . . |-----

Some years ago Wilhelm read from a photograph published by Walter more of lines 3-4 than appears in the publication of *I.G.*, I², 144 (cf. *S.E.G.*, III, no. 21). The new fragment from the Agora joins the upper group of fragments from *I.G.*, I², 144, confirms Wilhelm's readings, and gives in addition the name of the secretary. It provides also a portion of the opening lines of the decree, which records a vote of praise for Proxenides the Knidian and names him as proxenos and benefactor of the Athenians.

When this document was being studied in Athens and in Princeton it became apparent that *I.G.*, I², 155 should be associated with *I.G.*, I², 144. Trial was made in the museum and *I.G.*, I², 155 was found to join along the upper edge of *I.G.*, I², 144, fragment *c*. There is still a lacuna between the upper and lower groups of fragments, but the entire document should be restored (below line 2) with a stoichedon line of 27 letters.



No. 22. *I.G.*, I², 144, frag. c +
I.G., I², 155

The secretary's name in line 2 seems to be Ἀρχικλῆ[ς] Ἀλαιοῦς. There is no doubt about the name proper, the only irregularity being that the letters kappa and lambda (Ionic) were crowded together; but the demotic has heretofore been read as Ὠαιοῦς. This form is too short by one letter to fill the available space on the stone, and no trace of the omega can now be read with certainty. On the contrary, just to the left of the supposed omega there seems to be the lower tip of the right diagonal of alpha. With some hesitation, I propose the reading Ἀλαιοῦς. Two examples of the letter Ξ occur in line 1, but they are the only cases of Ionic lettering besides the lambda of line 2. Elsewhere the inscription is written in the Attic alphabet of the fifth century, and some of the letters (particularly nu) seem more archaic even than the date here suggested in 416/5 B.C.

The name of the secretary appears in both lines 2 and 4. There is preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens another proxeny-decree, also naming Archikles as the secretary and Akamantis as the tribe in prytany. This is now published as *I.G.*, II², 27 and assigned to one of the years of the Corinthian war in the early fourth century; it was inscribed throughout in Ionic letters. But there can be no doubt that both these decrees which name

Archikles as secretary belong to the same date, and this view is further confirmed by the fact that the name of the epistates, which appears in *I.G.*, II², 27 as Ἀντικράτης, is exactly suited to the restoration of line 5 in this text. The decrees were not only passed in the same year and prytany, but on the same day. In spite of its Ionic writing *I.G.*, II², 27 must be moved back into the latter part of the fifth century.

In line 6, the name of the orator has been restored as Δεμόσ[τρατος]. It is possible that he should be identified with the Demonstratos who made the proposal for the Sicilian expedition in 415 B.C. (*P.A.*, 3611), and with his name in mind I suggest tentatively the date 416/5 for the inscription. In any case this date strikes a balance between the pure Ionicism of *I.G.*, II², 27 and the rather early lettering of *I.G.*, I², 144 and 155. If it is correct, the decrees may be considered as part of the Athenian

attempt to solidify their diplomatic position at home, in regions Thraceward and toward Karia, before starting on the long venture to Sicily.

The restorations in lines 6-12 have been made with reference to *I.G.*, I², 82 and 118 and *I.G.*, II², 27.

Below the lacuna it is not possible to restore a consecutive text. Lines 15 and 16 depend in part on *I.G.*, I², 154, and in lines 21-24 appears a variation of a well known formula.

In lines 24-27 the restoration here proposed is based upon the consideration that Proxenides was to pay certain taxes like all the other Knidians, and yet that the provision itself in the Athenian decree must somehow be interpreted as conferring a dispensation upon him. The taxes that the Knidians had to pay (line 26: *δεῖ Κνιδ[ίος]*) must have been paid from Knidos to Athens, and so the benefits, whatever they were, that Proxenides enjoyed must have been applicable to him in residence at Knidos. My supposition is that Proxenides was free from all other taxes to Athens (this was the benefit conferred), but that he was not put in the invidious position of having an exemption from his share in the payment of the Knidian tribute. This money was gathered by the Knidian *ἐκλογεῖς* and its assessment on individuals and collection from individuals was not a matter with which Athens had any immediate concern or over which she exercised any direct control.¹ This indirect obligation to Athens Proxenides still had to meet, but from all other levies he was to be exempt.

Lines 29-31 contain the formula which introduces a rider, but the formula *καθάπερ τῷ βολεῖ* cannot be restored. The implication is that these lines introduce a second rider, and that the first amendment must be supplied in the lacuna between lines 12 and 13. The name of the man who proposed this first amendment should be restored in lines 30-31.²

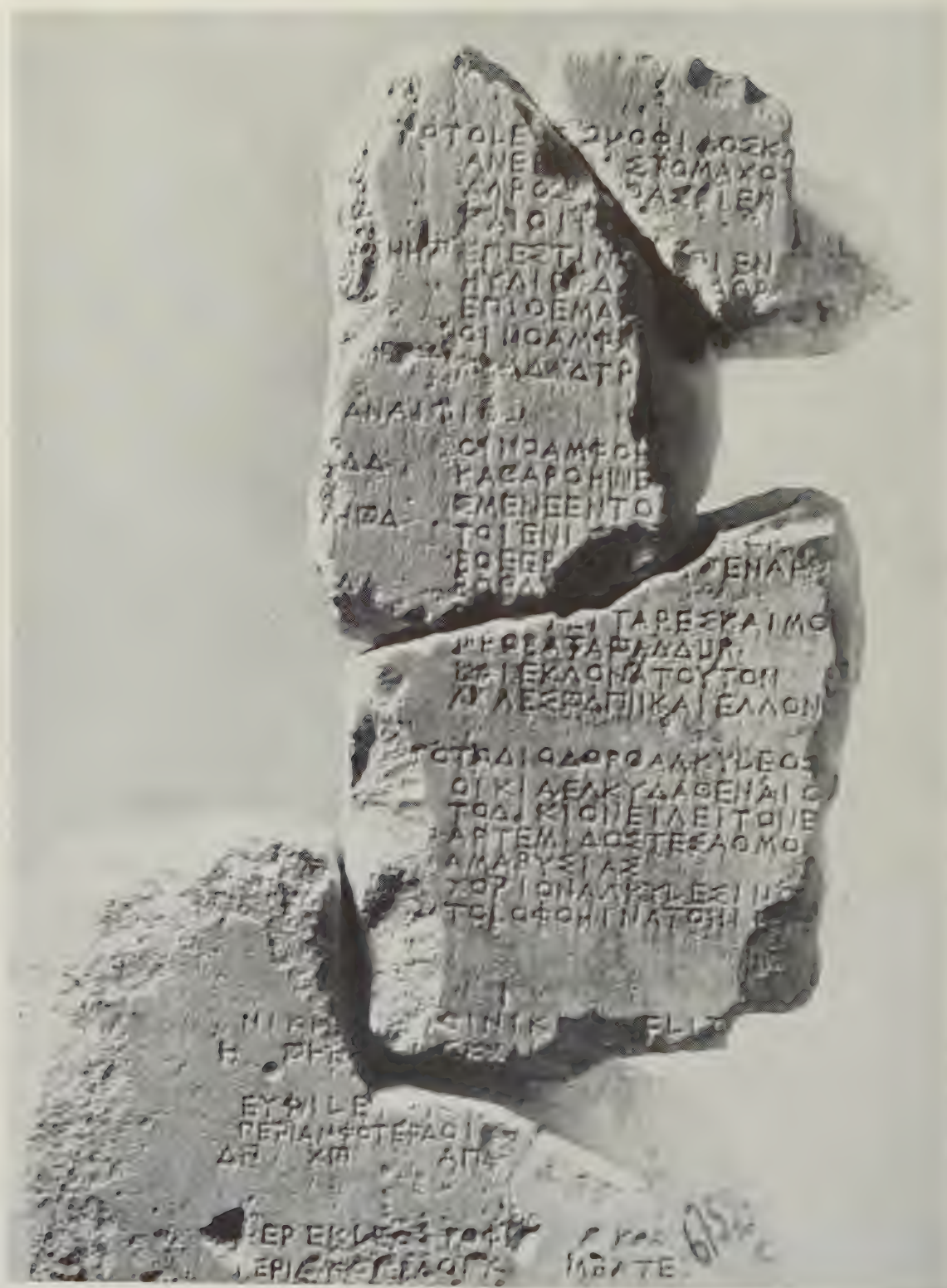
LIST OF CONFISCATED PROPERTIES

23. Six fragments of one stele of Pentelic marble are here published together for the first time. For convenience they may be cited as A, B, C, D, E, and F in order of their appearance in the inscription.

A = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 326 (lines 2-19)	} E. M. 6657
B = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 326 (lines 1-7)	
C = Agora Inv. No. 4408 <i>b</i>	
D = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 325, frag. <i>a</i>	} E. M. 6759
E = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 325, frag. <i>b</i>	
F = Agora Inv. No. 4408 <i>a</i>	

¹ See Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, pp. 3-42.

² See Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.



No. 23. Fragments A, B, and C

These fragments join as shown here in the photographs. Fragment C was found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ on May 6, 1937 (Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.–0.15 m.). Its original thickness is preserved and the back is rough-picked; the height of letters is 0.008 m.–0.009 m. Fragment F was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 16, 1936 (Height, 0.241 m.; width, 0.251 m.; thickness, 0.141 m.). Its original thickness is preserved; the height of letters is 0.008 m.

----- καὶ ἐ[ἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας]
vacat
vacat
 [Ἀδειμάν]το τῷ Λε[υκ]ολοφίδο Σκα[μβονίδο]
 5 -- [...] ἀνὴρ [Ἀρ]ιστόμαχος
 ἀγρὸς [ἐν] Θάσοι ἐν ᾧ --
 καὶ οἰκ[ία] *vacat*
 -- [--]ΗΗΠ ἐπεστιν [πίθ]οι ἐν ᾧ --
 10 -- --]ΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΔ ἡυγιᾶς ΔΔ[. . σ]αθρο[ί --]
 ἐπιθέματ[α ἔχοντες]
 -- [...]ΗΠΔΔΔΔΔ οἶνο ἀμφο[ρῆς ---]
 ΠΠΔΔΔΔΔ τρ[----]
vacat
 [Π]αναίτιο
 15 -- [.]ΔΔ οἶνο ἀμφορ[ῆς --]
 καθαρὸ ΗΗΗΗ ἐ[--]
 -- [.]ΗΠΔ σμένε ἐν τῷ [ἀγρῷ]
 τῷ ἐν Ἴσ[.....]εγ[--]
 -- [.] βόε ἐρ[γάτα δ]ύο ἐν Ἀρ[----]
 20 -- [.]ΔΔ βόε δύ[ο . .] *vacat*
 -- [...] β[όε]ς τέτταρες καὶ μό[σχοι ---]
 -- [--] πρόβατα ΠΔΔΔΗΗΗ
 καὶ ἔκγονα τούτων
 -- [...]Δ αἰγες ΠΔΠΠ καὶ ἔγγον[α τούτων]
 25 *vacat*
 [Πολυστρά]το τῷ Διοδόρῳ Ἀγκυλέος
 οἰκία ἐγ Κυδαθυναίῳ[ι εἰ πρόθυρον]
 τὸ δίκιον εἰ γείτόν ἐ[στι τὸ ἱερὸν]
 -- [--]Π Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀθμογ[όθεν]
 30 Ἀμαρυσίας
 χορίον Ἀγκυλῆσι νο[τόθεν]
 τῷ λόφῳ ἵνα τὸ ἱε[ρὸν ---]

- vacat*
vacat
vacat
- 35 Νικίδ[ο τὸ] Φοινικί[δο Μ]ελιτ[έος]
 𐀀 𐀁𐀃𐀀 ἐκχαλ[κεύματα --]
 style="text-align: center;">*vacat*
- 40 Εὐφιλέτο τὸ Τ[ιμοθέο Κυδαθηναιέος]
 περὶ ἀμφότερα οἰκ[ία -----]
 ΔΠ ΧΠ ἀπ[-----]
 style="text-align: center;">*vacat*
vacat
- 45 Φερεκλέος τὸ Φε[ρεν]ικα[-- Θεμακέος]
 περὶ ἀμφότερα οἰκ[ία ἐ]μ Βατῆι [καὶ χορίον]
 style="text-align: center;">*vacat*
 ἡέτ[ερον] χορίον π[αρὰ τὸ]
 Πύθ[ιον^v] *vacat*
 χορί[ον π]αρὰ τὸ Πύθ[ιον]
 [ἡέτερον] *vacat*
- 50 ΔΗ ΧΗΗ [ο]ϊκό[πε]δον ἐλὺ [κ]αὶ χέρ[ρον]
 παρ[ὰ τὸ Π]ύθιον
 ἡέτε[ρον] χορίον παρὰ τ[ὸ]
 ἡερά[κλειον]
- 55 ὀργά[δος] τὸ ἡέμισυ τῆς ἐ[πὶ τοῖ]
 Πυθ[ίῳ κ]αὶ διανόμο τὸ ἀπὸ [τὸ ἱερὸ]
 [τὸ δὲ ἄλλ]ο ἡέμισυ ἐγ Κυκάλει
 τα[ῦτα ἐπ]ράθε συνλέβδεν ἡάπαν[τα]
 style="text-align: center;">*vacat*
vacat
- 60 μισθόσες αἰδε κ[ατε]βλέθεσαν
 τὸν ἀσεβεσάντο[ν περὶ] τὸ θεό
 Φαίδρο τὸ Πυθο[κλέος] Μυρρινοσίο
 𐀁Δ ο[ικίας μ]ίσθοσις κατεβλέθε
 65 [γῆς Μυρρ]ινὼντι μίσθοσις
 ΗΗΗ𐀁 [κατεβλέ]θε
- ^v ἐκ τὸν Ἀδειμ[άντο τὸ Δ]ευκολοφίδο Σκαμβονίδο
 ---ⁱ ΧΠΗΔΔΔΗΗΗΗ [....] 𐀀' Ρ' *vacat*
 ἐκ τὸν Ἀχσιόχ[ο τὸ Ἀλκιβιάδο Σ]καμβονίδ[ο]

70 ΧϞΗΔΔΔΗΗΗ [-----]
 ΗΗϞ [-----]
 ΗϞΔΗΗΗΗ - [-----]
 ἐ[κ τὸν -----]

COMMENTARY

The text here recorded belongs to the last column of the inscription, for the right lateral surface is preserved on fragment E. Preceding columns have been almost entirely lost, and only parts of two letters remain (in lines 66-67 and 67-68) at the extreme left edge of fragment F.

Line 12: The numeral sign following Ϟ has its horizontal top stroke still preserved and must be interpreted as Ϟ rather than Η.

Line 13. An uninscribed space of one line intervenes between lines 12 and 14. The general disposition of *I.G.*, I², 326 must be here corrected.

Line 20: The numerals [.]ΔΔ must be added to the text as now published in *I.G.*, I², 326.

Line 26: The name has been restored from *I.G.*, I², 329, lines 7-8. From the present passage it is also evident that the reading in *I.G.*, I², 329, line 7, should be Πολυστράτο τὸ Διο[δόρο]. This Polystratos (*P.A.*, 12074) was one of those accused by Andromachos of profaning the Mysteries. He was seized and put to death (*And.*, I, 13), and his property was sold at public auction.

Lines 27-30: The house of Polystratos was situated in Kydathenaion, and was bounded by the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia. This is the first available evidence for this sanctuary in Athens, whither, as this inscription shows (Ἀθμον[όθεν]) the cult had been brought from the deme of Athmonon. The cult worship at Athmonon is well known (see Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 25-26). There is a word new to Greek lexicography in line 28, but the adjective δικίων is analogous in its formation to the already known τετρακίων, and as used in this inscription signifies that some part (neuter) of the house was embellished with two columns. I have restored at the end of line 27 the noun πρόθυρον, which fills out the line to the edge of the stone.

Lines 31-32: In the numeral column in these lines the letter Α is printed in *I.G.*, I², 325, frag. *a*. Schweigert informs me from Athens that the lower tips of two vertical strokes only are preserved. These belong not to a letter, but to a number which represents the sales tax on the property listed to the right in lines 31-32. The sales price of the property has been lost with the fracture of the stone, but from the amount of the tax the price may be computed as at least 100 Dr., probably 200 Dr. or more.

Line 36: The juxtaposition of fragments D and C shows that the accepted restoration Νικιά[δο —] for this line is too long by one letter for the space available on the stone. The broken alpha must rather be interpreted as a broken delta, and the restoration should be given as Νικίδ[ο τὸ] Φοινικί[δο Μ]ελιτ[έος]. This Nikides is the man whom Andromachos accused along with Alkibiades, Miletos, and others of profaning the Mysteries (And., I, 12-13), and the traditional Νικιάδην of the text of Andocides must now be emended on the strength of the epigraphical evidence to read Νικίδην. The reference in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* (10763) depends on the minuscule copy given by Kirchhoff in *I.G.*, I, suppl. p. 73, no. 277 a in giving the restoration Νικιάδ[ης] as though parts of both alpha and delta were preserved. The mistake was made in Kirchhoff's transcript, for his majuscule text shows only what the stone shows today, a sloping diagonal stroke as of alpha or delta. The present inscription gives the patronymic and demotic of Nikides, hitherto unknown.

Line 37: The word ἐκχαλ[κεύματα] is new, and I interpret it as meaning "objects of bronze." The letters preserved may be seen clearly in the photograph.

Line 44: Pherekles was accused by his own slave Lydos of celebrating the Mysteries in his house in Themakos (And., I, 17: Λυδὸς ὁ Φερεκλέους τοῦ Θημακέως ἐμήνυσσε μυστήρια γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Φερεκλέους τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν Θημακῷ). This Pherekles, whose demotic is thus known from Andocides to be Θημακεύς is listed by Kirchner as *P.A.*, 14191. But Kirchner also lists another Pherekles of Skambonidai on the evidence of the inscription here published, where the initial letters of the demotic have been traditionally given as [Ξ]ΚΑ—. This reading is incorrect, for the preserved letters in question are ΙΚΑ— and they belong to the patronymic, not the demotic, of the name. The Pherekles listed as *P.A.*, 14194 is in fact to be identified with the Pherekles of *P.A.*, 14191, whose full name is given in this inscription (with the demotic restored from Andocides) as Φερεκλέος τὸ Φε[ρεν]ικα[— Θημακέως]. He was charged by Lydos with profaning the Mysteries and by Teucer with mutilating the herms (And., I, 17 and 35). This double charge is represented in the inscription by the words περὶ ἀμφοτέρα in line 45.

Line 46: An uninscribed space of one line intervenes between lines 45 and 47. The general disposition of *I.G.*, I², 325 must be here corrected.

Lines 47-50: The text of these lines differs from that of the *Corpus*, and depends on a new reading from the stones with control from a squeeze and photographs.

Line 51: The traditional reading of this line is [ο]ικό[πεδ]ον ἐ Λυσαρχε—. In the curious word Λυσαρχε— there is no trace of sigma, and the "rho" is certainly an iota. The reading should be [κ]αὶ and not σαρ, and this leaves the adjectives ἐλύ and χέρ[ρον] as descriptive epithets of the οἰκόπεδον. The word χέρρον means fallow or uncultivated, and raises here no problem; the word ἐλύ is known only from Hesychius (where it is written εἰλύ) and supposedly means the same as μέλαν (cf. εἰλύ in Liddell and Scott).

It should be noted that Hesychius quotes the word in the neuter, just as it appears in this inscription; the strong probability is that this document was in fact his original source. Hesychius had at his disposal a published copy of some collection of Athenian inscriptions, perhaps that of Krateros, and this fact accounts for the epigraphic words that were cited by him.

I believe that it is possible to offer proof for this point by the reference which Hesychius gives to another rare word (ἀπόπαξ), which appears in the building accounts of the great statue of Athena Promachos (see the text in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 367-368, Col. II, lines 15, 43, 68 and Col. III, line 54). The word is used in describing kinds of pay given by the epistatai for work on the statue, and it recurs regularly in the phrase μισθοὶ κατ' ἑμέραν,¹ μισθοὶ κατὰ πρυτανείαν, μισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς. The translation is evidently "pay by the day, pay by the prytany, pay by the job." The word ἀπόπαξ is from the same root as ἀποπήγνυμι, and denotes the fixed or agreed-on price for specific piece-work; it is the equivalent of the Latin *conventum*.² Curiously enough Hesychius says that it means ξύμπαν. This interpretation is incorrect, but the reason for the error is clear provided one realizes that Hesychius knew the word only from its context in the Athena Promachos inscription. He assumed that the phrase μισθοὶ ἀπόπαχς gave the summation of the μισθοὶ κατ' ἑμέραν and the μισθοὶ κατὰ πρυτανείαν, whereas in fact it represented a third distinct category equally important for the record with the other two.

Whether Hesychius has given us the correct meaning of the word εἰλύ is perhaps uncertain, but μέλαν could be applied to the earth, whether black or dark red, of the plot of ground that once belonged to Pherekles.

Lines 55-56: The dative form Πυθ[ίῳ] is necessary to fill the required space in line 56, so the preposition at the end of line 55 has been restored as ἐ[πί].

Line 61: Bannier had already restored correctly the first word of this line (*B. ph. W.*, 1917, pp. 1347-1348).

Line 62: For the restoration [περί] see Andocides, I, 29 and Pollux, X, 97.

Line 63: The full name of Phaidros (*P. A.*, 13950) is here given for the first time, and it appears that he must be identified with the Phaidros (*P. A.*, 13960) who was a friend of Socrates and whose name was given to one of the dialogues of Plato. The orator Lysias says of him that he had become a poor man through no fault of his own (XIX, 15: πένητι γεγενημένῳ οὐ διὰ κακίαν). The reason for his poverty is now apparent, for he was charged by Teucer with profaning the Mysteries (And., I, 15), was himself exiled, and lost his property through confiscation. The judgment expressed in Lysias' oration implies that Phaidros was not guilty of the charge.

¹ For the correct reading μισθοὶ κατ' ἑμέραν I am indebted to Broneer who has communicated to me the text of a new fragment, now published by Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 264-268.

² This derivation was suggested to me three years ago at Oxford by Professor Fraenkel.

MARKER OF THE WILLOW

24. Horos-stone of Pentelic marble, found entangled in the roots of a tree on February 5, 1935, during the excavation of a modern courtyard in Section II (= *I.G.*, I², 864).

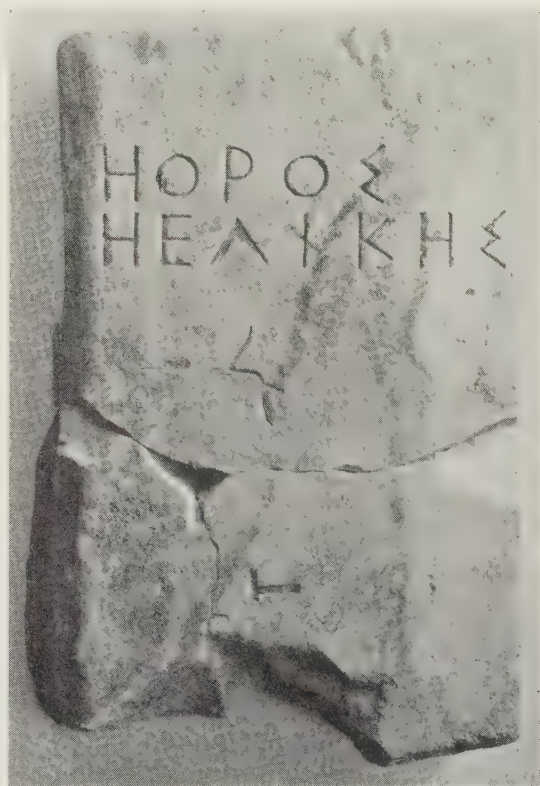
Height, 0.417 m.; width, 0.255 m.;
thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.031 m.

Inv. No. I 2408.

ca. 400 B.C.

ἥρος
ἡλίκης



No. 24

The stone is mended from five fragments, but the lower corner is missing. Below the inscription a face in profile has been rudely scratched.

This document is without doubt that which Fauvel found early in the nineteenth century, and which has since that time been lost again. In a letter written on April 4, 1811, to a friend in Paris Fauvel describes his excavations in Athens,¹ near the gate of the city on the road leading toward Acharnai. One gathers that the inscription here published was found by him there, but, as Böckh remarked in his subsequent edition (*C. I. G.*, 529): neque tamen res certa est.

This uncertainty about the place of discovery is enhanced by the fact that Fauvel reported at the same time (*op. cit.*, pp. 93-94) two other "colonnes," bearing inscriptions ὄρο<ς> σή|ματος Ὀ|νησίμο and ὄρος σή|ματος Ὀ|νησίμο, and certain large tiles with the inscription ἱερὰν Μ<η>τρὶ θεῶν | Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμ<ώ>νιος. These are

¹ Extracts of his letters were published in the *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des Sciences* (ed. Millin), Année XVII, 1812, II, pp. 91 ff.

now published as *I.G.*, II², 2581 *a* and *b* and *I.G.*, II², 4870 respectively. The first stone, according to Dodwell,¹ was found near the Ilissos, but it has now been rediscovered in the excavations of the Agora. At any rate, I suspect that the marker published here as no. 25 is the same as *I.G.*, II², 2581 *a*. It cannot be *I.G.*, II², 2581 *b*, for Kirchner's note in the *Corpus* testifies that that stone has found its way into the Berlin Museum.

At least sixteen roof tiles similar to those seen by Fauvel have also been found in the excavations of the Agora,² and because of the characteristic inscription *ἱερὰν Μητρὶ θεῶν | Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος* they must be associated with the Metroön, whose exact location is now known. It is not certain, but it is at least possible, that the tiles seen by Fauvel are among the sixteen so far discovered in the excavations of the Agora, though Dodwell's account seems to give the place of finding as near the Museion hill.³

So little reliance can be placed on the reports of the places of first discovery, that it seems best to assume that these inscriptions were found in or near the Agora, where they have now been unearthed again. Such a conclusion is not, after all, irreconcilable with Fauvel's location "sur le grand chemin qui conduisait de la porte Hippades à Acharnes." Nor is the identity of the new Agora documents with those of Fauvel rendered improbable by the fact that Fauvel calls the monuments in stone "colonnes," for the one now discovered in the Agora is roughly triangular in cross-section, with a slightly convex face, and a round base for setting in the ground.

The interpretation of the text *hópos helíkhs* has been difficult. Le Bas and Waddington included it among "Limites des enceintes sacrées."⁴ Böckh (*C.I.G.*, 529) stated plainly: Quid sit Ἑλίκης nescio: nisi Helice Ionis uxor sacellum aliquo loco, fortasse apud Ionidas, habuit. Demum Atticae Helicen qui dicit, errat. The publication of Kirchhoff (*I.G.*, I, 523) repeats Böckh's admission, and also his conjecture: Ὀπος —. Nam de alterius versus lectione, qui litteras admixtas praestat Ionicas, dubia res. De Helica, Ionis uxore, eiusque sacello, apud Ionidas quod fuisse quis coniceret, cogitabat Boeckhius. The belief that Attic and Ionic letters were confused in the inscription led Milchhöfer (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 340, no. 525 *a*) to write ὄπος Ἑλίκης. But the use of the aspirate with boundary stones is not unusual in the fourth century, and except for this characteristic the lettering is Ionic throughout. The correct reading has been again given by Hiller (*I.G.*, I², 864) as *hópos helíkhs*. He adds further details about the wife of Ion, but warns against association with the deme Ionidai: Helica Ionis uxor est in Pausaniae Achaicis (VII, 1, 3 cf. 25, 5; St. B. Βοῦρα), Selinuntis filia; sed Ionidarum demus, de quo cogitavit Boeckh, procul habendus est.

¹ *A classical and topographical tour through Greece*, Vol. I, p. 400.

² See Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 191-192.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 400; cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 192, note 1.

⁴ *Voyage archéologique*, Vol. I, no. 270.

It is, I believe, impossible to construe this inscription as a boundary-marker for the supposed sanctuary of Helice, mother of Ion. If there were such a place—as yet unattested—the stone would have to be the boundary of the sanctuary, and the additional word *ἱερῶ, τεμένε(ν)ς, vel sim.* should have appeared also on the stone.

Theophrastos (*H.P.*, III, 13, 7) reports that the willow, in and near Arcadia, was usually called *ἐλίκη*, and I wish to suggest the possibility that the same term may in this instance have been used in Athens.¹ Some of the trees of the Agora were famous, and served as rallying points easily designated. A brief summary will be found in Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 357. Andocides (I, 133) names a group who gathered under the white poplar to bid for the privilege of tax-farming, and Pollux (VIII, 112) states that fines against women were posted by the *γυναικοκόσμοι* (*sic*) on the plane tree in the Kerameikos. The black poplar by the orchestra was the place where the sycophants posted their charges (cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 342, 357). But there are known to have been willows also in the Agora, for Lykourgos states (*κατὰ Λεωκράτους*, 112) that Phrynichos was murdered *παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰσύοις*. The place of the murder was fixed by Thucydides (VIII, 92, 2) not far from the bouleuterion: *οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου*.

See Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, pp. 877-883, for the meaning of *ὄρος*.

BOUNDARY MARKER

25. Horos-stone of Pentelic marble, found on February 27, 1935 in Section O. The stone is complete except for minor fractures (= *I.G.*, II², 2581 a).

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

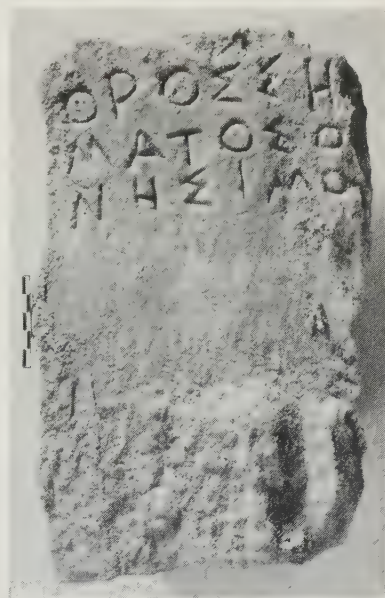
Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2528.

Early Fourth Century B.C.

ὄρος σή
ματος Ὀ
νησίμο

For the place of original discovery and probable identity with *I.G.*, II², 2581 a, see notes on No. 24. The stone shows, however, a correct orthography in line 1, while the copies of Fauvel and Dodwell (cf. *C.I.G.*, 535) read only *ΟΡΟΞΗ*.



No. 25

¹ The cognate forms *salix* in Latin, and *selja* and *salaha* in Germanic (cf. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, I, p. 389), indicate that the name *ἐλίκη* may well not have been confined to Arcadia. The alternative is to suppose that in the present text it was the name of a locale.

THE GENOS OF THE GEPHYRAIOI

26. Part of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, broken away at the bottom and on the right, found on October 13, 1934 in the wall of a modern house in Section O.



Height, 0.233 m.; width, 0.229 m.;
thickness, 0.143 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m. and
0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2044.

The inscription is not written stoiche-
don, but the pediment determines the
approximate centre of the stone. Two
lines occupy a space of 0.03 m.

No. 26

ca. 37/6 B.C.

Θ ε ο [ί]

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἐπὶ Θεοπέιθου ἄρχοντος, τοῦ δὲ γέ-
νους τοῦ Γεφυραίων Φιλων[ίδου ἄρχοντος Παι]
[α]νιέως ὁ Σκιροφοριῶνος [-----]

5

The document is a decree of the γένος of the Gephyraioi, and can be placed on the basis of letter forms in the first century B.C. The lettering is quite similar to that of *I.G.*, II², 1343, which is dated ἐπὶ Θεοπίθου ἄρχοντος, and the archon's name serves to define the time more exactly. He is evidently the same man as the archon named in the present text. Kirchner (note on *I.G.*, II², 1343) gives the year as ca. 37/6 B.C.

The inscription names also the archon of the γένος. In view of the high probability of consistent syllabic division at the ends of lines, the demotic in lines 3-4 can hardly be other than [Παι | α]νιέως. If this is true, then the archon of the γένος may be a descendant of that Φιλοκλῆς Φιλωνίδου Παιανιεύς (*P.A.*, 14554) who was ephebos in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1008, line 111), and the restoration Φιλων[ίδου ἄρχοντος Παια]-

νιέως has been made in lines 3-4. For the office, see (for example) *I.G.*, II², 1236 (line 19): [ἄρ]χοντα τῶν γενῶν; *I.G.*, II², 2949: ἄρχοντες γενόμενοι τοῦ γένους τοῦ Βακχιαδῶν; and *I.G.*, II², 3218 (lines 3-6): ἄρχοντα [γ]ενόμενον τοῦ [γέ]νους Κηρύ[κ]ων; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 1 (lines 47, 57, 69-70, 73-74, 82-83, 95).

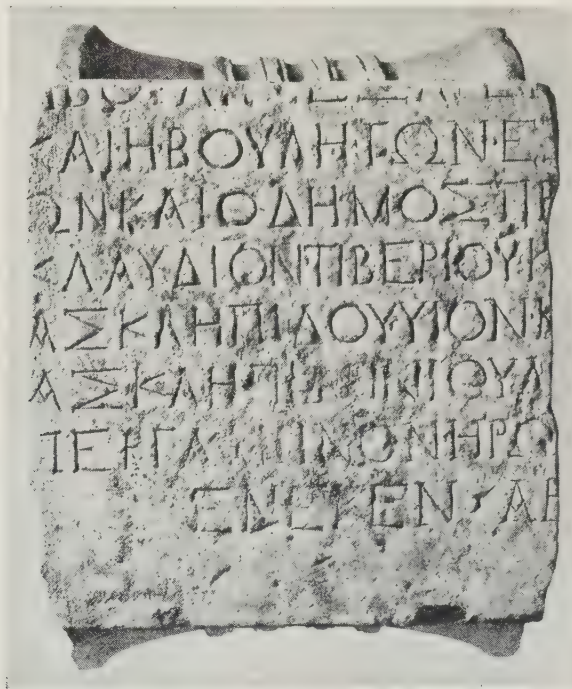
The history of the Gephyraioi is related by Herodotos (V, 57-62), who reports that the slayers of the tyrant Hipparchos were from their number. Cf. also Büchner in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. Gephyraioi.¹

27. This inscription was cut on a block of Pentelic marble which was later made into an Ionic column capital. The stone was found on April 3, 1935 in a fill of early Byzantine date in Section II.

Height of inscribed surface, 0.43 m.; width of inscribed surface, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 2723.



No. 27

¹ Since the above was written, it has been found that the fragment joins *I.G.*, II², 1096, the lost fragment of which has been re-discovered in the Agora. A text of the entire inscription is now being prepared.

ca. 100 A.D.

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρεί[ον πάγου]
καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἐξ[ακοσί]
ων καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τιβ[έριον]
Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου Κ[λαυδίου]
5 Ἀσκληπίδου υἱὸν Κ[υρείνα]
Ἀσκληπίδην Ἰουλ[ιανὸν]
Περγαμηνὸν ἦρω[α ἀρετῆς]
ἔνεκεν 3 ΑΡ

The designation ἦρω[α] in line 7 shows that the monument was erected to Asklepiades after his death. Examples of this usage are numerous, but cf. *I.G.*, II², 3968, 3971, 3974, 3975, and especially *I.G.*, IV², 82-86. I have no explanation for the last line. The restoration ἔνεκεν ἀρ[ετῆς] gives an abnormal word order, and in any case the word ἀρετῆς is needed in its appropriate position to fill out the end of line 7. It is even possible that the final letters ΑΡ of line 8 were cut by a different hand from the rest of the inscription. Epigraphically the final letter may be B, E, or P, with the preference, I think, slightly favoring P.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

Note: For the sake of complete final publication, students of the documents here printed are earnestly requested to send suggestions by letter or reprints of articles they may write concerning them to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

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II

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Hesperia, Vol. VIII. Plate facing p. 91

THE HEAD OF HERAKLES IN THE PEDIMENT OF THE OLD ATHENA TEMPLE

In the excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in 1938¹ a few pieces of sculpture were brought to light, one of which is of exceptional interest. It is an archaic poros head (color-plate on opposite page and Figs. 1-6), discovered in a well (E) at a depth of 6.60 m. together with sherds of pottery dating from the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

The head² was found in several fragments, some of which, especially those from the lower part of the face, were in a very crumbly condition. The soft poros, because of the long immersion in the mud of the well, had swelled and warped, and was so disintegrated that it was difficult to fit the fragments together. Several rough stones of large size were lying around and below the head, and it is obvious that the smaller fragments broke away when the head was thrown down among the stones. The upper part of the face is in a comparatively good state of preservation, but the surface is damaged in a few places. On the top of the head is a deep gash, which seems to have been cut with an axe or broad chisel. The fillet is broken away at the back, and very little of the mass of hair hanging from the neck remains. Part of the nose, the lower lip, and the end of the beard are missing. In the forehead the surface has flaked off at the thin edge of a large fragment which included the nose, part of the right eye, and the middle of the brow. Both eyeballs are slightly damaged in the centre.

The crumbly condition of the stone in the lower part of the face may be partly due to the action of fire or weathering, and it is not impossible that the brown color, applied freely on the beard for sizing, had a detrimental effect on the stone. Above the left eye the surface of the stone is blackened, but whether this is due to fire or to some other agency is not certain. Some black specks, visible at various points on the face, seem to have come from the black pigment used for rendering details of the eyes and for the hair on top of the head above the fillet. It is not unlikely that the discoloration over the left eye was caused by this black color, which comes off easily. The largest of the fragments was found, face down, in the well, and in this position the black on the hair could easily have washed off and run down over the forehead.

The material is a cream-colored limestone, of uneven hardness and density. It contains several natural faults, the largest of which is an open crack, over 3 cm. wide,

¹ A brief report on the excavations has appeared in the *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 445-450. An article, dealing with the Mycenaean water supply of the Acropolis and with the pottery from the fill of the underground passage will appear in an early number of *Hesperia*.

² Measurements: Preserved height, 0.26 m.; breadth at cheeks, ca. 0.17 m.; greatest preserved breadth, 0.26 m.



Fig. 1. Head of Herakles, Front View

below the right ear and extending horizontally across the whole face (Figs. 2, 3, 5). Originally these cracks were probably filled with plaster, traces of which are preserved at the right temple, on the left side of the nose, and on the fillet above the forehead. Where the surface was in good condition the colors were applied directly on the stone.

The colors have largely disappeared, but enough is preserved to restore the color scheme with fair accuracy. The top of the head was painted black, whereas the curls below the fillet were probably dark green. The color preserved on hair and beard is partly blue and partly green, but it seems likely that the green was the original color. This was applied very heavily, but only in a few depressions is it preserved at all. Beneath the green, both on hair and beard, are clear traces of a brown sizing. The fillet round the head is divided into sections, every other one of which is painted bright red, with the alternating sections now in the natural color of the stone but possibly black originally. This gives the effect of a twisted band, consisting of two strands, one red and one white. Between the strands is a narrow raised band which may also have been set off by a different color.

The color of the flesh was indicated by a dilute wash of red, so thinly applied that the gray color of the stone probably shone through to some extent, giving a pinkish effect. Black was used for eyebrows and eyelashes and probably for the irises. Whether the pupils were rendered differently cannot be determined, since the surface of the stone has been slightly damaged in the centre of both eyes. It must also remain uncertain whether the white of the eyes was painted or left in the natural color of the stone. The mustache preserves only faint traces of the brown sizing, but it is likely that it was painted in the same color as beard and hair. All traces of color have disappeared from the lips, which may have been colored pink like the rest of the face, or possibly they were tinted with a darker shade of red.

The face is modeled in the early archaic manner with prominent features sharply set off from the broad, plain forehead and rounded cheeks. All the details of the face were clearly perceived by the artist, and slightly exaggerated in the execution. The face is very broad and short, but this effect would be less noticeable if the beard were preserved.

The hair below the fillet is parted and arranged in heavy curls, five on either side of the forehead. Between the two curls in the centre is a space, 0.023 m. wide. One curl is preserved behind the right ear, but in the back the hair seems to have been arranged in large rounded locks. The hair on top of the flat head is perfectly plain. The fillet turns down in the back at the edge of the break, but the exact arrangement at this point is not clear. The beard is rendered with small elongated curls, like question marks turned upside down. In front of the ears on either side the beard consists of a single row of curls and lower down it broadens into several rows. But the two sides are not alike. On the right there are only three curls in the single row before



Fig. 2. Head of Herakles, Right Profile



Fig. 3. Head of Herakles, Left Profile

the second row begins, whereas on the left side there were at least five curls in the single row. The reason for this difference will appear in the discussion about the pose of the figure. At one point on the right cheek are preserved four rows of curls, but toward the front it must have narrowed again. The mustache is perfectly flat and only slightly raised.

The eyes are large and deeply set. The upper eyelid describes a sharp curve, whereas the lower lid is more nearly straight. The irises are set off from the white by a well marked circular groove. The eyebrows consist of slightly raised ridges, through which runs a shallow groove painted black. The nose is mostly missing, and of the mouth only a portion of the upper lip and the left corner are preserved.

The head belongs to the pediment group of sculpture in the Acropolis Museum, representing the struggle of Herakles with the Triton. Even before an attempt had been made to fit the head to the torso of one of the two figures it was quite obvious that it belonged to one or the other.¹ The size of the head—it is too large for any of the other pedimental groups of poros from the Acropolis—and the nature of the stone, which differs from that of the other poros sculpture, show that it cannot belong to any other group. The two figures of Herakles and the Triton are cut from a single block of poros with well marked horizontal veins which in some places form wide open cracks. The largest of these (Figs. 4 and 5), extending from the shoulders of Herakles clear across the necks of both figures, has caused the stone to split at that point. This crack, as we have seen, is particularly prominent at the break of the newly discovered head. Fortunately the head makes contact with the body both above and below the crack so as to leave no room for doubt about the correct position (Fig. 5).

The addition of the new head now makes it possible to determine with accuracy the exact pose of the Herakles figure, which differs from all the proposed restorations. However divergent their views in other respects, scholars are unanimous in restoring the head of Herakles in full profile and looking down.² Apparently they have been misled by representations of the same scene on vase paintings, where the heads of both figures are, as a rule, in profile, though not always looking in the same direction. Likewise the smaller Herakles-Triton group from the Acropolis shows the head

¹ Because of the incorrect restorations of the group, in which Herakles' head is in full profile, I was first of the opinion that the head belonged to the Triton figure, and this tentative view was expressed in the fortnightly report of the excavation for May, 1938.

² Brückner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 115 and pl. II, restores both heads in full profile, but admits that this pose is conjectural. Heberdey states categorically that the head of Herakles must be restored as looking down and bent forward to the right: "Der verlorene Kopf kann - - - dem Halsstumpfe nach nur so ergänzt werden, dass er abwärts blickend sich nach rechts vorneigte und so den Tritonkopf teilweise verdeckte," *Altattische Porosskulptur*, p. 49, but the author does not illustrate the restored pose. Buschor, *Größenverhältnisse attischer Porosgiebel*, pl. 9, 6, and Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-36, figs. 14, 16, follow Heberdey in the restorations of the two heads.

of Triton in profile, and apparently the missing head of Herakles was similarly turned. But on the larger group there are clear indications to show how the heads ought to be turned. There is obviously no room for the head of Herakles to be shown in full profile looking down, and it could not possibly have been turned so far to his right as to leave room for the head of Triton behind.¹ The collar-bone of Herakles, clearly indicated and well preserved (Figs. 4 and 5), shows that his face was approximately in three-quarter view. The head of Triton on the same evidence must have been turned very slightly toward the spectator's left.¹



Fig. 4. Figure of Herakles with Head Attached

These indications of the torsos, sufficiently clear to determine the positions of the two heads, are in full accord with the slight asymmetry of the new head. A photograph taken straight from the front shows a slight contraction on the right side (see above, pp. 93-95). A corresponding asymmetry can be observed in the so-called Blue-beard from the other side of the pediment. More important still is the fact

¹ Dickens, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, p. 83, makes the statement that the head "of Herakles must have been in profile, that of the Triton probably, to judge from the collar-bone, in three-quarter view."

that the Herakles head is not looking down but almost straight ahead as if aware of his spectators. The abrupt bending back of the head which this pose necessitates leaves



Fig. 5. Head of Herakles, Showing Contact with Torso

sufficient room for the head of Triton, but gives a somewhat unsatisfactory view of the Herakles figure as seen directly from the front. When viewed from below, as intended, the pose seems perfectly normal.



Fig. 6. Poros Pediment, New Arrangement

The old problems concerning the restoration of the pediment and the identity and chronology¹ of the building to which it belonged are not seriously affected by the discovery of the new head. That the Herakles-Triton group is part of the same pediment as the Triple-Bodied Monster is by now universally accepted, and the addition of the new head strengthens this view. Stylistically the Herakles head is very close to the heads from the other side of the pediment, but it differs considerably in details. Hair and beard are different in the two figures, but in the shape of the face, and in the rendering of eyes and mouth the similarity is too strong to be explained merely on the basis of contemporaneity.

The two groups, the Herakles-Triton and the Triple-Bodied Monster, can hardly have formed the whole pediment without a central motif separating the two. From the point of composition such an arrangement is wholly unsatisfactory, and would probably never have been considered possible were it not for the mistaken idea that the early Athena Temple was built without a peristyle. W. H. Schuchhardt has now convincingly shown that the peristyle belongs to the original construction of the temple,² and has regrouped the poros sculpture in the Acropolis Museum so as to obtain two pediments of the proper size to fit the gables of the temple. For the west pediment he has proposed to place the large bull and lions, Acropolis, No. 3, in the centre with the Herakles-Triton group on the left and the Triple-Bodied Monster on the right. This arrangement is borne out by the style of the three groups and by details of carving and coloring of the figures. In Figure 6 is shown a photographic view of the three groups without any restorations.³

Well E, in which the head was discovered, contained comparatively few other objects, but these are sufficiently characteristic to show the approximate date of the fill. Another well, A, which lies higher up the slope and was filled at the same time, contained large quantities of pottery most of which belongs to the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.⁴ Two fragments of a black-figured plate,

¹ See Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-36, p. 95; Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur*, p. 148.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-36, pp. 1-111.

³ The three photographs were made to the same scale and placed together as seen in the figure. The proportions of the figures are shown in Schuchhardt's drawing, *loc. cit.*, fig. 14.

⁴ A detailed study of the pottery from the excavations of 1937-1938 will appear in an early number of *Hesperia*.

signed by Sotes as maker and Paideros as painter, were found in Well A, and a small fragment of the same plate came from the fill of Well E. Some fragments of black-figured skyphoi, related to the style of the Theseus painter, are dated about the turn of the century, or slightly later, and the red-figured sherds from the two wells can be dated with fair accuracy. One small piece of a red-figured cup, found in Well E at a depth of 2-3 m., belongs to a class of vases from about 500-480; and another fragment, from a depth slightly below that at which the head was found, is dated in the last quarter of the sixth century. The uniformity of the contents shows that Well E was filled up at one time, and the filling of Well A and of two other wells, C and D, in the same vicinity took place about the same time. Whatever was the reason for filling up the wells, it can hardly have been lack of water, for all of them still have a sufficient water supply which lasts throughout the dry season.¹ It is likely that the whole upper slope underwent extensive changes at this time, and these operations are probably connected with the leveling that took place on the Acropolis after the departure of the Persians. Some of the potsherds from the wells belong to vases found in the Acropolis excavations, which seems to indicate that the superfluous earth on the Acropolis was thrown over the walls and used for filling on the slopes below. The quantity of earth must have been considerable, enough to cover the sharp rocks on the upper slope, otherwise the poros head could hardly have come down without being completely shattered.

The other fragments of the pediment were found to the south and east of the Parthenon, in the so-called "Tyrannenschutt."² If this area was filled up as early as the last decade of the sixth century, we must assume that part of this fill was later removed and thrown over the wall. This is hardly the place to discuss this intricate problem, the more so as several scholars are at present engaged in revising the earlier views.³ If the discovery of the Herakles head can be said to throw any new light on the question, it would seem to favor the view that the "Tyrannenschutt" is really the same as the "Perserschutt." It would simplify the situation considerably, if we could show for certain that the filling up of the wells on the North Slope took place at the same time as the leveling for the terrace south of the Parthenon. This would offer the most natural explanation for the separation of the head from the rest of the poros fragments. On the other hand it is conceivable that the whole pedi-

¹ Two of the wells, D and E, were filled up again at the close of the excavation; the other two, A and B, were left open to supply water for the trees that will be planted in the excavated area when the work has been finished.

² See Guy Dickens, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 67, 79, 82.

³ See the article by W. Kolbe in *Jahrbuch*, LI, 1936, pp. 1-64, in which he has endeavored to show that the first plan of the Parthenon belongs to the period immediately after the destruction by the Persians. "Von Tyrannenschutt kann keine Rede mehr sein," *loc. cit.*, p. 62. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 408-448, fixes the date on Aug. 31, 488 B.C. The earlier theories are summarized by him on pp. 408-416.

ment group was thrown away and used as fill when the old temple was rebuilt in the time of the tyrants ¹ and that part of this fill was later removed and thrown down the slope.

The date of the fill on the Acropolis is not likely to be determined by excavations outside the walls, but might be accomplished by a thorough re-examination of the whole area between the Parthenon and the south wall of the citadel and of all the existing walls of this section. This is one of the tasks which the archaeologists of the future will have to shoulder in order to complete and rectify the picture of the Acropolis in the all-important sixth century before Christ.

OSCAR BRONEER

¹ The question may be raised whether we have any further reason to speak of a restoration of the temple at this time. Is it not possible that there were two temples of approximately the same size, one on the site of the later Parthenon, the other the so-called Dörpfeld temple, and that both existed until the time of the Persians and were then destroyed?

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SIDAMARA

A consistent interpretation of the scenes on the sarcophagus of Sidamara has not been given. Even the figures on its front have not been considered a thoughtfully composed group. The seated man and the standing woman at the center are usually described as a poet and Muse, while the female figure behind the poet is a girl in the dress of Artemis. The prevailing theory that the figures are purely decorative ignores the fact that the earliest columnar sarcophagus, that of the Mourning Women, from which all Graeco-Roman columnar sarcophagi are ultimately derived, reveals a significant use of the human figure. The mourning women from whom the sarcophagus takes its name express restrained grief. Since never more than nine of these mourners can be seen at one time, the sculptor had in mind not a large number of female relatives of the deceased but rather the nine Muses who weep for a departed warrior as once they wept for Achilles:

Μοῦσαι δ' ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι φοπὶ καλῇ | θρήνεον.¹

The Muses were popular in art at the time the sarcophagus was carved at Athens.² That the Athenian sculptor realized that one long side and one short side of a sarcophagus could be seen at one time is indicated by the continuation of a scene from the one into the other. One "read" the pictures from left to right starting at the front as in the case of the sarcophagus of Alexander. Hence the nine mourning figures could have been intended as one group and suggestive of the Muses, although the types are reminiscent of the draped women of the stelae of the Ceramicus. The artist would then be a more worthy contemporary of the master of the sarcophagus of Alexander. The latter was acutely mindful of historical fact when he represented Alexander fighting the Persians in one scene and hunting with them in another, for so soon as Alexander had destroyed the Persians as a nation, he cultivated their friendship for his empire. The figures of these two sarcophagi are typical but combined in significant groups. The typical figure and the significant group are not mutually exclusive.

In the third century after Christ it is conceivable that the sculptors of some sarcophagi were unaware of the meaning and the appropriateness of the figures which they copied or adapted, but the Muses and Apollo on the Borghese sarcophagus are

¹ *Odyssey*, XXIV, 61.

² Bie, *Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*, p. 22; for Muses without attributes see Bie, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Early Athenian tradition as illustrated by the François vase gives an attribute to Calliope only. For a chorus of nine Muses on each of the three walls of a tomb at Ruvo see Weege, *Der Tanz*, figs. 172-3. The youth with the lyre suggests Apollo. The date is *ca.* 400 B.C.

certainly not mere decoration. Several sarcophagi with such figures¹ appeared in Rome in the third century, i. e. at the very place and time of the celebrated philosopher Plotinus, whose death was commemorated in verse in which Apollo invokes the Muses:

κλήζω καὶ Μούσας ξυνήν ὅπα γηρύσασθαι

ἀλλ' ἄγε Μουσάων ἱερὸς χορὸς ἀπύσωμεν
εἰς ἐν ἐπιπνέοντες ἀοιδῆς τέρματα πάσης
ὔμμι καὶ ἐν μέσσαισιν ἐγὼ Φοῖβος βαρυχαίτης.²

Apollo is here in the midst of the Muses as he is on the sarcophagus.

The sarcophagus of Sidamara is another of the third century sarcophagi with significant figure decoration (Fig. 1). Comparison of it with the sarcophagus of Selefkeh (Fig. 2) shows that the two are related and suggests that they are derived from a common original. Their provenance in southern Lycaonia and Cilicia may mean that they were carved in Cilicia and possibly at Tarsus.³ The sarcophagus of Sidamara is the more elaborate and closer to the original, but the two give evidence of Athenian tradition. The sarcophagus of Sidamara, like that of Selefkeh, has the same relation of length to width as the great Athenian sarcophagi of Alexander and the "Mourning Women." All four are approximately twice as long as wide, as the following measurements show:

Sarcophagus	Length in meters	Width in meters
Mourning Women	2.653 at lower plinth	1.383
	2.591 at architrave	1.308
Alexander	3.18 at base	1.67
	3.02 at upper edge	1.51
Sidamara	3.81	1.93
Selefkeh	2.63	1.30

Since the sarcophagus of "the Mourning Women" is an Ionic temple in miniature,⁴ the Athenian sculptor naturally copied the proportions of the finest temple of that order which he knew, the unsurpassed Erechtheum.⁵ It measures 22.507×11.634 m.

¹ Cf. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, fig. 52 (= Fig. 8 below; 250 A.D.), figs. 56-57 (Apollo and Muses, 200-225 A.D.), fig. 80 (250-300; Morey, p. 46), figs. 87 and 90 (250-300). Cf. for dating *ibid.*, p. 89.

² Pierre Boyancé, *Le Culte des Muses chez les Philosophes Grecs* (1937), p. 290. He cites a sarcophagus with figures of the Muses, *op. cit.*, p. 279, n. 3. Plato built a shrine to the Muses in the Academy.

³ Cf. A. M. Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1904, pp. 274-5. For a map showing the distribution of monuments of the Dioscuri in Pisidia and adjacent regions see Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au Service d'une Déesse* (1935), p. 100.

⁴ Cf. Euripides, *Troïades*, 96: τύμβους θ' ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων.

⁵ Vitruvius, IV, 4, 1 states that the width of a temple should be half its length.



Fig. 1. The Sarcophagus of Sidamara. Front



Fig. 2. Sarcophagus of Selefkeh. Front

Quite apart from the Greek heroization of the dead, the choice of the Erechtheum as a model was appropriate because it contained the tomb of Cecrops. The sarcophagus seems to have borrowed its attached colonnade from the west façade of the temple. Both colonnades have pilasters at the ends.¹

The sarcophagus of Sidamara has further the same number of friezes as the sarcophagus of "the Mourning Women," and in the same positions. Both have attached colonnades with single figures in the intercolumniations above and below which is a smaller frieze except on the front of the former.² Another inheritance from the fourth century is the balance of subject in the principal frieze. One long side and one short side of the Sidamara sarcophagus are decorated with a scene of hunting as on the sarcophagus of Alexander; the other long side and short side are occupied with figures at rest, a poet with parchment roll in each group. Finally some of the male figures are Lysippean types. The sarcophagus, then, in proportions, in the number and position of its friezes, and in the even division of subject of the principal frieze attests the persistence of Athenian tradition from the fourth century. The ateliers of Athens which in that century sent the sarcophagi of Alexander and of "the Mourning Women" to Sidon in Phoenicia, and which affected the sepulchral art of Sardis³ and Alexandria⁴ continued to exercise that influence in the succeeding centuries.

But in architectural detail the sarcophagus of Sidamara has departed far from its prototype. The human figures and the ideas expressed by them counted for more than their architectural frame. The stage façade has displaced the temple colonnade, although the door keeps the position it had in the temple. From the stage façade came the gable and the arch in place of the continuous Ionic architrave, a change which necessitated an odd number of intercolumniations without however affecting the proportions of the sarcophagus. The six intercolumniations of the sarcophagus of "the Mourning Women" were reduced to five on the sarcophagus of Sidamara. The statues which adorned the stage front in early Hellenistic times could be of life size without overlapping the architrave; but when this front was

¹ The Ionic temple of Athena at Priene, which is of the time of Alexander, took the proportions of its plan, which measures 122 × 64 ft. (Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, pp. 147-149), apparently from the Erechtheum. The cult image was a small copy of the Phidian Parthenos, another close link with the Athenian acropolis (Wiegand, *Priene*, pp. 86 and 110). The influence of the sarcophagus of "the Mourning Women" in Asia Minor is indicated by its resemblance to the altar of Athena before her temple at Priene (cf. Wiegand, *ibid.*, p. 124). Athenian proportions are again in evidence in the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina, which was discovered at Sardis. It measures 2.325 m. × 1.16 m.

² Complete views of the sarcophagus are given by Schede, *Meisterwerke der Türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel*, I, pls. XXXVIII-XLI; cf. Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures*, I, pp. 293 ff.

³ Cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 387. The friezes of the Heroön of Trysa and of the Mausoleum mark the beginning of mainland influence in the sepulchral art of Asia Minor, but these tombs did not derive their architecture from the same source as the friezes.

⁴ Cf. Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 265.

reduced in height, the statues apparently were not correspondingly reduced, and a disagreeable overlapping resulted.

Perhaps the substitution of the stage façade for the temple colonnade of the sarcophagus was due to the statues. The temple of Zeus at Olympia shows that statues were sometimes placed between the columns of a *pteron*, but at Athens as early as Lycurgus statues of the great Athenian tragic poets were set up in the theatre of Dionysus. These seem to have been standing figures for the most part. That of Menander was seated. The seated poet of the Sidamara sarcophagus may have been inspired ultimately by the position of this Menander. That the Sidamara

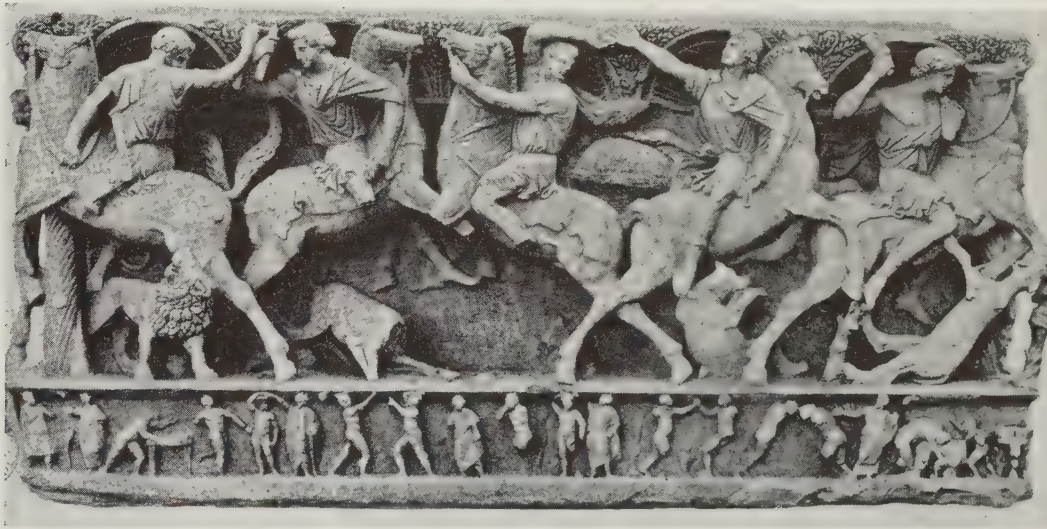


Fig. 3. The Sarcophagus of Sidamara. Back

poet is a copy of a statue is shown by the base. It is not assumed that the artist of the Sidamara sarcophagus was directly influenced by the Athenian stage and its statues, but that some Athenian sculptor sitting in the theatre first conceived the idea of substituting a stage front for the temple colonnade. Once this substitution was made, the character of the *scaenae frons* could be modified with reference to the stage with which the sculptor of a sarcophagus was familiar. The resultant excessive ornamentation produces an unpleasant contrast like that of the Etruscan urn with its Greek relief on the sides and Etruscan realistic portraiture on the lid. A sarcophagus carved for a dramatic poet in the Hellenistic period could quite logically have given him his proper setting by placing his figure against the stage rather than in a meaningless temple colonnade. Such *contaminatio* would be fully justified for the Hellenistic artist by his growing interest in true environment. The influence of the theatre would further account for the strange appearance of a hunting expedition before a colonnade on the other long side of the sarcophagus of Sidamara (Fig. 3).

This colonnade is not a mere extension of that of the principal scene but is the logical setting for those encounters with wild animals which were "staged" in the later theatres and painted on the walls of their orchestras.¹

The problem as to where the sarcophagus of Sidamara and its congener from Selefkeh were carved is solved by two items of evidence. The first is the popularity of the central gable and flanking arches on sepulchral reliefs in the region where the sarcophagus of Sidamara was found. Several examples are published by A. M. Ramsay.² Some of these seem to be pagan, but in any case they attest the vogue of the arch and gable in sepulchral art of the early Christian period. In sharp contrast to these reliefs with their preference for the tripartite colonnade stand the grave reliefs in the museum at Brusa which have only a single intercolumniation.³ A number of these came from the valley of Altyntash, where Asiatic sarcophagi have been found. The tripartite façade in relief was apparently more popular in the sepulchral art of southern Asia Minor than in the north. This façade has been derived from "some typical form of the Lycaonian Church,"⁴ but some of the tripartite reliefs have a shell in the gable as have the Sidamara sarcophagus and that from Selefkeh.

The second and far more significant item of evidence is the prominence of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, on these two sarcophagi. The cult of these heroes, which was especially popular in their native Laconia, followed Spartan colonies into Pisidia and spread into adjacent regions. The evidence has been assembled by Perdrizet.⁵ He notes that the Spartan reliefs in which appear Castor and Pollux with their sister Helen are of the second century; the Pisidian of the first. An example of uncertain provenance in the museum at Constantinople (Fig. 4) represents Helen fully draped and with clear indication of a veil. It is easy to believe that the cult of the Spartan triad spread into western Lycaonia, where the sarcophagus of Sidamara was found. It certainly spread into Cilicia, where at Seleucia (Selefkeh) there is a rock-hewn sarcophagus of a priestess of the Dioscuri according to its inscription of the third century after Christ.⁶ This is the first evidence of the cult at Selefkeh, but to the north of it Keil and Wilhelm report a "stark verbreitete Dioskurenkult." Since the sarcophagus of the Cilician priestess of the Dioscuri is of the same place and date as that of Selefkeh, it is quite clear that these heroes were significant rather

¹ For such painting see Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 384-5, figs. 3 and 4; XXX, 1926, p. 452, fig. 7.

² *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, figs. 1, 2, 3, 11, 22. Cf. Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1904, p. 274.

³ *B.C.H.*, 1909, pp. 286 ff., figs. 17 ff.

⁴ Cf. Ramsay, *Anatolian Studies* (1923), p. 327.

⁵ *B.S.A.*, 1896-97, p. 162. His plate XIII b = Figure 4 below. On the Spartan reliefs with Helen and the Dioscuri see Tod and Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, pp. 18, 113 ff., 135 f., 158.

⁶ Keil und Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, III, p. 17.

than purely decorative types, and so much the more so since the cult of the Dioscuri and Helen was sepulchral. Perdrizet calls them "the patron saints of the dead." A Spartan devoted to these chthonic heroes could very appropriately represent them on his sarcophagus.

The presence of Castor and Pollux with their horses on the Sidamara sarcophagus encourages one to seek among the five figures of their group for Helen, the



Fig. 4. Helen and the Dioscuri. Relief in Constantinople

third member of the triad (Fig. 1). Of the two female figures available one wears a short skirt which definitely identifies her as Artemis, who was an important deity at Sparta and closely associated with the Spartan triad. With Artemis and the Dioscuri identified, the second female figure must be Helen rather than one of the Muses, who at this period seem not to be veiled. Helen faces a dignified man, who is seated at the center of the group, and listens attentively as he concludes the reading of a manuscript roll. One may compare the relief by Archelaus of the deification of Homer who is seated before a colonnaded stage front.¹ The presence of the Spartan

¹ Cf. *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 496 ff.

triad in the company of a poet is particularly appropriate because of the tradition that Helen appeared before Homer to bid him write the story of Troy,¹ while her brothers Castor and Pollux were accounted protectors of poets.² It is possible that the poet has been reading a poem about "the three patron saints of the dead." The group of five thus ceases to be a medley of types without any significant interrelation and becomes a well conceived unity.

If the principal relief of the sarcophagus glorifies the Spartan heroes, then the other reliefs may well elaborate the same theme. The second scene is one of hunting. For this the Dioscuri were famous, as their participation in the Calydonian hunt shows. The name of Castor was given to certain hounds which were called Castoriae or Castorides.³ Pausanias in describing the throne of the Amyclaeon Apollo says: "At the upper extremities of the throne at either side are the sons of Tyndareus on horseback, and there are sphinxes under the horses and wild beasts running upward, on the side of Castor a leopard and on the side of Pollux a lioness."⁴ This may serve to identify the horseman above the lion on the Sidamara sarcophagus as Pollux and that above the leopard as Castor. The Dioscuri would then be the terminal figures in the two larger groups. Of course hunting scenes are common in sepulchral art, but that does not exclude the possibility of a definite one. The lion-hunt on the sarcophagus of Alexander shows him in company with the Persians, a sequel to the battle on the front. The hunting scene on the sarcophagus of Sidamara may be one which the seated poet commemorated in his poem. In this scene the juxtaposition of the lion and the deer is odd. It occurs on the Alexander sarcophagus where the hunters have come upon the lion as it was about to attack a deer.⁵

Each of the two major reliefs of the Sidamara sarcophagus is continued into a short side (Fig. 5). The continuation of the hunting scene calls for no comment, but the other is remarkable (Fig. 5 A). Two figures flank a portal in which is set a table of offerings which seem to have been placed there by the woman at the left. She holds a patera from which she is about to put more of the same fruit, grapes and pomegranates, upon the table. The sepulchral significance of this fruit in the cult of the dead at Sparta is shown by the grave-stelae in which the seated figures of the chthonic deities hold one a pomegranate and the other a wine-cup. The portal is the entrance to a temple-tomb. The veiled woman who makes the offering and the bearded man with the rotulus are again Helen and the poet. The tomb is that of the

¹ Isocrates, *Helen*, 65.

² Theocritus, XXII, 215.

³ Xenophon, *Cyn.*, III, 1; *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 167; Pollux, V, 39.

⁴ Pausanias, III, 18, 14.

⁵ Cf. Euripides, *Ion*, 1162: ἐλάφῳ, λεόντων τ' ἀγρίων θηράματα. With the lion's head on the throne of the seated poet on the Sidamara sarcophagus compare that in the same position on the throne of Zeus in an Athenian B. F. vase painting (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 218, fig. 171). The detail may be Athenian.

Dioscuri who appear in the first scene. Helen raised them from death to godhood. Isocrates the Athenian orator of the fourth century said that "not only did Helen obtain immortality herself but on acquiring divine power she brought up to godhood her brothers who had been overpowered by fate."¹ Such then was the tradition at Athens about the Spartan triad when the sarcophagi of "the Mourning Women" and of Alexander were carved there, to be sent beyond Cilicia to Phoenicia. It is possible that the original of the sarcophagi of Sidamara and Selefkeh was carved at



Fig. 5 A-B. The Sarcophagus of Sidamara. The Reliefs on the Sides

Athens about the same time and shipped to the Cilician coast. This theory would account for their "Athenian reminiscences." Those who ordered the original sarcophagus were perhaps of Spartan descent and wished a monument decorated with scenes of the Spartan saints of the dead. Helen who raised her brothers from death to glory would confer the same destiny upon her devotees. Greek mysteries which reenacted the story of deities of salvation for the benefit of their initiates could promote this end not only by dramatic performance but also by plastic representation.

The small friezes on the base and cover of the sarcophagus of Sidamara with scenes of contest and hunting are further chapters in the story of the Dioscuri. The

¹ Isocrates, *Helen*, 61; cf. Euripides, *Orestes*, 1631.

hunting scenes in which putti and Erotes participate are the pastime of the deified twins continued in the other world. The Eros was a symbol of the soul beyond death.¹ There are two contest scenes. The one on the rear of the sarcophagus is boxing. At the center are two boxers who have just concluded their bout. One is about to be crowned while the vanquished puts his hand to his face in sign of dejection. Two draped figures beside them are the umpires. On either side of the central group is a pair of boxers who balance each other in typical Greek symmetry. In these contests there is allusion to the fame of Pollux as a boxer who was known to Homer as "good at the fist."² Adjoining this frieze around the corner is another of a chariot-race. The start of the race from the stalls is shown, but the frieze was too short to permit the inclusion of the *metae*. This curtailment could hardly have been true of the original. The allusion is to Castor who excelled in the control of horses according to Homer. Tertullian says that the exhibition of horses at the games was dedicated to Castor and Pollux.³

The cover of the sarcophagus of Sidamara with its reclining figures of the deceased has now to be discussed.⁴ It has become a couch. The earliest example of the couch-sarcophagus, on which the deceased recline as at a banquet, is found in Etruria. The banquet is the funeral-banquet which was celebrated by the Etruscans, Greeks and Romans and at which the deceased were present as a condition of their subsistence in the Elysian fields.⁵ The reclining male figure of the Sidamara sarcophagus with a rotulus in hand is secondary. The symposium has become literary and perhaps indicates that the deceased was a poet. A mystic character for the reclining group would have facilitated the *contaminatio* of the temple type of sarcophagus with the couch type. This hybrid was unknown to the early Hellenistic sculptor who would have considered it illogical for the simple and sufficient reason that no one reclined upon a temple. The fusion of the two types must have been late when the sarcophagus was no longer so clearly regarded as a temple in miniature. The substitution of the stage colonnade for that of a temple was an earlier disregard for the original conception of the columnar sarcophagus.

The sarcophagus of Sidamara was not an original monument but rather one derived from a splendid Athenian work, the parent and grandparent of many sarcophagi which modified its decorative sculpture with less or more freedom. Of one of

¹ S. Angus, *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World*, p. 294.

² *Iliad*, III, 237.

³ *de Spec.* IX. Cf. a fragmentary relief from a sarcophagus of the third century after Christ representing a *tensa* on its way to the Circus during the games. The temple-like box has in a panel on the long side the Dioscuri and their horses of the familiar type. (This *tensa* is figured in Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v. tensa*.)

⁴ Illustrated in *Mon. Piot*, X, p. 92; Schede, *Meisterwerke*, I, pl. XXXIX; Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures*, I, p. 301.

⁵ Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, pp. 53 ff., 200.

these mention has already been made, the sarcophagus of Selefkeh (Fig. 2). Comparison of it with the sarcophagus of Sidamara shows that the sculptor has carved in the frontal group in the place of Artemis a duplicate of Helen, thus getting a balanced composition but impairing a consistently Spartan theme. He may have been led to do this by the balanced pair of the Dioscuri. His interest in monotonously balanced groups is seen again in the two female figures on the other long side of the sarcophagus, where they occupy the same positions as the "Helens" on the front. The hunting scene has been confined to one end and represents an encounter with a boar, probably the Calydonian boar-hunt in which the Dioscuri took part. The other end is decorated with three male figures instead of a portal with a poet and a woman with patera.

A third sarcophagus, which was discovered at Synnada in southern Phrygia,¹ reveals much wider divergence from that of Sidamara. Though the Dioscuri are retained in their traditional places at the ends of a group of five intercolumnar figures, their horses have been omitted. Synnada lay on the road from Ephesus to Cilicia, for Cicero passed through the town in making that journey. The inspiration of the Synnada sarcophagus probably travelled the same road from Cilicia. Yet other derivatives of the Athenian original are fragments of sarcophagi at Athens² which admit of close comparison with that of Sidamara and again with that of Selefkeh. The provenance of the fragments is not known, but the marble is Pentelic. Two of the figures which stood at the side of a tomb-portal are to be compared with those in the same position on the Sidamara sarcophagus. There can be no question as to their kinship. The sacrificial ox brought to the portal as on the sarcophagus of Synnada is another illustration of the variations in derivatives from a great original (Fig. 6).³ The same phenomenon may be observed in the Athenian grave reliefs which modify the motif of the stele of Hegeso. On a second fragment of the Athenian sarcophagus are a mounted hunter and attendant who so obviously resemble the hunters of a boar on the Selefkeh sarcophagus that the missing beast may be restored as a boar (Fig. 7). A fragment of another derivative in the British Museum substitutes a Muse with a mask for the Helen of the original, thus defining the poet as dramatic (Fig. 8). It is easy to see how this change came about. When Helen commanded Homer to tell the story of Troy, she encroached upon the function of the Muse.

A sixth variant of the original is in the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence (Fig. 9). The Dioscuri remain as terminal figures of the group, but the poet in the central bay has been displaced by the deceased pair.⁴ The fully draped and veiled sister of

¹ Buckler, Calder and Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, IV, pls. 23-25.

² The fragments are now in the Byzantine Museum.

³ The offering of an ox at the grave, apparently of Mycenaean origin, was forbidden by the laws of Solon. On the right end of the Riccardi sarcophagus a sacrificial ox is again seen.

⁴ The present cover does not belong to the sarcophagus. Cf. Rodenwaldt, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1923-4, p. 11. He denies the sarcophagus any dependence on Greek prototypes (pp. 12-13).

the Dioscuri stands behind the woman, while behind the man is the husband of Helen, Menelaus, who wears armor in allusion to his participation in the siege of Troy.¹ Tradition said that Menelaus was made immortal by Hera and went to the Elysian fields with Helen.² The close association of the deceased pair with Helen and Menelaus probably means that they are to share in the happy destiny of the Spartan heroes.



Fig. 6. Fragment of a Sarcophagus at Athens



Fig. 7. Fragment of a Sarcophagus in Athens

The representation of the deceased pair on the front of the sarcophagus led to the innovation of placing two figures in a single intercolumniation instead of the traditional one. Husband and wife were so closely united that they could not be placed in adjacent bays. This innovation was followed by the multiplication of figures in a single intercolumniation as in the sarcophagi of Tipasa and Pisa.³ The

¹ Euripides, *Troïades*, 213, calls Menelaus the sacker of Troy. The cuirass of Menelaus resembles that of a warrior in an Athenian stele (Diepolder, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, pl. 50).

² Apollodorus, *Epitome*, VI, 29. Cf. *Odyssey*, IV, 561-4.

³ Illustrated in Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, figs. 104, 103.



Fig. 8. Portion of a Sarcophagus in London. Front



Fig. 9. The Riccardi Sarcophagus. Front

presence of the deceased on the front of the sarcophagus necessitated the transfer of the portal of the temple-tomb from its position at the short end, as in the Sidamara sarcophagus, to the middle of the front. The conception of the sarcophagus as a temple had so faded that it was easy to make this change. Another development was to replace the deceased pair with the entrance by which they passed to the other world. The tomb has become the dwelling of departed spirits; its door is the gate of Hades.¹ Hence it is not surprising to find Hermes *psychopompos* emerging from the partly opened door on a sarcophagus at Petrograd.² He is returning from Hades whither he has conducted souls of the dead. The draped figure to the left of the portal is in origin Helen, while her counterpart on the right of the portal is the armed Menelaus. Behind them hangs what may be the "Athenian" stage curtain.³ The presence of Hermes recalls the inscription at Alifaradin which associates him with the Dioscuri.⁴ The rectangular frames of the flanking figures may derive from the *pinakes* of the stage front. This sarcophagus is of Pentelic marble, which probably means that it was carved at Athens.

These sarcophagi which resemble one another in various respects are modified versions of a fine original with carefully elaborated unity of theme. It was probably carved at Athens in the late fourth century, when the city was unrivalled as a center of sepulchral art. This preëminence, which could not have been permanently impaired by the sumptuary laws of Demetrius of Phalerum, was felt in the widely separated ateliers of Asia Minor, Italy and Roman Africa. From Athens were radiated schemes of decoration for sarcophagi accompanied by occasional pieces. Provincial sculptors enjoyed in this respect the same advantages as provincial painters and mosaicists. This of course does not preclude a direct derivation of some sarcophagi in the west from ateliers in Asia Minor. Athens produced sculpture throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The capital of Juba, Caesaria (Cherchel), contained many statues of Pentelic marble which Graindor believes were acquired in Athens during Juba's visit there. Athens was the center from which the neo-Attic sculptors exported their works to the ancient world.⁵ That Athens at a later period produced sarcophagi is confirmed by the appearance, on two widely separated monuments, of figures copied directly from the frieze of an Athenian temple. A seated youth on a sarcophagus known as Torre Nova A from the place of its discovery is a close copy of the seated youth in the frieze of the Ionic temple on the Ilissus, as observed by Hauser.⁶ The sarcophagus is of Pentelic marble, reveals reminiscences of Attic art

¹ Cf. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, p. 70.

² Morey, *ibid.*, fig. 98.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, pl. VI.

⁴ Petersen und Luschan, *Reisen im Südwestlichen Kleinasien*, II, p. 168, fig. 78.

⁵ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 86: Cicero, *ad. Att.*, I, 3, 2; I, 10, 3. Cf. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 200, 204.

⁶ Morey, *op. cit.*, figs. 77, 136 and p. 46. Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, 1916, p. 174.

and is approximately twice as long as wide (1.30 m. \times 0.63 m.). The second piece, a relief from Smyrna, represents a kneeling figure clasping a colonnette. The same motif is found in the frieze of the temple on the Ilissus.¹ These two close copies of details of the decorative frieze of an Athenian temple can only mean that they were carved at Athens as was the sarcophagus of "the Mourning Women." It is inconceivable that a block of Pentelic marble was shipped to Italy, there to be decorated with a figure which closely copies one on an Athenian temple.

G. W. ELDERKIN

¹ Morey, *op. cit.*, fig. 137.

A HOARD OF GREEK FEDERAL SILVER

During the spring of 1937 a hoard of 677 silver coins was secured from an Athenian dealer who declared it had been discovered on an island off Preveza. Prior to the acquisition of the hoard, the purchaser had heard various rumors of its origin, one locating it in Cephalonia and another in Patrae. Nothing more positive can be stated than that it seems to be a complete group of coins, presumably unearthed at some spot on the central shores of the Ionian Sea. Contents of the collection, in which Achaean League triobols predominate, would tend to favor the Patrae attribution. However, trade relations or the fortunes of war might account for a more northerly place of interment.

Besides the 429 coins which represent the Federal currency of twenty-two members of the Achaean League, the hoard contains 119 pieces from Peloponnesian cities assignable to approximately the same period, the third and second centuries before Christ. These are autonomous issues of League members, for the most part coined while the cities belonged to the Federation, and include 80 Megalopolis specimens with the seated Pan on the reverse, 35 coins from Argos, 2 from Lacedaemon, and 1 each from Messene and Patrae. Another contemporary group of 21 coins comes from outside the Peloponnese, being minted in Aetolia between 279 and 168 B.C. Then there are 108 coins, all issued in Central Greece with the exception of 53 Sicyonian pieces, 6 being from Boeotia, 31 from Chalcis, 13 from Locri Opuntii, and 5 from Phocis. These are considerably older than the other types, with a range of date from *ca.* 426 to *ca.* 300 B.C.

In general the coins were in an excellent state of preservation when obtained. Some few had an iron deposit and a score or more showed a green encrustation, but most of them were clearly legible without preliminary cleaning. Taken as a whole, the least wear is apparent, as one might expect, on the Achaean League issues. Similarly well-preserved are the autonomous coins of Argos. Within the League circle the best groups are those of Megalopolis, Pallantium, and Antigoneia. In the latter case the reverses show clearly defined details while the obverses seem frequently to be struck from worn dies. Individually best are examples from Argos, Megalopolis, Patrae, Cleitor, and Tegea.¹

There is a noticeable difference in wear between League and extra-League coinages. In the former group the greatest evidence of use is manifested by two Early Style specimens, by most of the Dyme coins, and by one type from Ceryneia (No. 280). The Elis coins without symbols are often rubbed, likewise the Megarian

¹ Nos. 130, 223, 251, 380, 386, and 427 in the catalogue.

assortment shows signs of wear. However, the most worn pieces from the hoard in general are those of Sicyon, Chalcis, and Locri Opuntii, while the coins of Phocis and Boeotia are only slightly better. If the British Museum dating is accepted for this latter group and the presence of the coins explained on the ground that they continued in circulation at this period as equal in value to the League triobols, then it is natural that they should be the most worn of the hoard since they antedate the Federal money by a century or more, the oldest coin being a Boeotian piece dated 426-395 B.C.

An interesting problem is raised by the inclusion of these early coins in our hoard. Why should specimens minted before 300 B.C. be mixed so plentifully with Achaean money? It is easy enough to trace a connection between the early money of Sicyon and the money of the League to which she later belonged, but the route by which coins of Central Greece might have come into the Peloponnese is not so obvious. Our belief is that the connecting link was Aetolia. Early in the fourth century—a newly-discovered inscription from the Agora Excavations in Athens proves it to have been previous to 367 B.C.¹—she had united her tribes into a strong League which lasted until it was dismembered by the Romans in 189 B.C. During its 200 or more years of existence the Aetolian League gained a wide-spread reputation for aggression and plunder which made its citizens hated and feared throughout most of Greece. How early this predatory career began is uncertain, but during the fourth and third centuries B.C. the Aetolians were prominently identified with the affairs of Central Greece. Diodorus² reports an alliance with the Thebans soon after the battle of Leuktra in consequence of which they were able to take over Kalydon.³ In the Sacred Wars of 356-346 they are not mentioned, but the fact that the Phocians used many mercenary troops, together with the known Aetolian custom of selling military services, is suggestive.⁴ Shortly after the acquisition of Naupaktos in 338 the League seems to have gained a place in the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi which naturally brought it into close contact with the rest of Central Greece.⁵ Once the Theban hegemony had been crushed and the attention of the Macedonian rulers was concentrated on Asiatic troubles, Aetolia began to expand, occupying a part of Acarnania in 330 and invading Locris in 321.⁶ The next twenty years were to see her extending her influence eastward. M. Flacelière believes that some time between the years 301-298 B.C. Aetolia seized Delphi and concluded an alliance with the Boeotians.⁷ Plutarch (*Demetrius*, XL) tells that Poliorcetes in 290 had the Pythian festival at Athens because the Aetolians, in possession of the defiles of Parnassus, forbade access to the Sacred City.

¹ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 3, pp. 5-12. R. Flacelière (*Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, p. 42, n. 6) points out that previously available evidence did not prove the non-existence of the League before 335.

² XV, 57.

³ Hohmann, *Aitolien und die Aitoler bis zum lamischen Kriege*, pp. 31-32.

⁴ *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII, p. 208.

⁵ Hohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

⁶ Flacelière, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-66.

It would seem then that at the very beginning of the third century Aetolia was a force in Central Greece, controlling the principal passes of that section and having a foothold in Western Locris and Phocis as well as a voice in the Amphictyonic Council. From that time on she continued her policy of annexation without hindrance, until *ca.* 245 B.C. she made the Boeotian League her ally and shortly thereafter acquired all of Phocis and possibly Opuntian Locris.¹

Since the currency of Aetolia did not begin until a late date, 279 B.C., it is possible that prior to that time she used as a medium of exchange the money of her neighbors which flowed into her coffers as a result of commercial and military enterprises. Even after she had a mint of her own, she undoubtedly did not hesitate to add to its output the coinage of other provinces. In this way money from Phocis and Western Locris, her possessions, as well as some from Boeotia, Chalcis, and Opuntian Locris, whose trade relations with the West would be close, came to be mingled freely with her own currency. Subsequent opportunities for introducing this Central and Western Greek coinage into the Peloponnese were numerous. A close alliance with Elis gave her an excuse for stepping into Peloponnesian affairs, which resulted in an invasion of the peninsula in 243-241 B.C. and the entrance of Mantinea, Tegea, and Orchomenos into her League.² Phigaleia, another Arcadian outpost, she still occupied late in the third century; indeed her garrison in that city by its raids on Messenian territory brought her troops into the Peloponnese again in 220 B.C.³ It seems possible that the Central Greek coins of our hoard are mementoes of these Aetolian incursions and that they continued in circulation as equal in value to the current Achaean League coinage.

Much of the preceding hypothesis rests upon the assumption that our hoard was either buried in the Peloponnese or at least assembled there, a likely theory in view of the preponderance of money from that province. The contrary possibility, supported by the Central Greek money, that the hoard came from Preveza, does not invalidate the tenor of our argument. From the fourth century on, intercourse between Northern and Southern Greece was well-established in the realms of war and trade. Both of these activities must have stimulated the movement of money out of as well as into the Peloponnese.

One other point which concerns the hoard as a whole remains to be discussed, namely the time of its burial. Selection of this date is, for the most part, a conjectural process. Nothing definite can be proved; only an occasional straw points the direction of the wind. With confidence it can be asserted that the interment must have occurred subsequent to 191 B.C., as the presence of numerous Elean, Spartan, and Messenian types signifies. If our κ^0 coins could be indisputably linked to Corone, a terminal

¹ *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII, pp. 732-733.

² Dubois, *Les Ligues étolienne et achéenne*, p. 32.

³ Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, I (1863), pp. 507 ff.

date of 184 would be gained.¹ A further advance of about fifteen years might be justified by one other tangible clue, namely the inclusion in the hoard of a coin of Aegium marked with the full name of Aristodamus. This man is mentioned in history as one of the ambassadors who, after the defeat of Perseus in 168 B.C., was sent by Achaea to convey good wishes to the Roman generals.² To be sure, as Löbbecke points out in using the argument to date his collection,³ establishment of absolute identity is impossible, and, moreover, the work of Aristodamus as mint official may be separated by many years from his activity as ambassador.

Supplementing this meagre historical evidence are some factors which favor a comparatively late date for the burial of the money. Much of the following argument is based on a comparison of our hoard with the Caserta one, remarkably similar in number, proportion, and geographical distribution of coins. On valid grounds Löbbecke⁴ believes that his coins were hidden about 146 B.C., the last year in which the Achaean League could have issued Federal currency. Certain of the pieces he describes as "stempelfrisch" and asserts that they were among the last specimens minted. In our hoard there is a repetition of one-third of these coins, also in good or fairly good condition. If his types were minted shortly prior to 146, then the recurrence of these types in our group would indicate approximately the same period of burial.

The coins of Elis offer still more convincing evidence. Since our hoard contains 79 products of that mint, it seems as if sheer weight of numbers should lend a certain force to any information they provide. A study of the individual pieces clearly brought out a striking evolution of obverse heads. Indeed 45 years⁵ seemed all too short a time to bring about a degeneration from a type like No. 1 on Plate IX to No. 15 on the same sheet. With the thought that the whole series might be arranged in chronological sequence on this basis, the types were shifted about as they showed varying degrees of skill and care in execution. When completed the series followed similar lines to a list compiled by Miss Emily Grace,⁶ representing, as she suggests, an evolutionary process from the simple type with letters and no symbol to the more complex development with several monograms and the thunderbolt. In the catalogue and plates the coins are put in the order outlined above,⁷ so that Nos. 11-15 on Plate IX represent our five most debased and, therefore, presumably our latest types.

¹ Sparta entered the League in 192 B.C.; Elis and Messene in 191. Corone was added about 184. Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 715.

² Polybius, XXX, 10.

³ *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXVI, 1908, p. 277.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 277-278.

⁵ 191-146 B.C. The years between the entry of Elis into the Federation and the Roman conquest of Corinth which ended the life of the League as an independent body.

⁶ Margaret Crosby and Emily Grace, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 74, pp. 34-39.

⁷ The only change made was a transfer of the eagle type from fourth to first place for the sake of preserving the continuity of the series without symbols. It will be noted that the development is consistent in all respects except for Nos. 638-40 and 641 which have only one monogram and yet

To make the matter more definite, an attempt was made to link our sequence with the coins in Clerk,¹ following Miss Grace's assumption that the 65 types there enumerated probably represent most of the Elean coinage from 191 to 146 B.C. Without arranging all Clerk's plates in a fashion similar to ours, which did not seem particularly relevant to this problem, we selected his five most barbaric heads and considered them among the latest products of the Elean mint.² Comparison of those numbers with our five latest specimens showed a duplication in two instances.³ Two of our worst coins were among Clerk's poorest examples. Although this is far from certain proof, it nevertheless does make tenable the hypothesis that some of our Elis group were minted late in the 191-146 period.

In consideration of the foregoing points, our general assertion would be that the hoard was buried at some time in the decade preceding the collapse of Achaean autonomy after the Roman invasion and victory of 146 B.C. The fragmentary nature of our evidence makes the choice of one definite restricted year of dubious value. As to why these Peloponnese coins migrated to Cephalonia or Preveza, or why they were buried at all, it is futile to speculate, especially in view of the uncertainty concerning the exact place of discovery. The times were troubled ones in all of Greece, and undoubtedly earth was thrown over many a man's fortune to protect it from a plundering soldiery.

The catalogue on pp. 130-141 has an arrangement as nearly chronological as possible. The Achaean League coins have been placed at the end, and within that group the cities have been listed according to the date when they formally joined the Federation, beginning with the earliest members (See Appendix I). The year 251 B.C. is used as the line of demarcation between the Early Style League coinage and the later types with mint symbols. This follows along the general lines of a suggestion by Cousinéry.⁴ The entrance of Sicyon, the League's first extra-Achaean adherent, with the consequent realization that the Union was destined to be more than a provincial affair, might well have been the occasion for the adopting of a differentiated currency.

An asterisk after a city name indicates that some discussion of the coins from that mint comes at the end of the catalogue.

come in the middle of the double monogram series. Likewise Nos. 626-30 and 631, our only types with obverse names, although poorly executed and relatively late, still do not show the most degenerate heads as one might expect if they belong to the very end of the period. However, Miss Grace herself suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, note 20) that these coins may have been issued for special occasions, such as the Olympic celebrations.

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Achaean League*, pp. 15-18.

² Nos. 249, 252, 254, 256, and 260.

³ Clerk's Nos. 254 and 256; our Nos. 642 and 646.

⁴ *Essai sur les Monnaies d'argent de la Ligue achéenne*, p. 21. Weil (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, IX, 1882, p. 207) bases his earlier dating in part upon a correspondence of weight between these early League pieces and the old Arcadian triobols. Hence he thinks they should be contemporary coinages. However, as we hope to prove later, there is reason to believe that the Arcadian denominations continued to be minted in the Achaean period, and therefore, on that ground, no need exists for pushing the first Achaean types so far back.

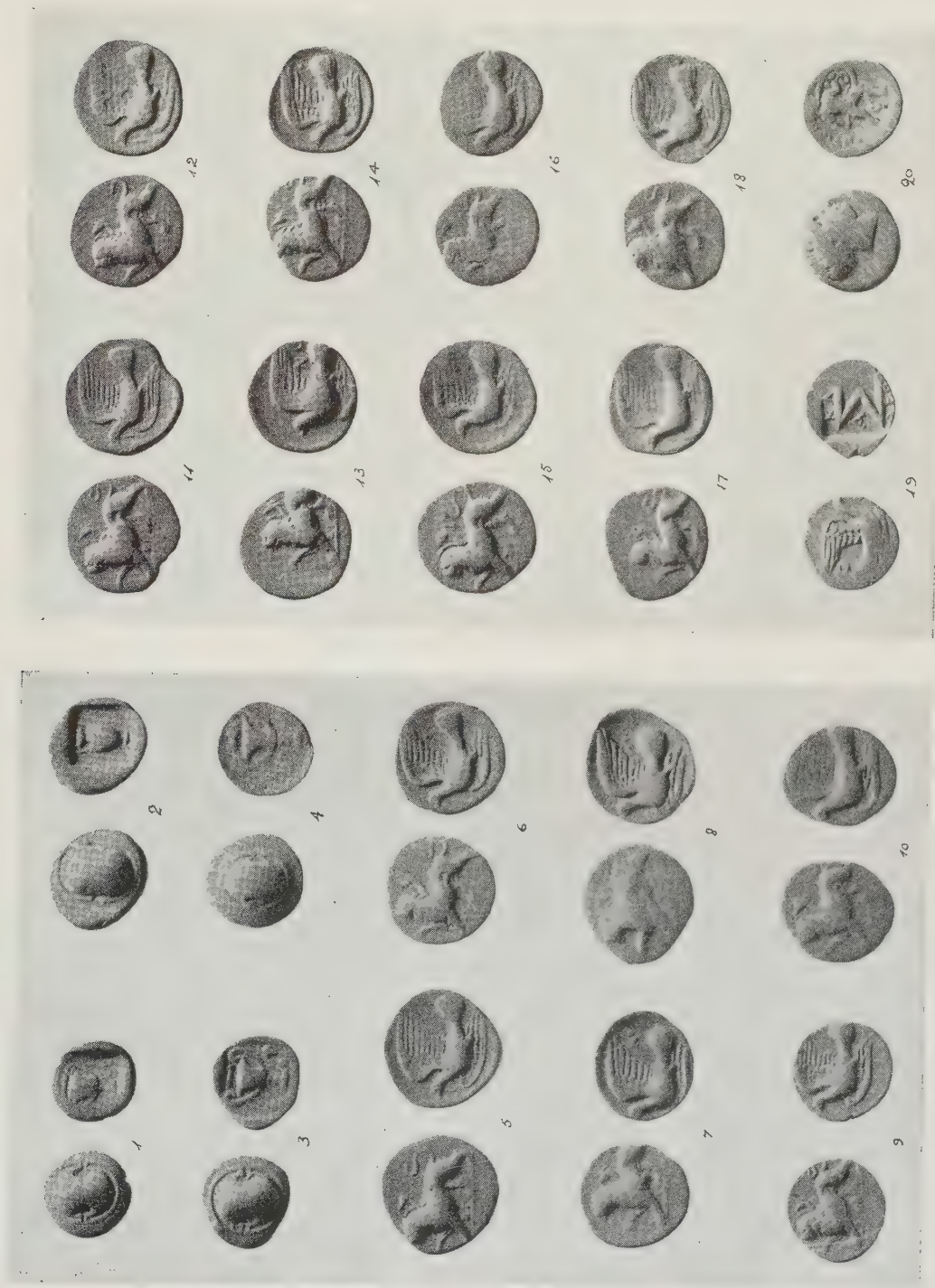


Plate I. Thebes (1), Thespiae (? 2-4), Sicyon (5-19), Locri Opuntii (20)

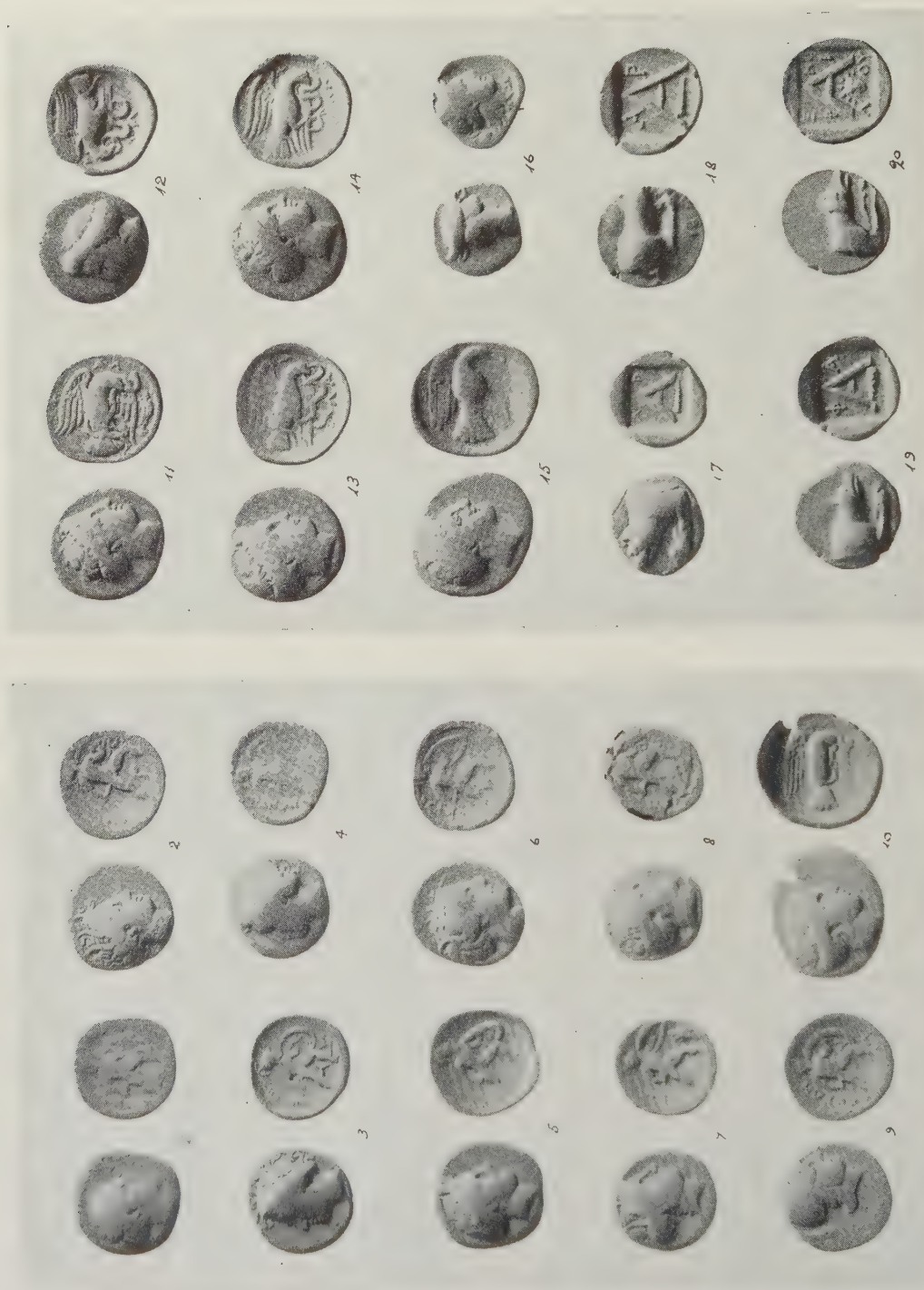


Plate II. Locri Opuntii (1-9), Chalcis (10-15) Phocis (16), Argos (17-20)

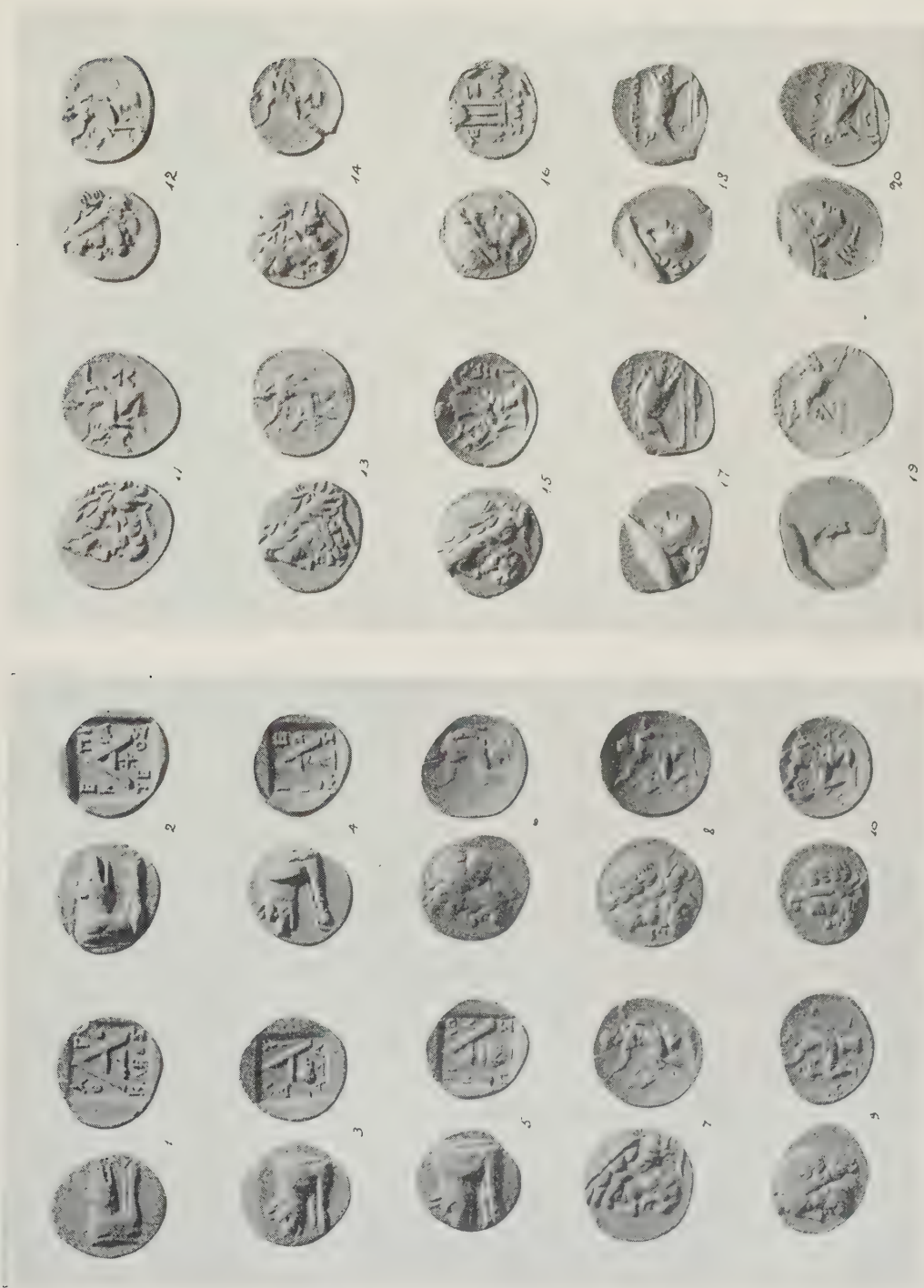
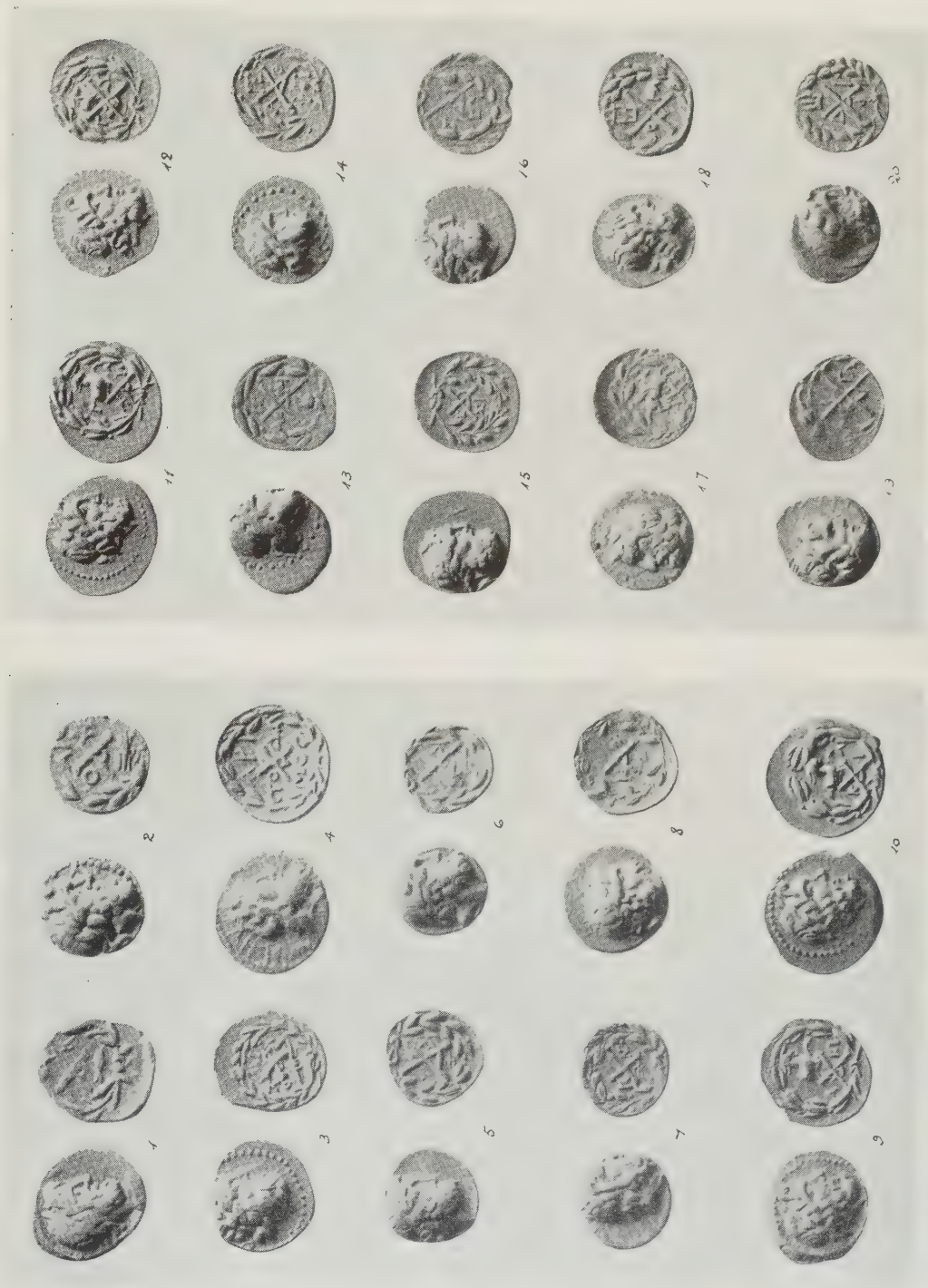


Plate III. Argos (1-5), Megalopolis (6-15), Messene (16), Aetolian League (17-20)



Plate IV. Aetolian League (1-10), Lacedaemon (11-12), Patrae (13), Achaeans (14-15), Patrae (16-18), Dyme (19-20)



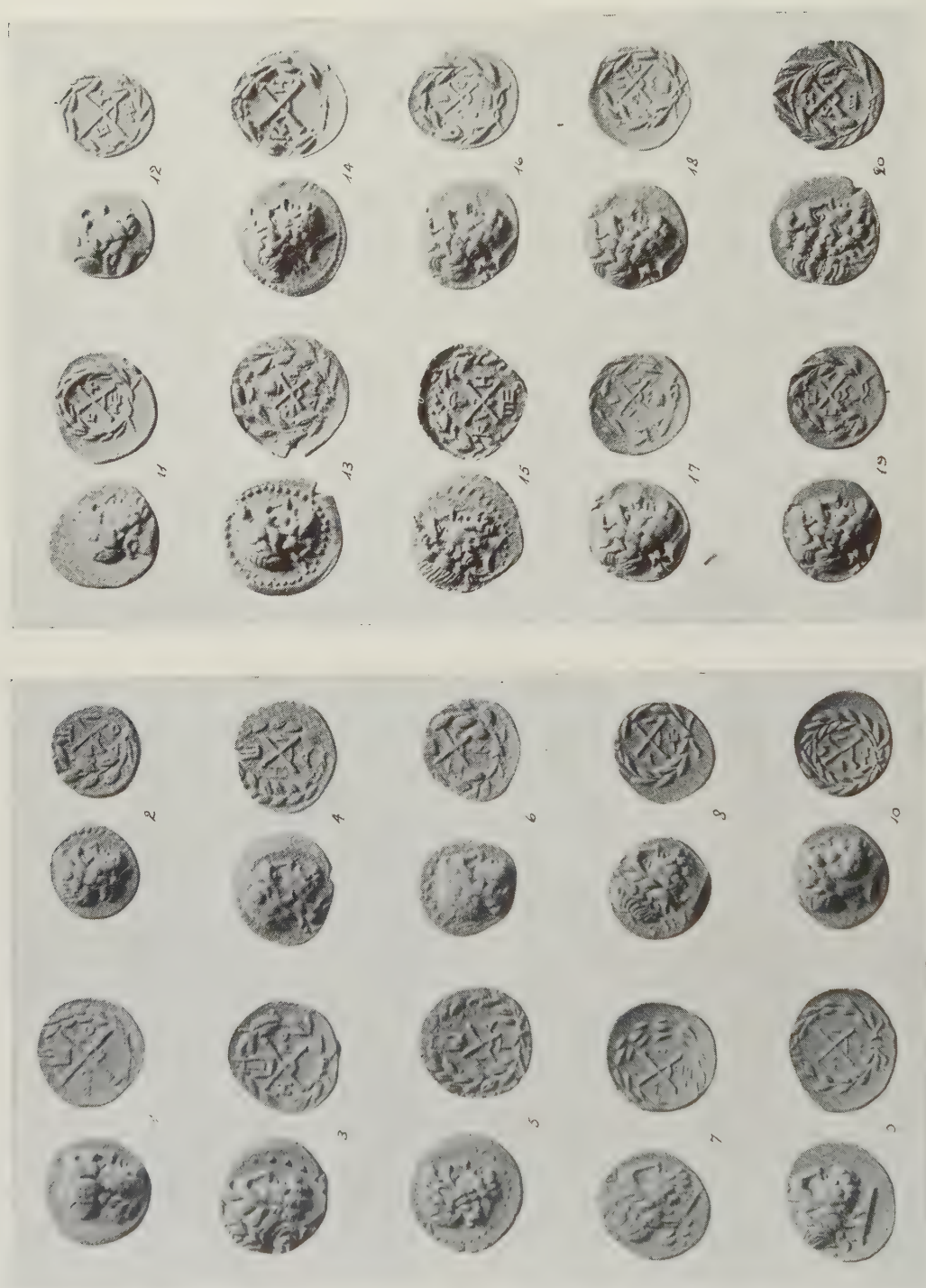


Plate VI. Achaean League (Megara [1-6], Troezen [7-12], Epidaurus [13],
Cleitor [14-15], Megalopolis [16-20])

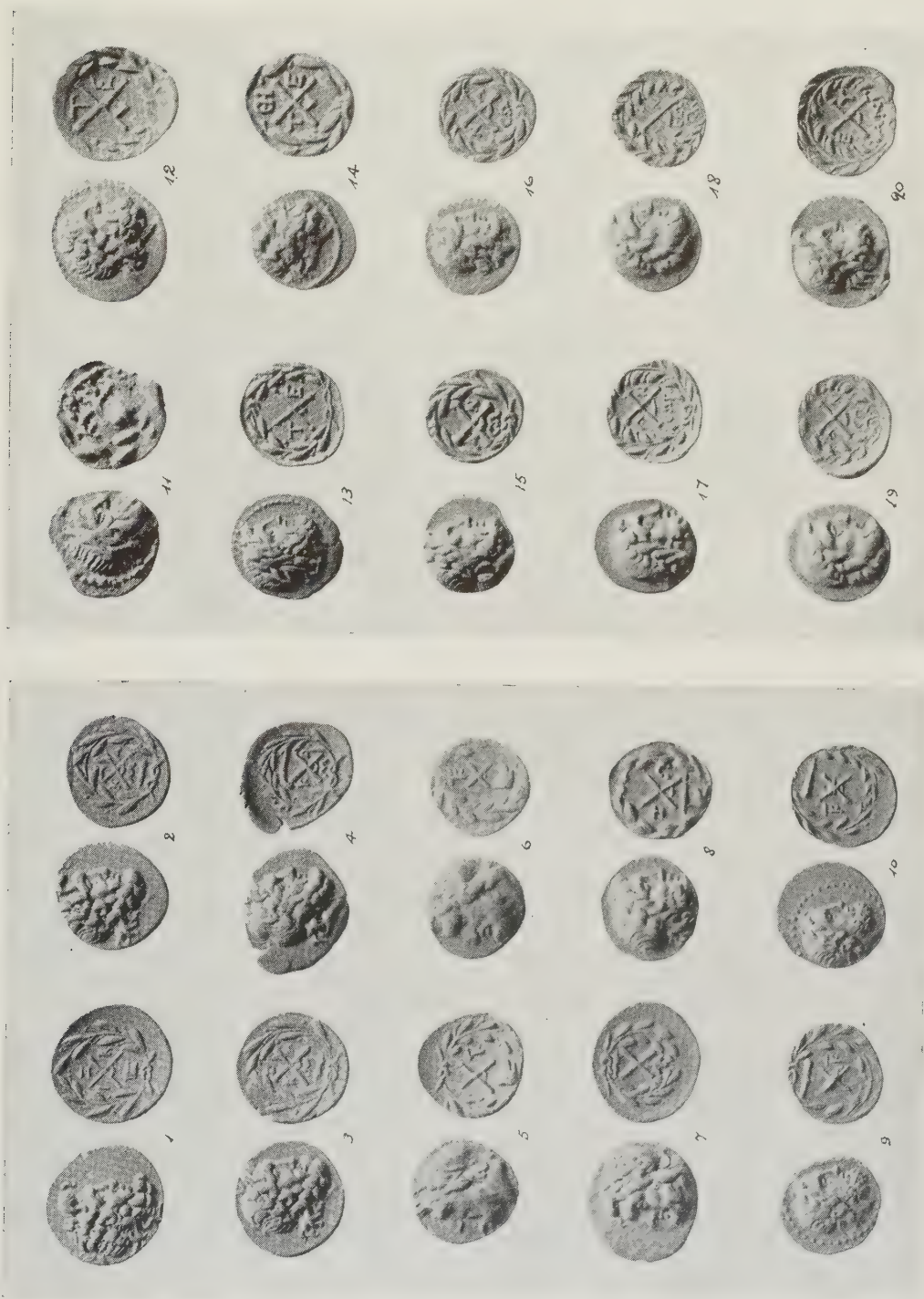


Plate VII. Achaean League (Megalopolis [1-4], Argos [5-10], Caphyae [11],
Tegea [12-14], Antigoneia [15-20])

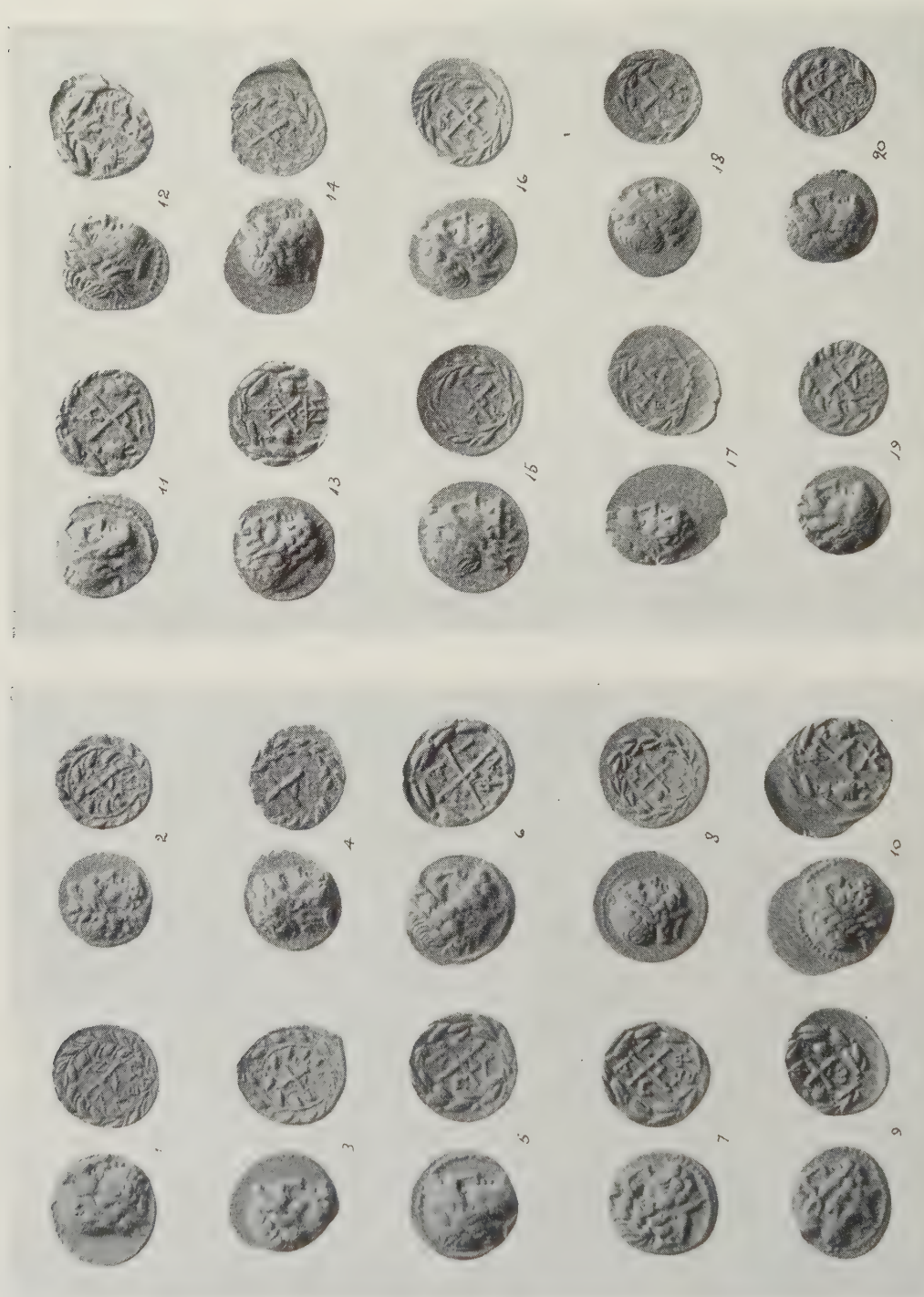


Plate VIII. Achaean League (Antigoneia [1-4], Pallantium [5-7],
Lacedaemon [8-13], Elis [14-20])

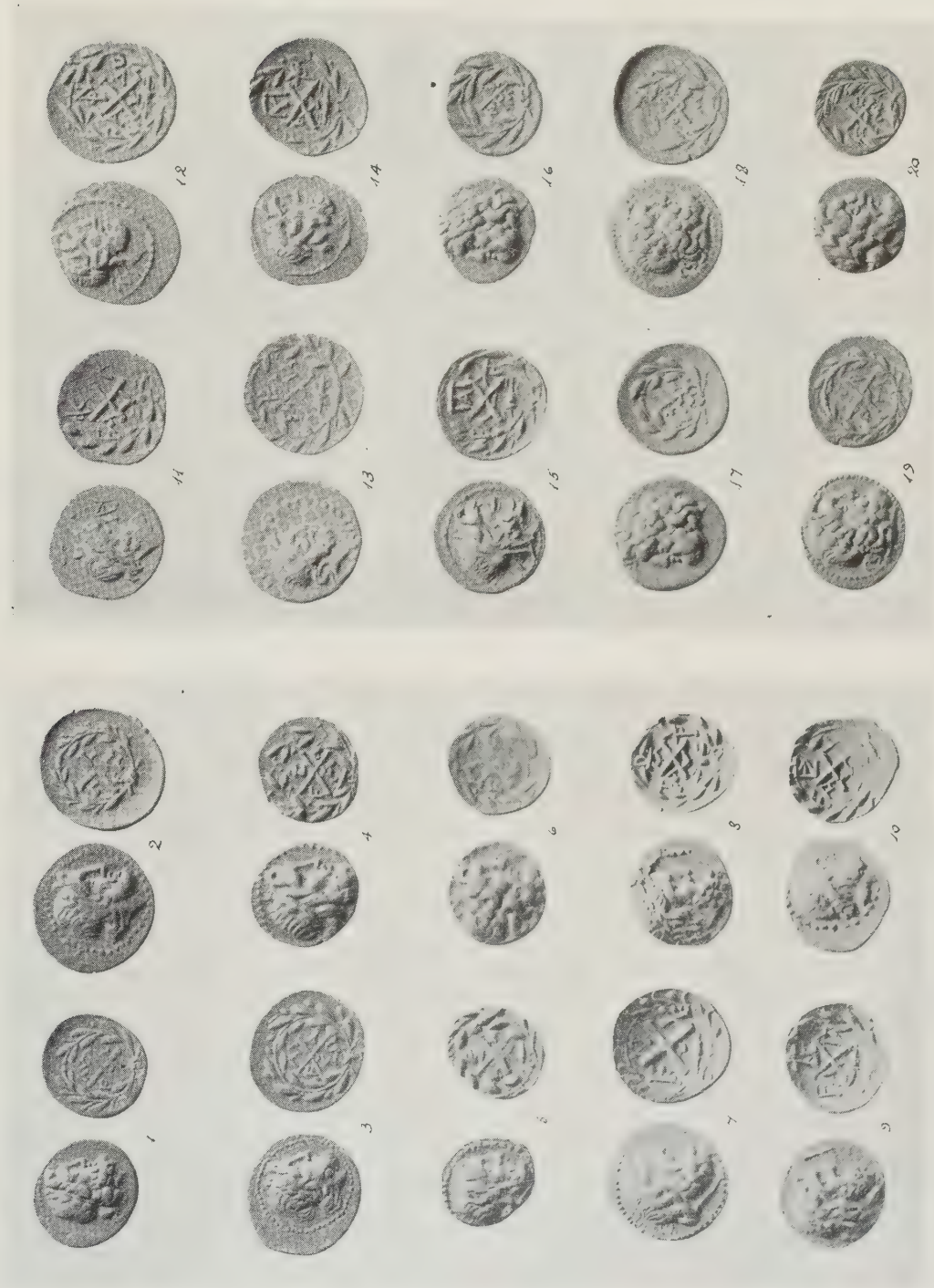


Plate IX. Achaean League (Elis [1-15], Messene [16-20])



Plate X. Achaean (Messene [1-4],
Corone [? 5])

CATALOGUE

BOEOTIA

(6 coins)

Mint of Thebes

Ca. 426-395 B.C.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1.	Boeotian shield.	Θ EB Kantharos; above, club r.; all in incuse square.	I, 1	<i>B.M.C. (C. Greece)</i> , p. 75, no. 64.

Mint of Thespieae?

Ca. 387-374 B.C.

2.	Boeotian shield.	Amphora in incuse square [in field r. C].	I, 2	<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 35, no. 29.
3-5.	Same.	B OI Kantharos in ill-defined incuse; above, club r.; in field r., grapes.	I, 3	Cf. <i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 36, no. 36. Also <i>Hunterian Coll.</i> , II, p. 36, no. 2.
6.	Same.	BO ΙΩ Kantharos in ill-defined incuse; above, thunderbolt.	I, 4	<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 35, no. 30.

SICYON

(53 coins)

400-300 B.C.

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse	Plate No.	Reference
7.	ΞE Chimaera l.	Dove flying l.; I to l.	I, 5	<i>B. M. C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 42, no. 71.
8-10.	Same.	Same; Ξ to r.	I, 6	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 42, no. 76.
11-12.	Same.	Same; N ^o to r.	I, 7	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 42, no. 72.
13-15.	Same.	Same; H ^o to r.	I, 8	<i>N. N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 33, no. 229.
16-26.	ΞI Chimaera l.	Dove flying l.	I, 9	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 45, no. 111.
27-29.	Same.	Same; Δ to r.	I, 10	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 45, no. 112.
30.	Same.	Same; I to l.	I, 11	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 46, no. 117.
31.	Same.	Same; K to l.	I, 12	—
32-33.	Same.	Same; N ^o to r.	I, 13	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 46, no. 118.
34-40.	Same.	Same; · to r.	I, 14	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 46, no. 124.
41-42.	Same.	Same; · to r.	I, 15	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 46, no. 120.
43-45.	Same.	Same; · to r.	I, 16	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 46, no. 121.
46-48.	Same.	Same; · to r.	I, 17	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 46, no. 122.
49.	Chimaera l. (no inscription).	Dove flying l. (no inscription).	I, 18	—
50-58.	Chimaera l.; letters illegible.	Dove flying l.; symbols illegible.	—	—

250-146 B.C.

59.	Dove flying r.; Θ above on l.	Σ in shallow incuse; K Λ[E] A [N] ΔPO[Ξ]	I, 19	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 52, no. 195.
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LOCRI OPUNTII

(13 coins)

Ca. 369-338 B.C.

60-63.	Head of Persephone r.	ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ Ajax r. armed with serpent shield; between legs, kantharos.	I, 20	<i>B. M. C. (C. Greece)</i> , p. 2, nos. 9-12.
64.	Same.	ΟΠΟΝ ΤΙΩΝ Same type; crested helmet [and broken spear] be- tween legs.	II, 1	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 3, no. 19.

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Reference</i>
65.	Same.	ΟΡΟΝΤΙΩΝ Same type; crest of helmet between legs.	II, 2	Cf. <i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 3, no. 24. (No. 65 seems to be serpent shield.)
66.	Head l.	ΟΡΟΝΤΙΩΝ Same type; γ \vee and spear below.	II, 3	_____
67.	Same.	ΟΡΟΝΤΙΩΝ Same type; griffin in shield; Λ and broken spear between legs.	II, 4	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 4, no. 31.
68.	Head r.	ΟΡΟΝΤΙΩΝ Griffin in shield; on ground, spear.	II, 5	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 4, no. 29.

Ca. 338-300 B.C.

69.	Same.	ΛΟΚΡΩΝ Ajax r., shield without symbol; between legs small animal's head r.	II, 6	_____
70.	Same.	Same as above; between legs Υ ; in front, trophy.	II, 7	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 5, no. 40.
71.	Same.	Same as above; serpent (?) in shield; eagle between legs.	II, 8	_____
72.	Head of Pallas r. with crested Corinthian helmet.	As above; sea-horse in shield; in front, trident.	II, 9	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 6, no. 43.

CHALCIS

(31 coins)

Ca. 369?-336 B.C.

73-77.	Female head r.	ΧΑΑ Eagle flying r.; below, caduceus.	II, 10	<i>B. M. C. (C. Greece)</i> , p. 110, no. 53.
78-82.	Same.	Χ ΑΑ Same type; below, trophy.	II, 11	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 110, no. 50.
83-85.	Head l.	Χ ΑΑ Eagle l.; beneath, rose (?).	II, 12	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 109, no. 39.
86-88.	Head r.	ΑΑ Χ Eagle r.; beneath, kantharos.	II, 13	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 110, no. 48.
89-92.	Same.	ΑΑ Χ Same; beneath, wreath.	II, 14	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 110, no. 45.
93-95.	Same.	ΑΑΧ Same; above, Ξ	II, 15	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 111, nos. 61-63.
96-100.	Same.	ΑΑ Χ Same type; symbols illegible.	_____	_____
101-103.	Same.	Eagle r.; letters and symbols illegible.	_____	_____

PHOCIS
(5 coins)
Ca. 357-346 B.C.

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse	Plate No.	Reference
104-108.	Bull's head facing.	Φ Ω Head of Apollo r.; behind, lyre.	II, 16	<i>B. M. C. (C. Greece)</i> , p. 21, no. 79.

ARGOS
(35 coins)
350-228 B.C.

109.	Forepart of wolf l.	A in shallow incuse; below, club l.; in field above, A P.	II, 17	<i>B. M. C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 141, no. 57.
110.	Type r.; traces of obverse inscription.	Same.	II, 18	Cf. <i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 141, no. 57.
111.	Type r.	Same; letters off flan.	—	Cf. <i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 141, nos. 57 and 62.
112-113.	Same.	Same; club r.; Φ A above.	II, 19	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 142, no. 82.

228-146 B.C.

114-116.	Forepart of wolf r.	A in shallow incuse; below, Helios head; in field: Ξ E N ^o Φ I Λ OY	II, 20	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 145, nos. 117-118.
117-129.	Same.	Same; below, harpa r.; in field: A Γ A Θ o K Λ E O ξ	III, 1	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 144, no. 110.
130.	Same.	Same; below, star; in field: E Π I K P A T E O ξ	III, 2	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 145, no. 113.
131.	Type 1.	Same; below, boar's head r.; in field: Λ Y Δ I A Δ A	III, 3	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 145, no. 116.
132-142.	Same.	Same; below, eagle r. on thunderbolt; in field: I E P Ω N ^o ξ	III, 4	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 145, no. 114.
143.	Same.	Same; below, vase inscribed NE; in field: Φ I Λ ^o K Λ H ξ	III, 5	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 146, no. 124.

MEGALOPOLIS *

(80 coins)

<i>Before 234 B.C.</i>		<i>Struck for Arcadian League</i>		
<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Reference</i>
144.	Head of Zeus l., laur.; l to r.	Pan seated l. on rock; A to l.; l to r.	III, 6	<i>B. M. C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 173, no. 51.
<i>After 234 B.C.</i>		<i>Struck for Local Use</i>		
145-160.	Head of Zeus l., laur.	Pan seated l. on rock; before him, eagle flying l.	III, 7	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 176, no. 76.
161.	Same.	Same; A to l.; Δ to r.	III, 8	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 176, no. 83.
162-173.	Same.	Same; A to l.; Δ to r.	III, 9	Cf. above reference.
174-197.	Same.	Same; A to l.; Δ to r. Λ	III, 10	Cf. <i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 176, nos. 82 and 84; <i>N. N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 30, nos. 179-196.
198-199.	Same.	Same; A to l.; Δ to r. Λ	III, 11	Cf. <i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 176, no. 84.
200-212.	Same.	Same; A to l.; Δ to r.	III, 12	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 176, no. 78.
213-214.	Same.	Same; Λ to l.; Δ to r.	III, 13	—
215.	Same.	Same; K to l.; A to r. l	III, 14	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 176, no. 85.
216-222.	Same.	Same; letters illegible or off flan.	—	—
223.	Same.	MEΓ upward to r. of same Pan type, below Δl in field r.	III, 15	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 188, no. 3.

MESSENE

(1 coin)

280-146 B.C.

224.	Head of Zeus r., diademed; border of dots.	ME Σ Tripod, all in wreath; in field: Δ NH Σ Δ Σ	III, 16	<i>B. M. C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 110, no. 16.	
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AETOLIAN LEAGUE

(21 coins)

279-168 B.C.

225-227.	Head of Atalanta r., wearing causia.	AITΩΛΩΝ Boar r. at bay; K below; A and spear r. in exergue.	III, 17	<i>Hunterian Coll.</i> , II, p. 30, no. 7.	
228.	Same.	Same; Φ below; Δ and spear r. in exergue.	III, 18	Cf. <i>N. N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 29, no. 157.	

* Discussion of this coinage is given at the end of the catalogue under "Arcadian League."

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Plate No.</i>	<i>Reference</i>
229.	Same.	Same; Λ below; rest blurred.	III, 19	—
230–232.	Same.	Same; Ϟ below; ΔI and spear r. in exergue.	III, 20	<i>B. M. C. (Thessaly)</i> , p. 196, no. 26.
233–234.	Same.	Same; Υ below; Α and spear r. in exergue.	IV, 1	<i>Cf. Hunterian Coll.</i> , II, p. 30, no. 6.
235–236.	Same.	Same; ϝ Σ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 2	—
237.	Same.	Same; Ϟ Σ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 3	—
238.	Same.	Same; TIΣ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 4	<i>Cf. B. M. C.</i> , p. 196, no. 23.
239.	Same.	Same; TIΔΕ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 5	—
240.	Same.	Same; Σ ΔΕ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 6	—
241.	Same.	Same; Α(?) ΔΕ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 7	<i>Cf. N. N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 29, no. 160.
242.	Same.	Same; Ϟ ΕΥ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 8	—
243–244.	Same.	Same; Α Ξ below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 9	<i>Cf. N. N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 29, no. 158.
245.	Same.	Same; Α Π(?) below; spear r. in exergue.	IV, 10	—

LACEDAEMON

(2 coins)

250–146 B.C.

246.	Head of Herakles bearded r.; border of dots.	Λ Α Amphora between caps of Dioscuri (serpents twined about it); KI to l., Π to r.; the whole in a wreath.	IV, 11	<i>B. M. C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 122, no. 10.
247.	Same.	Same, but Λ Α beneath caps; Δ to l., ΜΕ to r.	IV, 12	<i>Cf. B. M. C.</i> , p. 122, no. 6.

PATRAE

(1 coin)

250–146

248.	Head of Zeus r.; laur.; border of dots.	Ϟ; around it ΑΓΥC ΑΙ CΧΠΙ ΩΝOC All in wreath.	IV, 13	<i>Cf. B. M. C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 22, no. 1.
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ACHAEAN LEAGUE

Before 251 B.C.

(2 coins)

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse (Wreath tied)	LEAGUE MONOGRAM				Plate No.	Reference
			Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left Mon.	Right Mon.		
249-250.	Head of Zeus r.	Above.	—	—	—	—	IV, 14	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 1, no. 1.

After 251 B.C.

Patrae

(14 coins)

251.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	ΠΑ	Dolphin r.	Ⲡ	A	IV, 15	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 5, no. 63.
252-256.	Same.	Same.	Α	Same.	Ⲥ	ΠΑ	IV, 16	Cf. <i>B.M.C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 4, no. 42.
257-263.	Same.	Same.	ΦΙ	Same.	ΞΕ	ΠΑ	IV, 17	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 5, no. 73.
264.	Same.	Same.	ΘΕ	Type 1.	Ξ	Ε	IV, 18	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 5, no. 80.

Dyme *

(8 coins)

265-270.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	ΛΥ	Fish r.	A	P	IV, 19	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 20, no. 329, "Uncertain mint."
271.	Same.	Same.	ΔΥ, ΛΥ?	Same.	A	P	IV, 20	Cf. above. This coin restruck.
272.	Same.	Same.	Μ	Same.	—	Δ	V, 1	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 4, no. 59.

Aegium

(7 coins)

273.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	ΑΙ	Fulmen.	Ο	ΤΕ[Ι]	V, 2	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 3, no. 30.
274-276.	Same; Α behind.	Same.	ΙΙ	Same.	Ⲟ	Α	V, 3	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 3, no. 32.
277-279.	Same; ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ behind.	Same.	ΑΠΙ	ΜΟC	CΤΟ	ΔΑ	V, 4	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 3, no. 44. (Plate shows our read- ing.)

Ceryneia

(11 coins)

280-286.	Head of Zeus r.	Above.	—	Trident l.	—	ⲡ	V, 5	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 4, no. 51.
287.	Same.	Same.	—	Same.	—	ⲡ	V, 6	<i>N.N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 22, nos. 8-9.
288-289.	Same.	Below.	—	Same.	ⲡ	ΝΕ	V, 7	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 4, no. 46.
290.	Same.	Same.	—	Type r.	ⲡ	ΝΕ	V, 8	Cf. above reference.

Aegira

(16 coins)

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse (Wreath tied)	LEAGUE MONOGRAM				Plate No.	Reference
			Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left Mon.	Right Mon.		
291-298.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	Fore- part of goat r.	—	ΑΛ	ΚΙ	V, 9	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 2, no. 16.
299-300.	Same.	Same.	Same.	—	Α Κ	Λ Ι	V, 10	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 2, no. 17.
301-305.	Same.	Same.	Same.	—	Γ Α	Λ Υ	V, 11	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 2, no. 20. (Plate shows our read- ing.)
306.	Same; Α? behind head.	Same.	Same.	—	ΓΛ	ΑΥ	V, 12	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 2, no. 19.

Pellene

(2 coins)

307.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	ΓΕ	Vase.	ΑΘ	ΦΙ	V, 13	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 6, no. 90.
308.	Same.	Same.	ΓΕ	Vase, Φ to l.; Ι to r.	Α	Θ	V, 14	Cf. above reference.

Sicyon

(6 coins)

309-313.	Head of Zeus r.	Above.	—	ΞΙ	Ε	Υ	V, 15	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 7, no. 108.
314.	Same.	Same.	—	ΕΥ	Ξ	Ι	V, 16	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 7, no. 109.

Corinth

(1 coin)

315.	Head of Zeus l.; border of dots.	Left side.	Pegasus r.; Κ beneath.	—	Α	Ξ	V, 17	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 7, no. 111.
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Megara

(30 coins)

316-317.	Head of Zeus r.	Below.	Lyre.	—	ΘΟ	ΚΛ	V, 18	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 124.
318-320.	Same.	Same.	Same.	—	ΜΕ	ΓΩ	V, 19	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 125.
321.	Same.	Same.	Same.	Φ	Δ	Ι	V, 20	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 119.
322-330.	Same.	Same.	Same.	—	ΔΩ	ΡΟ	VI, 1	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 120.
331-332.	Same; border of dots.	Same.	Same.	ΔΟ	Δ	Ι	VI, 2	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 118.
333-340.	Same.	Same.	Same.	—	Η	ΡΟ	VI, 3	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 121.
341.	Same.	Same.	Same.	Α	Η	Ρ	VI, 4	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 122.

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse (Wreath tied)	LEAGUE MONOGRAM				Plate No.	Reference
			Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left Mon.	Right Mon.		
342-343.	Same.	Same.	Same.	T	M	A	VI, 5	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 127.
344-345.	Same.	Same.	Same.	⊕	Ξ-	Ω	VI, 6	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 8, no. 130.
Troezen *								
(33 coins)								
346-359.	Head of Zeus r.	Below.	—	Trident r.	Δ	I	VI, 7	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 187 under Mantinea.
360-361.	Same; Δ I(?) behind.	Same.	—	Same.	Δ	I	VI, 8	Cf. above reference.
362-364.	Same; Δ I behind.	Same.	—	Same.	Δ E	I	VI, 9	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 189.
365-372.	Same; no letters.	Same.	⊕	Same.	Δ	I	VI, 10	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 185.
373-376.	Same.	Same.	—	Same.	⊕	Y	VI, 11	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 190.
377-378.	Same.	Same.	—	Same.	E	Y	VI, 12	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 9, no. 99.
Epidaurus								
(1 coin)								
379.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	Cupping vase.	Δ A	Ξ	Ω	VI, 13	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 10, no. 167.
Cleitor								
(2 coins)								
380.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	—	—	KA	H	VI, 14	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 11, no. 181.
381.	Same.	Same.	Helios head.	Π E	KA	H	VI, 15	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 11, no. 179.
Megalopolis *								
(28 coins)								
382-383.	Head of Zeus r.	Below.	B	Syrinx.	Λ	E	VI, 16	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 211.
384-385.	Same.	Same.	B	M	Λ	E	VI, 17	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 207.
386.	Same.	Same.	BI	Syrinx.	Λ	E	VI, 18	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 210.
387.	Same.	Same.	Syrinx.	M	E	Λ	VI, 19	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 208.
388-392.	Same; BI below.	Same.	Ξ	Syrinx.	K	I	VI, 20	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 212.
393-394.	Same; BΞ below.	Same.	Ξ	Same.	I	K	VII, 1	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 214.
395-403.	Same; no letters.	Same.	Ξ B	M	K	A	VII, 2	<i>N. N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 26, no. 111.
404-406.	Same.	Same.	Ξ B	Fulmen.	K	A	VII, 3	<i>B. M. C. (Pelop.)</i> , p. 7, no. 76, under Messene.
407-409.	Same.	Same.	Pedum I.	M	K	Δ	VII, 4	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 204.

Argos

(15 coins)

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse (Wreath tied)	LEAGUE MONOGRAM				Plate No.	Reference
			Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left Mon.	Right Mon.		
410-411.	Head of Zeus l.	Above.	—	Wolf's head r.	—	⸙	VII, 5	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 9, no. 142. <i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 8, no. 87, has this monogram.
412-414.	Same.	Same.	⸙	Same.	—	—	VII, 6	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 9, no. 141.
415-416.	Same.	Same.	Harpa r.	⸙	—	—	VII, 7	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 9, no. 149.
417-418.	Type r.	Below.	—	Harpa l.	I	Ω	VII, 8	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 9, no. 148.
419-421.	Same; border dots.	Above.	Club r.	—	—	⸙	VII, 9	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 9, no. 143.
422-424.	Same.	Same.	Club l.	—	⸙	—	VII, 10	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 9, no. 144.

Caphyae

(1 coin)

425.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	⸙	Pallas head, ⸙	K	A	VII, 11	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 11, no. 177. (Plate shows ⸙.)
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Tegea

(8 coins)

426.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	T	—	—	E	VII, 12	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 14, no. 224.
427-429.	Same.	Same.	—	—	T	E	VII, 13	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 14, no. 223.
430-433.	Same.	Same.	⸙	—	T	E	VII, 14	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 14, no. 226.

Antigoneia

(109 coins)

434-481.	Head of Zeus r.	Below.	—	CΩ	A	N	VII, 15	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 197.
482-483.	Same.	Same.	—	CΩ	N	A	VII, 16	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 198.
484-485.	Same.	Same.	—	CΩΠ	Δ	N	VII, 17	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 201.
486.	Same.	Same.	—	CΩ	A	N	VII, 18	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 200.
				Π				
487.	Same.	Same.	—	CΩ	A	N	VII, 19	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 199.
				ΠΔ				
488-492.	Same.	Same.	—	AN	E	Y	VII, 20	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 193.
493-527.	Same.	Same.	—	EY	A	N	VIII, 1	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 12, no. 192.
528-540.	Same.	Same.	—	⸙	Δ	N	VIII, 2	Cf. <i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 9, no. 104.
541.	Same.	Same.	—	⸙	И	Δ	VIII, 3	<i>B. M. C.</i> , p. 9, no. 106.
542.	Same.	Above.	—	⸙	—	A? N	VIII, 4	—

Pallantium

(14 coins)

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse (Wreath tied)	LEAGUE MONOGRAM				Plate No.	Reference
			Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left Mon.	Right Mon.		
543.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	A	Trident r.	Π	Λ	VIII, 5	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 14, no. 218.
544-546.	Same.	Same.	A	Trident up, A	Π	Λ	VIII, 6	<i>Cf. Clerk</i> , p. 14, no. 220.
547-556.	Same.	Same.	A	Ξ, Tri- dent up.	Π	Λ	VIII, 7	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 14, no. 219.

Lacedaemon

(11 coins)

557-559.	Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.	Below.	ΛΑ	Μ	Caps of Dios- curi.	VIII, 8	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 20, no. 324.
560-562.	Same.	Same.	Α	Ω	Same.	VIII, 9	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 20, no. 320.
563.	Same.	Same.	Α	Χ	Same.	VIII, 10	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 20, no. 323.
564.	Same.	Same.	Α	Ε	Same.	VIII, 11	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 19, no. 315.
565-566.	Same.	Same.	Α	Δ	Same.	VIII, 12	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 19, no. 316.
567.	Same.	Same.	Α	Π	Same.	VIII, 13	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 20, no. 319.

Elis

(79 coins)

568.	Head of Zeus r.	Below.	Eagle r.	FA	N	I	VIII, 14	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 15, no. 229
					Ξ	Ω		
569-572.	Same.	Same.	—	FA	A	N	VIII, 15	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 18, no. 291.
573-583.	Same.	Same.	FA	—	A	N	VIII, 16	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 18, no. 290.
584.	Same.	Same.	AN	—	F	A	VIII, 17	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 18, no. 292.
585.	Same.	Same.	—	ΦI	F	A	VIII, 18	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 17, no. 283.
586.	Same.	Same.	—	CΩ	F	Λ	VIII, 19	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 18, no. 284. (Plate shows CΩ.)
587.	Same.	Same.	—	CΩ C ΔI	F	A	VIII, 20	<i>Cf. Clerk</i> , p. 18, no. 286. (Plate shows CΩ C ΔI.)
588-608.	Same; border dots.	Same.	AY	—	F	A	IX, 1	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 17, no. 280.
609-611.	Same.	Same.	—	FA	Λ	Y	IX, 2	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 17, no. 282.
612-618.	Same.	Same.	AY	ΞΩ	F	A	IX, 3	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 17, no. 281.
619-623.	Same.	Same.	Ξ	A	F	A	IX, 4	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 15, no. 232.
				Fulmen.				
624.	Same.	Same.	Ξ	Γ	F	A	IX, 5	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 15, no. 233.
				Fulmen.				
625.	Same.	Same.	IA	X	F	Η	IX, 6	<i>Cf. Clerk</i> , p. 15, no. 238.
				Fulmen.				
626-630.	Same; ΘΠΑΚΥΑΕΩΝ behind.	Same.	Ν	Fulmen.	Ε	Χ	IX, 7	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 17, no. 272.

Serial No.	Obverse	Reverse (Wreath tied)	LEAGUE MONOGRAM				Plate No.	Reference
			Above Mon.	Below Mon.	Left Mon.	Right Mon.		
631.	Same head r.; border of dots. Letters off flan.	Same.	Α	Same.	Ε	Υ	IX, 8	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 17, no. 266.
632-635.	Same; no letters.	Same.	Δ	Same.	FA	ΔΥ	IX, 9	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 16, no. 247.
636.	Same; monogram off flan.	Same.	Ε	Same.	FA	Χ	IX, 10	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 16, no. 261.
637.	Same; Κ in front.	Same.	Κ	Same.	FA	Χ	IX, 11	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 16, no. 262.
638-640.	Same; no mono- gram.	Same.	Δ	Same.	FA	ΔW	IX, 12	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 15, no. 243.
641.	Same.	Same.	Υ	Same.	FA	ΛA	IX, 13	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 16, no. 246.
642-645.	Same.	Same.	Μ	Same.	FA	Υ	IX, 14	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 16, no. 254. (Plate shows this mono- gram.)
646.	Same.	Same.	Α	Same.	FA	Υ	IX, 15	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 16, no. 256. (Plate shows this mono- gram.)

Messene *

(28 coins)

647-649.	Head of Zeus l.	Below.	—	M	N	Φ	IX, 16	<i>N. N. and M.</i> , 74, p. 25, no. 104.
650-652.	Same.	Same.	—	Μ	N	Φ	IX, 17	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 13, no. 216 under Megalopolis.
653.	Type r.; border of dots.	Same.	OP	M	O	N	IX, 18	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 19, no. 304.
654.	Same.	Same.	ΞE	M	O	P	IX, 19	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 18, no. 300.
655.	Same; no dots.	Same.	—	Μ	Ξ	E	IX, 20	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 19, no. 306.
656.	Same.	Same.	—	M	Π	A	X, 1	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 9, no. 135.
657.	Same.	Same.	—	Μ	Π	A	X, 2	Cf. above reference.
658-660.	Same.	Same.	—	M	Π	Δ	X, 3	Cf. <i>Clerk</i> , p. 19, no. 311.
661-674.	Same; border dots.	Same.	Χ	M	—	—	X, 4	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 18, no. 297.

Corone? *

(3 coins)

675-677.	Head of Zeus l.	Below.	—	Κ ^o	Ξ	E	X, 5	<i>Clerk</i> , p. 19, no. 312.
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In preparing the hoard for publication the writer was constantly struck by the measure of uncertainty which surrounds the whole question of the League's silver coinage. Absence or ambiguity of mint markings often makes possible for the same coin a variety of attributions, all supported by authoritative opinion. Nos. 656 and 657 in the catalogue Clerk assigns to Pagae and Megara but would impute to Messene as second choice,¹ while Weil² gives a very similar type to Megalopolis. The trident coins find almost equal support among numismatists for either a Troezenean or Mantinean ascription. Leake and Gardner favor the first mint; Löbbecke, Weil and Clerk the second.³ So the instances could be multiplied. What may seem presumption on our part in venturing to reassign certain groups and advance new arguments for others is occasioned by the large number of Achaean coins at our disposal, making almost imperative some attempt to extract information from them.

"ARCADIAN LEAGUE"

The problem raised by the coins traditionally called Arcadian League is primarily one of dating. That Megalopolis minted these issues of the seated Pan with the Zeus head obverse seems beyond question. The identical type with the letters ΜΕΓ, significant of the city name, is well known⁴ and there is no reason for supposing that the League coins originated anywhere else but in the same city. It is far harder to say when they were issued.

Gardner⁵ attributes them to the period preceding the incorporation of Megalopolis in the Achaean League body and, therefore, sets 234 B.C. as the terminal date for their minting. Miss Grace, in reviewing her hoard, expresses the belief that they continued beyond that date. Admitting the strange circumstance of contemporary issues of Arcadian and Achaean money in the same city, she suggests that there may, however, have been a temporary revival of the Arcadian League some time after 234 or that these pieces may represent a survival of the spirit of Arcadian unity finding expression in the coinage of the old League's most important city.⁶

Certainly the condition of our coins supports the view that the minting of them cannot have stopped in 234. In general, they are scarcely more worn than the issues of the Achaean League which traditionally fall in a later period. Some of the coins are very well preserved; Miss Grace describes an occasional piece of her group as

¹ *Coins of Achaean League*, p. 9 and Introduction, p. v.

² *Zeit. f. Num.*, IX, 1882, p. 262.

³ In order of the text: *Numismata Hellenica* (Europe), p. 5; *B.M.C. (Pelop.)*, pp. 8-9; *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXVI, 1908, p. 293; *ibid.*, IX, 1882, p. 260; *Coins of Achaean League*, p. 12.

⁴ *B.M.C. (Pelop.)*, pp. 188 and 189.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. lxi-lxii.

⁶ *N. N. and M.*, 74, pp. 6 ff.

"recently minted."¹ The combined evidence of the two hoards would seem to make inescapable the conclusion that these Arcadian types continued to be coined well after 234 B.C.

A simple and plausible explanation, in view of the above-mentioned facts, would be the hypothesis, similar to that of Miss Grace, that Megalopolis continued to issue these coin types after she joined the Achaean League, that she issued them in the tradition of the Arcadian Federation to serve as her standard municipal currency. Megalopolis was created for the sole purpose of being the capital of the Arcadian League and as such she used the Federal coin type. Since, therefore, the League was the reason for her existence and she had no other earlier traditions, she would have sought to perpetuate a coin type that was symbolical of her greatness even though the League had long since been dissolved. Her claim to fame was her prominent position in the Arcadian League. From the time of her founding in 370 B.C. she had used, for the most part, two reverse types, the seated Pan and the large syrinx, both designated as Arcadian coinage by the Α monogram. How frequently or how abundantly these types were minted we do not know, but there is no reason to doubt that Megalopolis continued them in the League tradition even after that body had ceased to function politically. Then in 234 she joined the Achaean League and found her identity submerged in that of a highly organized πολιτεία whose communal functions included the issuing of a standardized currency. There is every evidence, in the form of coin types with the ΜΕΓ lettering, to prove that Megalopolis, as well as Argos, Sicyon, Corinth and other cities, exercised the privilege of independent coinage even after she gave allegiance to the League. Not impossible is the conjecture that at that time she decided to keep the Pan type for her local uses, adopting the syrinx as her city symbol on the League denominations. One change she made to differentiate the issues following 234 from those which had preceded it, by adding an eagle on the knee of the seated Pan, possibly as a symbolical reminder of her former power and importance in Arcadian affairs. Perhaps the modified ΑΡΚ monogram was left for the same reason. As time went on, the monogram changed gradually from the elaborate ΑΡ to Α and finally to Α, which might indicate a growing carelessness and indifference to something no longer considered of paramount importance.² Finally the monogram disappeared entirely, the coins bearing only the combinations ΑΔ, ΑΔΛ, ΛΔ, ΚΑΙ. The fact that ΚΙ and ΚΑ occur commonly on the Achaean League coins of Megalopolis would seem to lend some measure of support to the theory that we have here two series of contemporary issues.

Where in the series the type without letters belongs is rather hard to decide. In appearance it is among the best preserved groups and may, perhaps, have been

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

² Or since similar combinations occur in other cities (Dyme, *B. M. C.*, p. 3, and Lacedaemon, *ibid.*, p. 122), these monograms may simply stand for mint officials.

used for a time before the currency was changed once more and the MEΓ added to the reverse as indisputable proof of the mint.

Argument supported by insufficient material is always hazardous, and where groups contain only a few coins, we are hesitant about drawing conclusions based on relative wear and style, but insofar as these things have been noted they tend to support the points made above, indicating a change from monogram to letters and finally to the MEΓ form. Without doubt the one MEΓ coin present is among the best preserved in the whole hoard and in style of obverse head seems of a later and less fine technique.

Classifying some of its types as purely local issues would make less remarkable the abundance of the so-called Arcadian League currency. In Miss Grace's hoard 37 from a total of 231 coins belong to this group,¹ in our hoard there are 79 out of 677, while in the Zougra collection 1,185 of the 9,171 specimens are classed as Arcadian.² These proportions are amazing if one considers the money under discussion as federal issues of a League which sprang into being a century before its Achaean successor and which may be supposed to have ceased minting about the time the later Federation adopted its varied coinage. Why should one-ninth of the coins in our hoard be attributable to this early League during the last 47 years of its minting activity when the rest of the Peloponnese contributes only 5 pieces which can be definitely assigned to the same period? Moreover, the fact that our hoard was buried nearly a hundred years after the official Arcadian money stopped would make the chance of its surviving in such abundance and in such good condition a slim one. However, if we suppose the eagle types to be the standard municipal money produced concurrently with the Achaean triobols over a period of nearly 100 years, the matter becomes clearer. Most of the important cities coined copiously their autonomous issues after adherence to the League. In our hoard there are 30 independent pieces of Argos dated between 228 and 146 B.C., while of the Federal types there are only 15. Löbbecke shows the same tendency with proportions of 49 to 5.³ Corinth is notoriously ill-supplied with League coinage, but continues to produce many specimens with the usual Pegasos on the obverse. Without pushing the point too far, it is possible at least that somewhat the same state of affairs existed in Megalopolis. Undoubtedly her rôle in League matters was a prominent one, and it would cause no great strain on the imagination to suppose that the city of Lydiadas, Philopoimen and Diophanes required for her local needs a coinage as abundant as that customarily assigned to the latest period of the Arcadian League.

DYME

Numbers 265-271 in our catalogue, with AY above and A-P to left and right of the League monogram, represent a type listed by Gardner and Clerk as coming from

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30 and 33.

² *Revue numismatique*, VII, 1862, pp. 170-171.

³ *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXVI, 1908, pp. 279 and 292-293.

an uncertain mint, possibly Lycoa or Lyrceia.¹ This tentative classification assumes that the ΛΥ supplements the fish symbol as an indication of the coining city. There are, however, two objections to the attribution. In the first place, as far as we know, no Peloponnesian town whose name begins with ΛΥ (Lycoa, Lyrceia, Lycuria, Lycosura) had a local mint. All were places which apparently, in the light of existing numismatic evidence, issued no municipal currency. This does not preclude the possibility of Federal coinage except that a census of League cities reveals no ΛΥ name.² Another consideration makes it doubtful that these coins had their provenience in a town hitherto unknown, numismatically speaking; namely the fact that all extant examples marked with the ΛΥ and the fish answer to identically the same description. There is no deviation in combination or position of the letters. Like the coins in our group, all have ΛΥ above, Α-Ρ to the left and right, and a fish below. Even conceding a hypothetical mint to Lycoa or any of the other towns mentioned, we are still reluctant to believe that such a mint would have only one isolated issue traceable to it. Either the town coined for only an extremely limited period, which seems contradicted by the number of coins found and their recurrence in various hoards, or else here was an outstanding exception to the general rule of monetary variety.

One coin from our hoard confirms the distrust of the Lycoan attribution and furnishes some degree of proof for the assignment of this type to Dyme. The piece has been either doublestruck or restruck and is not in good condition, but in the author's opinion the combination ΔΥ occurs above the League monogram. Immediately below these letters are traces of two others, either Α or Λ and Υ. The interesting fact is that the obverse head is unquestionably an integral part of our ΛΥ series, seeming indeed to be from the same die as one coin in that group.³

Weil⁴ gives a Dyme type with ΔΥ above, Α-Ρ to left and right, and the fish below, but his examples are only illustrated by line drawings of the reverses. Clerk, who gives photographs of his Dyme coins, does not find that particular one in his collection. However, a comparison of his illustrations and our ΛΥ series definitely links the latter with No. 56 in his group, which shows ΔΥ above, Λ-Ν to left and right, and the fish below. Not only are the obverse heads strikingly related in style, but the fish, which are of an unusual type, are graphically similar.

Our conclusion is that this ΛΥ series represents an issue chronologically close to the three ΔΥ types with Α-Ρ, ΑϞ, and Λ-Ν in central position. Since our coins show pronounced signs of wear, they may be from an early Dyme group issued before continued League expansion made absolute identification necessary for all save the

¹ *B. M. C.*, p. 10, and *Coins of Achaean League*, p. 20.

² Freeman, *History of Fed. Gov't.*, p. 713.

³ Compare Nos. 19 and 20 on Plate IV.

⁴ *Zeit. f. Num.*, IX, 1882, p. 243.

most important cities, or in this instance the fish alone may have been accounted sufficient mark of the mint.¹

TROEZEN

The series of trident coins listed in this catalogue under Troezen have been variously ascribed. Weil and Clerk assign them to a Mantinean mint functioning in the period previous to 222 B.C. Miss Grace, while concurring in the Mantinean attribution, dates the issue at the beginning of the second century. On the other hand the British Museum places them under a Troezen? heading and Leake gives them the same origin. A consideration of both historical and numismatic factors inclines us toward the Troezenian classification.

Mantineia's checkered political history in the period between her first alignment with Achaean League interests and her destruction at Achaean hands in 222 B.C. makes it dubious that the trident coins belong to that date. The exact year of her entry into the League is open to question. Freeman believes it occurred prior to the admission of Megalopolis in 234. Certain it is that she very quickly exchanged her Achaean ties for Aetolian ones, possibly in displeasure when her old rival joined the Federation. The Aetolian bond continued until 228 when Mantinea along with Tegea and Orchomenos was induced by Kleomenes to join the cause of Sparta. In 226 she was recaptured by Aratus, but in the course of the next year revolted again to Sparta, murdering her Achaean garrison. Finally in 222 the city was sacked by the Achaeans, and in revenge for the earlier spilling of Achaean blood, her inhabitants were slain or sold into slavery. The new masters established another colony on the same site and gave it the name Antigoneia in honor of Antigonos Doson, then the ally of the Achaeans.²

Such a concatenation of political upheavals renders exceedingly improbable the issuance of a continuous series of League coins on the part of the old Mantinea. Equally improbable it is that the coins were minted at Antigoneia. The history of the period gives no record of any event which would account for a break in the AN series of that city.³ Miss Grace's hypothesis that a Mantinean faction temporarily gained control of the city and changed the currency (*N.N. and M.*, 74, pp. 16 ff.) is based upon a Delphic inscription listing the proxenoi from various Greek cities among which the name *Mantineia* occurs (*I.G.*, V, 2, p. xxxvii). This inscription must be dated after 176 B.C. since the proxenos of Elea was selected in that year.⁴ Yet the

¹ Reattribution of these coins would correct the relative proportions of our hoard in which only one other coin from Dyme, an important mint, is included.

² Freeman, *History of Fed. Gov't.*, pp. 403-404, 439, 446-447, 454, 495.

³ Both Plutarch (*Aratus*, 45) and Pausanias (VIII, 8, 11) record the change of name and imply that it continued until Roman times.

⁴ Haussoullier (*B.C.H.*, VII, 1883, p. 190) says the inscription dates from the first half of the second century B.C.; Hiller von Gaertringen (*I.G.*, V, 2, p. xxxvii) places it *ca.* 175 B.C.; B. Laticheff (*B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 585) remarks that according to the calculation of M. Haussoullier the inscription falls between 176 and 171 B.C.

burial date of Miss Grace's hoard (185-182 B.C.) seems well substantiated by evidence of the coins themselves, which means that if we assume that the trident types included in her hoard and the inscription cited above are official expressions of a reversal of power in Antigoneia, then that change must have lasted nearly fifteen years.¹ While historical sources might have been ignorant or disregarding of a temporary *coup d'état* of strictly local significance, it is incredible that they would have been silent concerning such a protracted change of government. It is possible, of course, that a burial date of 182 B.C. is too early for Miss Grace's hoard and that an uprising of short duration did take place about 175 B.C. On this point, however, our own hoard offers evidence, for if such an event had occurred at that late date in League history, the trident types should be not only in finer condition than the Antigonean coins but among our best-preserved pieces. This is decidedly not the case; they are on the whole more worn than the AN specimens.

The use of the name Mantinea on a state document of *ca.* 175 B.C. may seem mystifying, but the explanation would seem to lie in the suggestions of Beloch and Fougères² that officially substituting the word Antigoneia for Mantinea is a totally different matter from stamping the old name out of daily use. It is not impossible that the ancient traditions, kept alive by Mantinean survivors, captured the imagination of the new inhabitants until they too began to feel themselves linked to the history of the old city. Officially they were Antigoneans, but any significance the title may have had in earlier times gradually died away; in their speech, even in their habits of thought they began to consider themselves as Mantineans. May not the inscriptional language bear witness to the prevalence of this feeling, being the outgrowth of a vocal slip unnoticed by both the proxenos himself and his fellow representatives. Certainly if the repetition of the ancient name by writers of the same or somewhat later periods³ is any indication of general usage, the Macedonian Antigoneia would fall more strangely upon Greek ears than the well-known Mantinea.

Two factors linking the coins with Mantinea remain, the M and \mathfrak{M} monograms on some issues and the trident symbol. Regarding the first, similar signs appear on the coinage of other cities (\mathfrak{M} on a Sicyonian copper piece, \mathfrak{M} on an Epidaurus, and \mathfrak{M} on a Tegea coin).⁴ Our belief is that the lettering is simply a magistrate's name or a mark used to differentiate the Δ -I issues.⁵ As for the trident, it is used on the

¹ The number and variety of the trident coins postulates a coining period of several years prior to the burial of the hoard.

² Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV², 1, p. 714 and Fougères, *Mantinee et l'Arcadie orientale*, pp. 504, 514-515.

³ Polybius (IV, 21, 9; XI, 11); Strabo (VIII, 388) and Plutarch (Philop. XI) all use the term *Mantineia*.

⁴ *B. M. C. (Pelop.)*, pp. 13, 158 and 202-203.

⁵ If a M form is indicative of the city name, it seems strange that the same issue should appear once without any sign, once with M, and once with \mathfrak{M} (Clerk, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

pre-League money of Mantinea, but the British Museum Catalogue lists it only three times—once as the main reverse type and twice as an attribute of Poseidon. It is not a predominant symbol in all periods of Mantinean coinage.

One other consideration should be taken into account in connection with this trident sign. On some of the coins, or on all if we accept the M as a magisterial mark, the trident is the only clue to the city issuing the money. It is almost impossible to systematize the various practices followed by municipalities in designating their currency. Some places use a symbol, others have letters, while still others combine the two.¹ However, it is noteworthy that in no case is the symbol used alone unless it is a fairly unique type definitely associated with the city using it, such as the Sicyonian dove or the Aegira half-goat. Now the trident is not a rare device, being used by Patrae, Mantinea, Troezen, Pallantium, Ceryneia, and possibly Corone among the Peloponnesian towns. Hence, it would follow as a matter of course that a city using that symbol without any other indication of mint should be one of some prominence with whose coinage the trident had had a long and close connection.

This line of reasoning would require then as a source of the trident coins a mint of importance, one accustomed to issuing trident types and one connected with Achaean affairs prior to or approximating the time of the sack of Mantinea. From the group of cities cited above, Troezen is a logical choice.² She joined the League in 243 B.C. and thus her coins could conceivably be more worn than those of the new Antigoneia. With her money the trident is undoubtedly closely connected as is natural for a city to whom Poseidon once lent his name.³ His peculiar attribute figures as the reverse type on every coin except one, listed in the British Museum Catalogue from 431 B.C. on. Nothing else is used. Finally Troezen seems to have been historically of great enough importance to have had her continuance of the age-old trident symbol sufficient indication of her mint.

MEGALOPOLIS—MESSENE

Even the most superficial study of the coins attributed to these two cities impresses one with (1) the divergence of numismatic opinion regarding the place of origin of individual issues and (2) the paucity of coinage generally assigned to Messene. Clerk divides the types with M or some form of an ME monogram fairly

¹ An attempt was made to discover a set of underlying rules, but nothing more definite could be formulated than the statement that, generally, unimportant towns like Ceryneia, Pellene, and Pallantium tend to have both symbol and letters, while more important places like Sicyon, Messene, and Megara are content with one or the other. But the examples of Elis, Sparta, and Megalopolis discredit even this broad assertion.

² Assignment of these coins to Troezen settles the incongruity of having no currency attributable to a fairly important League member of almost a century's standing.

³ "Troezen is sacred to Poseidon after whom it was once called Poseidonia." Strabo, VIII, 6, 14.

evenly between the two mints, but his method is rather erratic. He leaves Megalopolis the syrinx and pedum, assigns the fulmen specimens to Messene, but seems to have no particular reason behind his classification of the remaining coins.¹ Weil's catalogue on the other hand is decidedly partisan, listing all types with symbols and most of those without under the heading of the Arcadian city. Two reverses alone suffice for Messene.² Most surprising of all is the review of Löbbecke's Caserta hoard³ in which that author ascribes not one of his 322 Achaean League triobols to a Messenian mint. Nor does he find it strange that no other city of any importance is missing from his list save Corinth, whose League coinage is sparsely represented in all collections. In this respect geographical situation might explain the lack of Corinthian pieces since no autonomous currency of that city is included in the group, whereas there are thirteen Messenian independent issues of the same period as the League coinage.

No historical evidence regarding Messene is available to account for a numismatic inarticulateness of 45 years. Freeman⁴ tells us that, along with Elis, she became a League constituent in 191 B.C., albeit an unwilling one at first. For a few years following her admission, a measure of discontent and political restlessness may have interfered with the functioning of an orderly monetary system. In 183 an oligarchic group caused the city to revolt from the Federation and brought about the capture and death of Philopoimen. But as Freeman records, "It was soon evident that the revolt of Messene and the death of Philopoimen were the work of a mere faction and that the guilt was in no way shared by the mass of the Messenian people. In the course of the next year popular feeling compelled Deinokrates to sue for peace." This does not sound like a universal aversion to the League as a body politic, and subsequent favors, such as exemption from taxes for three years, must have given a silken cast to the ties of Federal allegiance. Certainly there is no reason to imagine that this minor disaffection of one Messenian group disrupted her League currency for almost half a century. Nor does it seem likely that political unimportance after 182 caused her to stop minting.⁵ She continued to coin autonomous issues after joining the League, and the exercise of such a privilege presupposes a degree of importance on the part of the favored city.

Owing to the number of disputed types in this hoard, a careful study was made of the individual coins to see if some underlying system of differentiation might not be discernible. As a beginning it was assumed that the syrinx and pedum were unquestionable Megalopolitan symbols, hence that all coins so marked had their origin

¹ *Coins of Achaean League*, pp. 13 and 18.

² *Zeit. f. Num.*, IX, 1882, pp. 262 and 268. Weil (pp. 221-2) admits the peculiar scarcity of currency from the Southern mint and suggests a possible misattribution of one type.

³ *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXVI, 1908, pp. 275 ff.

⁴ *History of Fed. Gov't.*, pp. 636, 647 ff.

⁵ Crosby and Grace, *N. N. and M.*, 74, p. 5.

in that city. Further study fostered the belief that Weil's attribution of the fulmen type was correct—that it belonged not to Messene but to Megalopolis. The symbol itself was used on independent issues of both places and can thus be linked with either locality, but other considerations favor an Arcadian source. First, the obverse heads found on some of the syrinx coins are of an unusual style—a large head, sharply chiselled and raised only slightly above the face of the coin. No other mint seems to have worked with quite the same technique. On the fulmen coins these stylistic qualities, although not so emphasized, are obviously similar to those of the syrinx group and argue for a common tradition. Moreover, the recurrence of reverse letters makes the case stronger. The syrinx types use repeatedly the letters Λ, Β, Κ, and Ξ. Our thunderbolt issue with ΞΒ above and Κ-Α to left and right dovetails very neatly into the series.¹

Among the remaining pieces, all without symbols, there is a group of somewhat flatter coins with the obverse heads encircled by dots. These appear to represent a slightly different type from the Megalopolis issues and since there is no similarity of lettering arrangement to connect them with that mint, they have been tentatively attributed to Messene. Another coin with Π-Δ to left and right has an obverse head similar to that on an autonomous piece of Messene.² The repetition of letters, coupled with a certain stylistic affinity among members of the group, gives in the author's opinion some basis for believing that Messene minted the whole series which lacks symbols.³

In separating the coins on the bases of style and lettering, more weight was given to the latter point, as admittedly there is no marked difference (with the exception of the fulmen and some of the syrinx coins) between many Megalopolitan and Messenian types.⁴ The letters themselves have only a face value. It is impossible to link them definitely with magistrates from either city, whose names are revealed on League bronze and autonomous silver issues. When a Messenian official's name tallies with the coin markings, there is apt to be a Megalopolitan with similar initial letters, or else letters on a coin obviously from Megalopolis begin the name of a Messenian magistrate.⁵

¹ Cf. p. 138 in the catalogue and Nos. 16-20 on Plate VI and Nos. 1-3 on Plate VII.

² Cf. No. 3 on Plate X with No. 16 on Plate III.

³ Study of the coins catalogued under Messene brings out the recurrence of letters very clearly. The only break in the series comes between the Ξ-E and Π-A types, yet the latter, which Clerk assigns to a dual Megara and Pagae mint and Weil to Megalopolis, has an obverse head executed in similar style to the Ξ-E issue (Nos. 20 on Plate IX and 1 on Plate X).

⁴ Leake (*Num. Hell.*, Eur., p. 74) notes the same tendency when he says that one of his ΜΕΞΞΑΝΙΩΝ coins is remarkably similar in style, size, and weight to an Arcadian League piece of certain Megalopolitan mintage. Perhaps geographical proximity explains the influence of one type on the other.

⁵ Reasonable doubt may be entertained that the two letters taken together begin the name of a magistrate. As Weil (*Z.f.N.*, IX, 1882, p. 263) points out, combinations like ΝΦ, ΠΔ, and ΞΒ

This arbitrary division of symbol and no-symbol types as representative of Megalopolitan and Messenian money does, however, introduce a touch of logic into a haphazard system. If the reason for the existence of the letters and symbols centred in their value as distinguishing marks of the various cities, then to be of any use at all they must perform that service beyond question. Especially necessary would be a decisive difference between the coinages of these two cities, geographically close, possessing the same monogram, and sharing at least one symbol, the thunderbolt. Messene entered the League in 191 and found in it at that time only two other cities beginning with the letter M of whose silver currency we have any record: Megara with her lyre symbol and Megalopolis, using—if our surmise be true—one or another of her three signs. Since Megara never used the M and Megalopolis only in conjunction with a symbol, there would be nothing to hinder Messene's adoption of the letter alone below the League monogram as the mark of her coinage.

CORONE?

Clerk's assignment of our Coronean coins (Nos. 675-677) to Messene seems based solely upon coincidence of the ΞE , one of the commonest combinations in the League coinage.¹ Since no symbol is present and the ΞE cannot stand for the city, the K^o is our only clue. Excluding Corinth, naturally an impossible choice, the only League members whose names begin in such fashion are Corone and Gortys (Cortys).² Both use the peculiar combination of large kappa and small omicron and both are known to have issued Federal copper. Gortys, however, seems never to have been of sufficient importance to mint silver, which gives some slight preference to Corone for whom autonomous silver denominations are recorded.

Except for the reattributions discussed in the preceding sections, the coins of our hoard fit definitely into the categories of Clerk and the British Museum. No

cannot thus be explained. Warren (*Essay on Greek Federal Coinage*, p. 45) says the name of the town's head magistrate is on the coins, while Gardner (*B. M. C.*, p. xxv) believes it is the name of a subordinate mint official. Perhaps both are correct, the first letter of each magistrate's name being used. The possibility of re-election or of varying terms of office would make it natural to find the same letter occurring in diverse combinations as NΦ, ON, KI, and KA. Or it may be that one of the letters is a mark used to differentiate the issues of a certain series. In either case recurrence of the same letter, if accompanied by other linking factors, would be partial proof of a common provenience for coins so designated.

¹ Clerk suggests (*Coins of Achaean League*, Introduction, p. v) that the type may be Coronean and Löbbecke (*Z. f. N.*, XXVI, 1908, p. 291) ascribes it to that place with some doubt ("Corone?").

² The inscription on a bronze coin listed by the *B. M. C.* (p. 14, no. 162) reads AX AIΩN K^oPTYNIΩN.

entirely new type is apparent. Occasionally, as in the case of the Arcadian and Aetolian pieces, there is a variation from recorded letter combinations, but this entails no question of mint attribution. Where a divergence from Clerk's grouping has been made, it is, in all cases except that of the ΛY coinage, supported by some numismatic authority and is here advanced not as established fact but as the hypothesis which the contents of this hoard render most probable.

APPENDIX I

The cities of the League whose coins are represented in this catalogue and the dates of their admission are as follows:

Patrae	280 B.C.	Cleitor	?
Dyme	280	Megalopolis	234
Aegium	275	Argos	228
Ceryneia	275	Caphyae	227
Aegira	274 ?	Tegea	222
Pellene	274 ?	Antigoneia	222 or later
Sicyon	251	Pallantium	193 ?
Corinth	243	Lacedaemon	192
Megara	243	Elis	191
Troezen	243	Messene	191
Epidaurus	243	Corone	184 ?

APPENDIX II

Table of Weights

1.	2.21	60-63.	2.32, 2.39, 2.30, 2.35
2.	2.54	64.	2.40
3-5.	2.29, 2.25, 2.12	65.	2.18
6.	2.24	66.	2.64
7.	2.71	67.	2.40
8-10.	2.50, 2.48, 2.61	68.	2.49
11-12.	2.73, 2.49	69.	2.20
13-15.	2.50, 2.41, 2.73	70.	2.65
16-26.	2.82, 2.68, 2.61, 2.61, 2.65, 2.81, 2.84, 2.66, 2.75, 2.72, 2.76	71.	2.50
27-29.	2.72, 2.57, 2.50	72.	2.52
30.	2.67	73-77.	3.42, 3.41, 3.50, 3.32, 3.50
31.	2.80	78-82.	3.50, 3.20, 3.34, 3.59, 3.41
32-33.	2.74, 2.70	83-85.	3.31, 3.40, 3.41
34-40.	2.66, 2.73, 2.60, 2.79, 2.61, 2.77, 2.64	86-88.	3.40, 3.45, 3.39
41-42.	2.63, 2.74	89-92.	3.49, 3.52, 3.32, 3.31
43-45.	2.55, 2.70, 2.63	93-95.	3.41, 3.15, 3.30
46-48.	2.42, 2.72, 2.60	96-100.	3.51, 3.36, 3.02, 3.83, 3.40
49.	2.61	101-103.	3.15, 3.13, 3.11
50-58.	2.44, 2.72, 2.70, 2.50, 2.52, 2.64, 2.43, 2.56, 2.53	104-108.	2.48, 2.51, 2.50, 2.72, 2.63
59.	1.91	109.	2.73
		110.	2.21
		111.	2.25
		112-113.	2.40, 2.42

Table of Weights

114-116.	2.53, 2.25, 2.34	271.	2.39
117-129.	2.21, 2.23, 2.44, 2.32, 2.41, 2.15, 2.12, 2.33, 2.15, 2.32, 2.40, 2.13, 2.21	272.	2.48
130.	2.61	273.	2.54
131.	2.32	274-276.	2.33, 2.43, 2.43
132-142.	2.38, 2.12, 2.31, 2.10, 2.50, 1.89, 2.29, 2.10, 2.12, 2.47, 2.09	277-279.	2.22, 2.34, 2.21
143.	2.25	280-286.	2.42, 2.30, 2.42, 2.45, 2.35, 2.44, 2.20
144.	2.43	287.	2.50
145-160.	2.20, 2.51, 2.38, 2.41, 2.40, 2.46, 2.35, 2.50, 2.35, 2.42, 2.42, 2.13, 2.12, 2.50, 2.32, 2.31	288-289.	2.30, 2.39
161.	2.03	290.	2.49
162-173.	2.26, 2.50, 2.27, 2.32, 2.13, 2.34, 2.20, 2.31, 2.47, 2.43, 2.22, 2.60	291-298.	2.49, 2.21, 2.42, 2.30, 2.54, 2.13, 2.04, 2.40
174-197.	2.35, 2.25, 2.40, 2.23, 2.29, 2.30, 2.61, 2.43, 2.60, 2.34, 2.28, 2.20, 2.26, 2.43, 2.20, 2.47, 2.42, 2.30, 2.41, 2.19, 2.29, 2.11, 2.29, 2.22	299-300.	2.32, 2.53
198-199.	2.58, 2.31	301-305.	2.50, 2.29, 2.37, 2.25, 2.30
200-212.	2.49, 2.24, 2.20, 2.32, 2.52, 2.48, 2.21, 2.44, 2.20, 2.20, 2.41, 2.59, 2.20	306.	2.45
213-214.	2.49, 2.35	307.	2.50
215.	2.30	308.	2.39
216-222.	2.42, 2.44, 2.25, 2.28, 2.50, 2.31, 2.40	309-313.	2.41, 2.35, 2.48, 2.29, 2.43
223.	2.41	314.	2.34
224.	2.35	315.	2.42
225-227.	2.46, 2.60, 2.61	316-317.	2.61, 2.22
228.	2.44	318-320.	2.32, 2.50, 2.48
229.	2.25	321.	2.42
230-232.	2.29, 2.52, 2.35	322-330.	2.29, 2.60, 2.35, 2.46, 2.49, 2.53, 2.40, 2.52, 2.64
233-234.	2.43, 2.33	331-332.	2.40, 2.19
235-236.	2.53, 2.42	333-340.	2.36, 2.44, 2.25, 2.13, 2.20, 2.25, 2.24, 2.47
237.	2.40	341.	2.38
238.	2.68	342-343.	2.34, 2.30
239.	2.40	344-345.	2.15, 2.40
240.	2.58	346-359.	2.39, 2.21, 2.39, 2.34, 2.25, 2.29, 2.31, 2.48, 2.27, 2.30, 2.33, 2.29, 2.38, 2.40
241.	2.56	360-361.	2.32, 2.30
242.	2.22	362-364.	2.59, 2.42, 2.35
243-244.	2.40, 2.31	365-372.	2.46, 2.42, 2.49, 2.35, 2.44, 2.39, 2.52, 2.22
245.	2.42	373-376.	2.37, 2.18, 2.46, 2.49
246.	2.31	377-378.	2.41, 2.41
247.	2.40	379.	2.46
248.	2.43	380.	2.49
249-250.	2.46, 2.03	381.	2.30
251.	2.42	382-383.	2.44, 2.33
252-256.	2.36, 2.40, 2.38, 2.33, 2.31	384-385.	2.35, 2.35
257-263.	2.23, 2.35, 2.41, 2.50, 2.34, 2.29, 2.34	386.	2.40
264.	2.33	387.	2.50
265-270.	2.31, 2.40, 2.35, 2.55, 2.30, 2.39	388-392.	2.36, 2.36, 2.40, 2.34, 2.44
		393-394.	2.47, 2.32
		395-403.	2.35, 2.20, 2.45, 2.24, 2.47, 2.22, 2.49, 2.40, 2.35
		404-406.	2.30, 2.30, 2.39
		407-409.	2.42, 2.45, 2.49
		410-411.	2.46, 2.29

Table of Weights

412-414.	2.42, 2.40, 2.37	565-566.	2.35, 2.30
415-416.	2.36, 2.20	567.	2.28
417-418.	2.43, 2.47	568.	2.43
419-421.	2.48, 2.32, 2.40	569-572.	2.30, 2.37, 2.33, 2.39
422-424.	2.37, 2.12, 2.45	573-583.	2.56, 2.45, 2.49, 2.35, 2.26, 2.44, 2.39, 2.42, 2.31, 2.25, 2.34
425.	2.00	584.	2.42
426.	2.30	585.	2.39
427-429.	2.34, 2.17, 2.33	586.	2.52
430-433.	2.44, 2.50, 2.32, 2.25	587.	2.35
434-481.	2.40, 2.25, 2.34, 2.42, 2.36, 2.40, 2.38, 2.44, 2.42, 2.54, 2.43, 2.47, 2.45, 2.38, 2.41, 2.32, 2.39, 2.33, 2.45, 2.39, 2.30, 2.48, 2.51, 2.46, 2.32, 2.40, 2.43, 2.43, 2.30, 2.24, 2.33, 2.52, 2.33, 2.29, 2.21, 2.43, 2.35, 2.59, 2.33, 2.45, 2.34, 2.33, 2.49, 2.32, 2.37, 2.40, 2.53, 2.39	588-608.	2.35, 2.30, 2.33, 2.45, 2.40, 2.50, 2.32, 2.43, 2.55, 2.49, 2.40, 2.37, 2.58, 2.53, 2.37, 2.54, 2.42, 2.47, 2.52, 2.52, 2.48
482-483.	2.43, 2.38	609-611.	2.40, 2.48, 2.43
484-485.	2.41, 2.37	612-618.	2.47, 2.43, 2.54, 2.39, 2.37, 2.34, 2.47
486.	2.46	619-623.	2.43, 2.54, 2.49, 2.42, 2.29
487.	2.49	624.	2.45
488-492.	2.27, 2.54, 2.19, 2.47, 2.30	625.	2.32
493-527.	2.34, 2.32, 2.26, 2.46, 2.39, 2.47, 2.30, 2.39, 2.33, 2.24, 2.51, 2.49, 2.47, 2.30, 2.39, 2.45, 2.33, 2.33, 2.20, 2.52, 2.33, 2.42, 2.36, 2.40, 2.39, 2.48, 2.55, 2.22, 2.31, 2.36, 2.49, 2.35, 2.26, 2.51, 2.56	626-630.	2.25, 2.12, 2.27, 2.42, 2.19
528-540.	2.31, 2.33, 2.39, 2.42, 2.29, 2.43, 2.36, 2.32, 2.46, 2.49, 2.42, 2.35, 2.33	631.	2.23
541.	2.49	632-635.	2.31, 2.53, 2.32, 2.28
542.	2.40	636.	2.53
543.	2.23	637.	2.26
544-546.	2.46, 2.26, 2.33	638-640.	2.40, 2.37, 2.21
547-556.	2.30, 2.38, 2.29, 2.32, 2.43, 2.27, 2.34, 2.42, 2.39, 2.42	641.	2.41
557-559.	2.47, 2.35, 2.45	642-645.	2.23, 2.30, 2.42, 2.27
560-562.	2.39, 2.33, 2.50	646.	2.49
563.	2.29	647-649.	2.44, 2.36, 2.42
564.	2.32	650-652.	2.39, 2.33, 2.41
		653.	2.43
		654.	2.28
		655.	2.41
		656.	2.40
		657.	2.49
		658-660.	2.36, 2.42, 2.38
		661-674.	2.40, 2.55, 2.39, 2.44, 2.40, 2.36, 2.45, 2.40, 2.53, 2.41, 2.54, 2.27, 2.56, 2.43
		675-677.	2.52, 2.36, 2.44

MARGARET THOMPSON

LEAGROS

I. VICTOR STATUES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY IN ATHENS

Among the Attic votive offerings of the sixth and fifth centuries there are dedications made by victorious athletes. The sixth century is represented by the capital of a Doric column which supported a bronze bowl, by fragmentary inscriptions on the lips of five bronze bowls, by an inscribed bronze discus, and by a stone jumping-weight with a dedicatory inscription.¹ The inscription from Eleusis, *I.G.*, I², 803, engraved on the lip of a marble basin is wrongly restored as referring to a victory in a gymnastic contest.² We have no certain evidence of statues of athletes set up in that period on the Akropolis. It may be mentioned, however, that some of the statues of horses and horsemen and their inscribed bases, found on the Akropolis, could be understood as dedications of victors in the horse race. We may even suggest that the statue of Rhombos, the moschophoros, was a dedication of a victor who won an ox.³ Yet there is no certain evidence for these assumptions.

There are several instances which show clearly that in the first half of the fifth century the dedications of victor statues became popular in Athens. We recognize here the increasing Peloponnesian influence and we find just at the beginning of this period, about 500 B.C., the first examples of the use of the Peloponnesian bronze technique in Athens. At the same time we find Peloponnesian sculptors in Athens (this evidence is taken from the preserved artists' signatures), and the development of the severe style in Attic art is partly due to the same influence.⁴ We may suggest that the statue of Hipparchos, son of Charmos, was a victor statue. This statue was melted down when Hipparchos was ostracised in 487/6 B.C. The *στήλη ἀτιμίας* was set up not before that year.⁵ The following list contains inscriptions which presumably

¹ Doric capital: *I.G.*, I², 472; *S.E.G.*, I, no. 8; W. Kroll, *R. E.*, *Suppl.* IV, col. 16, 38 ff. Another bronze bowl was supported by the base with the inscription *I.G.*, I², 464, but the preserved fragments of this inscription, coming from two different faces of the base, do not indicate that the dedication was made by an athlete after his victory. Bronze bowls: *I.G.*, I², 401-404, 406. Bronze discus: *I.G.*, I², 445; J. Jüthner, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 32 ff. Jumping-weight: *I.G.*, I², 802; Hampe and Jantzen, *Jahrbuch*, LII, 1937, *Olympiabericht*, I, pp. 82 ff. For the whole group compare W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 149 ff.

² It can rather be restored to [---εἶχ]όμενος παύ[δον? ---]ἀνέθεκ[εν ---]; cf. *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, col. 51.

³ Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, pls. 2 ff.; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 151, note 11; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 98 f.; *I.G.*, II², 2311, 72 ff.

⁴ Cf. C. A. Robinson, Jr., *A.J.A.*, LII, 1938, p. 455; S. Lauffer, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, pp. 84 f.

⁵ Cf. Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 117; H. Friedel, *Der Tyrannenmord*, pp. 39 f.; F. Schachermeyr, *R.E.*, XIX, col. 155, 32 ff.

belong to dedications made by victors in gymnastic contests (except for Nos. 2 and 8);¹ the dedications of victors in musical contests are here omitted.

1. Column with the dedicatory inscription of Kallias, son of Didymias, erected after a victory he won as a boy in the Great Panathenaia soon after or soon before 480 B.C.² It is a tempting assumption that his column bore one of the preserved marble statues, the so-called Kritios boy, which belongs to the same time and represents a young athlete. The Kritios boy, however, is not the only Kouros found on the Akropolis and we may assume that some of the other Kouroi also belonged to dedications made by victorious athletes (cf. Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, pls. 97 ff.). For the political activity of Kallias see No. 5.

2. Bronze statue of Kallias, son of Hipponikos, the base of which is preserved with the inscription *I.G.*, I², 607. This base has recently again been identified as belonging to the statue of Aphrodite dedicated by Kallias and made by Kalamis.³ We accept, however, the objections made by F. Studniczka.⁴ Furthermore we may suggest that the dedication was made by Kallias after his victories in the horse race in Olympia (Schol. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 64). We know of several other victors in horse races who dedicated mere statues of themselves (e. g. Pausanias, VI, 1, 6 f.). If the monument could be dated prior to 480 B.C., we would understand why its existence is not recorded in our literary tradition.

3. Bronze statue of Epicharinos as a hoplitodromos, a work of the artists Kritios and Nesiotes (perhaps mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1500, 12). Though the inscription is mutilated, we may assume that it did not contain any reference to the fact that it was after a victory when Epicharinos dedicated the monument. A preserved bronze statuette gives us an impression of the statue of Kritios and Nesiotes.⁵

4. Marble statue of Phayllos, from Kroton, who joined the Athenian navy in the battle of Salamis and who was ὀλυμπιονίκης(?) and three times victor in the

¹ Cf. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, p. 603, note 5; A. Furtwängler, *Ath. Mitt.*, V, 1880, pp. 26 ff.; W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 26 f.; H. Friedel, *Der Tyrannenmord*, p. 36 (add here the reference to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 17).

² *I.G.*, I², 608 + 714; *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, cols. 47 ff.

³ W. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 74, note 8; G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 451 ff. See also Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 386; C. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, pp. 254 f.; J. Six, *Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, p. 77 and fig. 3; K. Freemann, *Greece and Rome*, VIII, 1938, pp. 22 ff.

⁴ *Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, XXV, 1907, Abh. 4, pp. 54 ff., including fig. 11; G. Lippold, *R.E.*, X, col. 1534, 4 ff.; H. Swoboda, *R.E.*, X, coll. 1615 ff.

⁵ *I.G.*, I², 531; Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments*, pp. 406 f.; C. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, p. 262, fig. 160; G. Lippold, *R.E.*, XI, col. 1915, 35 ff.; A. Schober, *Jahreshefte*, XXX, 1937, Beiblatt, cols. 215 ff. The date proposed by E. Löwy, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 216, Abh. 4, 1937, pp. 8 f., is too late.

Isthmian games.¹ The cutting on the top of the base, mentioned by H. G. Lolling, *Catalogue*, no. 212, is situated on the left end of the preserved upper surface, indicating that our fragment belongs to the right half of the base. Thus the restoration of the epigram (see note 9) is incorrect since it assumes the lack of only two letters on the left side. For marble statues of victors see W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 324 ff. Since Phayllos' name occurs long before 480 B.C. as a love-name on Attic vases (cf. R. Lullies, *R.E.*, XIX, col. 1904, 50 ff.), and as his dedication can be dated about 470 B.C., he must have spent a good deal of his life in Athens. The monument on the Akropolis was a private dedication made by Phayllos himself. The crew of the ship he lead in the battle of Salamis consisted of citizens of Kroton who resided at that time in Greece (Pausanias, X, 9, 2). Thus we may doubt whether the public dedication of Kroton in Delphi was erected in honor of Phayllos.²

5. Statue of Kallias, son of Didymias, the famous pancratiast. The inscription, published as *I.G.*, I², 606, records his many victories, among them the one in the Panathenaic games for which he dedicated the statue mentioned above (No. 1). This second dedication can be dated about 445 B.C. and after this date he may have been ostracised.³ We may suggest that his ostracism took place in connection with Perikles' successful fight against the opposition in 443 B.C.

6. Statue of a victor signed by the painter and sculptor Mikon. The inscription, published as *I.G.*, I², 534, can be dated, in spite of the Ionic alphabet, prior to 440 B.C. We have, however, no certain evidence that this dedication was made by a victor. We know that Mikon was famous for his victor statues, but the dedicatory inscription has not yet been restored in a satisfactory way (cf. G. Lippold, *R.E.*, XV, cols. 1557 f.).

7. Statue of the son of Kallaischros who was twice victor in the Isthmian and Nemean games, *I.G.*, I², 829. While the other monuments, listed above, are dedications made to the goddess Athena and were found on the Akropolis, this inscription is a dedication to the Twelve Gods and was found in Salamis.⁴ Though we have another inscription, found in Salamis, where the Twelve Gods are mentioned (*C.I.G.*, I, 452; other references in note 4), we may doubt whether this inscription does not belong to the sanctuary of these deities in the Agora in Athens. If the reading *τοὶ δωδεκαθεοὶ* is correct we may remember that the sanctuaries of the Twelve

¹ *I.G.*, I², 655; M. N. Tod, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*, p. 26, no. 21; a new restoration was proposed by F. Hiller and reported by H. Pomtow, *R.E.*, Suppl., IV, col. 1204, 52 ff.; Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love-Names*, pp. 167 ff.; W. W. Hyde, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 407 f.; H. E. Stier, *R.E.*, XIX, coll. 1903 f.

² Cf. H. Pomtow, *R.E.*, Suppl., IV, coll. 1204 f.; H. E. Stier, *R.E.*, XIX, col. 1903, 38 ff.

³ Cf. *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, cols. 48 f.; T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 361.

⁴ Cf. L. Bürchner, *R.E.*, I A, col. 1832, 30 ff.; S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 71; O. Weinreich in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, col. 781, no. 18.

Gods in Kos and Crete were called δωδεκάθεον.¹ The assumption that *I.G.*, I², 829 belongs to Athens, made already by F. Hiller, does not clash with the fact that an inscription containing a list of prizes given in a gymnastic contest, *I.G.*, I², 846, was also found in Salamis. We may even suggest that this inscription, too, belongs to Athens and to the Panathenaic games.

The dedication of the son of Kallaischros was set up in the second half of the fifth century. Though the name Kallaischros occurs in several instances within the period, we may suggest that it was the famous Kritias, son of Kallaischros, who made the dedication to the Twelve Gods. His statue may have been removed after 403 B.C., and that could explain the fact that there were no victor statues in Lykourgos' time in the Agora of Athens (*In Leocratem*, 51).

8. Bronze four-horse chariot dedicated by Pronapes, son of Pronapides, after more than three victories, among them one each in the Nemean, Isthmian, and Panathenaic games.² The letter forms of the inscription illustrated by N. Kyparissis, *Δελτ.* 'Αρχ., XI, 1927/28, p. 133, no. 8, fig. 6, indicate that the monument belongs to the fifth century. The two preserved names are the first part of a pentameter, since there is uninscribed space on the left side of the inscription, and we may assume that the dedicatory inscription consisted only of a pentameter (cf. *I.G.*, I², 661 and p. 205; Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., 7, 4). The preserved slab has anathyrosis on the back and on the right lateral face. The anathyrosis on the right lateral face and the four dowel-holes on the top can be seen on two photographs which show the slab still built in the north part of the west door of the Parthenon (cf. N. Balanos, *Les Monuments de l'Acropole*, pls. 140a and 141b; the piece in question is the fourth large slab from the top). The four dowel-holes on the top belong to the front hoofs of two bronze horses. Thus we may assume that the whole base consisted of six slabs, two on the smaller front face, three on the lateral faces. The left front slab is preserved. A similar base, consisting of six slabs, bore the δούριος ἵππος, dedicated by Chairedemos, son of Euangelos (cf. G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 460 f., fig. 14). The front length of our base can be restored to three meters. Thus the size of the chariot was the same as that of the chariot dedicated by the Athenians after their victory over the Boeotians and Chalkidians at the end of the sixth century and renewed in 446 B.C.³

¹ Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 43; A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, p. 141; M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I, pp. 69 ff., no. 13.

² *I.G.*, II², 3123. This monument is included in our list because of its historical significance and because it is the only chariot, so far known, which was dedicated by a victor and set up on the Akropolis.

³ To the inscription, *I.G.*, I², 394 I, belongs the fragment E. M. 12410. The site where this monument was located has been determined by L. B. Holland, *A.J.A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 77 and 402, and L. Weber, *Phil. Woch.*, LIII, 1933, cols. 331 f. The propylon itself was reconstructed in drawings by G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 474 ff. (cf. R. Stillwell, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 432 f.); Stevens also discussed the chariot problem on pp. 504 ff. of the same paper.

For the name Pronapes, N. Kyparissis has already referred to *I.G.*, I², 400 Ia, a public dedication made by the Knights when Lakedaimonios, Xenophon, and Pronapes were their generals. The preserved base bore the statues of a horse and of a man standing beside the horse (cf. C. Anti, *Bulletino Comunale*, XLVII, 1921, pp. 90 ff.). The monument was set up presumably in 446 B.C., and if it was ever moved and put on one of the west antae of the Propylaea, that evidently did not happen in the fifth century since the antae were not built to support statues.¹ The general of the Knights in 446 B.C., Pronapes, may be identical with the dedicant Pronapes, son of Pronapides. The name is rare and both were Knights. *I.G.*, I², 400 Ia shows the Ionic eta which also occurs in *I.G.*, II², 3123; for the earlier letter forms of *I.G.*, I², 400 Ia we may compare the Koronea epigrams.² Furthermore it was perhaps the same Pronapes, son of Pronapides, successful general and victor in several chariot races, who was between 468 and 466 B.C. one of the accusers of Themistokles. He is mentioned together with Leobotes and Lysandros in the eighth letter of Themistokles (G. Niessing, *De Themistoclis epistolis*, pp. 40 ff.), and we may assume that the author of this letter had his knowledge from Krateros (U. Kahrstedt, *R.E.*, V A, col. 1694, 11 ff.). The full name was Pronapes, son of Pronapides, Prasieus, and this name as well as all the other evidence indicates that he belonged to the aristocracy (cf. K. Mras, *Wiener Studien*, LV, 1937, pp. 78 ff.). He was born before 490 B.C., and his first political activity may have been the accusation of Themistokles. He was Knight and victor in several chariot races. In 446 B.C. he served as general of the Knights together with Lakedaimonios, son of Kimon, and his dedication on the Akropolis may be dated about 435 B.C. We know of still another bearer of the name Pronapes in the fifth century (J. Kirchner, *P. A.*, 12251), and it may be suggested that our Pronapes was identical with the father of Amynias whom we know from allusions in comedy.³ These passages together with the scholia give us a picture of the personality of Amynias which, though not favourable, agrees with the impression we obtain from the life of Pronapes, provided we realize that his son was an impoverished aristocrat still proud of his noble birth. Of this kind of nobleman Aristophanes made more fun than of any class in Athens, save the radical democrats.⁴ Since Amynias was appointed delegate to Thessaly he must have had some connection with Kleon and his party (E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, IV, pp. 366 ff.). His

¹ Cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 80, 229; R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style*, p. 64; P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 5 ff.; G. W. Elderkin, *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, pp. 10 f.; G. Lippold, *R.E.*, XIII, col. 2293, 35 ff.; K. I. Gelzer, *Die Schrift vom Staate der Athener*, pp. 103 f.

² Kyparissis and Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 142 ff.; K. Reinhardt, *Hermes*, LXXIII, 1938, pp. 234 ff.

³ J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, 737 and Aristophanes, *Knights*, 570. I consulted the commentaries to each passage in the editions of T. Mitchell, W. Ribbeck, F. H. M. Blaydes, T. van Leeuwen, W. T. M. Starkie, Hall and Geldart, B. B. Rogers.

⁴ Cf. A. W. Gomme, *Cl. Rev.*, LII, 1938, pp. 97 ff.

mission to Pharsalos was a failure and we may suppose that it belongs to the year 424 B.C. when the Penestai in Thessaly were unable to stop Brasidas on his way to Thrace.¹ The scholiast to *Clouds*, 31 asserts that his proper name was not Amynias but Ameinias, and Aristophanes changed the name because of a law forbidding mockery of the archon in comedy. Whether or not we believe in the existence of this law the identity of Amynias, son of Pronapes, with the archon of 423/2 B.C. has so far not been accepted.² Yet to suppose that the scholiast invented the whole story is not likely and it would fit very well into the career of Amynias.³ We may add that the pronunciations of *ei* and *v* in the later fifth century in Athens were much alike.⁴

II. LEAGROS

We should bear in mind these examples of dedications made by victorious athletes in Athens in approaching the proper subject of this paper, the dedication of Leagros, son of Glaukon, to the Twelve Gods set up outside of their temenos in the Agora of Athens.⁵

The question what kind of statue was dedicated by Leagros has not yet been discussed. We have still another dedication to the Twelve Gods (No. 7 in our list) which was made by a victorious athlete, perhaps by the aristocrat Kallias, son of Kallaischros. We have already discussed the possibility that, though found in Salamis, it was once part of a monument which stood in the Agora of Athens. We obtain, in any case, from this inscription evidence that victor statues were dedicated to the Twelve Gods. It may be suggested that another dedication to the Twelve Gods, I.G., II², 4564, was set up by a victor as indicated by the crown which was engraved

¹ Cf. F. Hiller, *R.E.*, VI A, col. 121, 20 ff.; F. Miltner, *R.E.*, XIX, cols. 494 f. Add here Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1271 ff. and the scholion to this passage.

² Cf. E. Kalinka, *Die pseudoxenophontische 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*, p. 14; K. I. Gelzer, *Die Schrift vom Staate der Athener*, pp. 71 and 128 ff.

³ J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II², 2, p. 390, in his archon list accepted Amynias as the archon eponymous of the year 423/2 B.C.

⁴ Cf. E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, pp. 124 and 135; Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love-Names*, pp. 172 f.

⁵ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 355 ff.; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 358 f., no. 2. I am indebted to Professor T. L. Shear for giving me the opportunity to use the part of the excavator's diary which concerns the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.

In the following reports or articles the Leagros base or the temenos of the Twelve Gods is mentioned or discussed: H. G. G. Payne, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 185 f.; G. Karo, *Arch. Anz.*, XLIX, 1934, col. 128, fig. 3; T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 177; P. Lemerle, *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 249; J. F. Crome, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX/LXI, 1935/36, pp. 306 f.; F. Schachermeyr, *R.E.*, XIX, col. 188, 44 ff.; J. Kirchner, *R.E.*, XIX, col. 191, 35 ff.; O. Weinreich in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, cols. 772 ff., 780, no. 16; M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, LVII, 1937, p. 169; E. Löwy, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 216, Abh. 4, 1937, p. 9; W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen*, I, pp. 67 ff., 131; Ch. Picard, *Rev. Arch.*, IX, 1937, pp. 283 f.; O. Kern, *Religion der Griechen*, II, p. 93; III, p. 321; Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love-Names*, pp. 132 f.; T. L. Shear, *C.W.*, XXXI, 1938, p. 76; Ch. Picard, *R.E.G.*, LI, 1938, p. 94; A. Raubitschek, *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, col. 44; Flacelière, J. Robert, and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LI, 1938, p. 421, no. 52; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 64, no. 21.

below the inscription.¹ The assumption, however, that this base bore a victor statue would clash with the assertion of Lykourgos (*In Leocratem*, 51) that no victor statues stand in the Agora of Athens. Furthermore, the significance which the cult of the Twelve Gods obtained in Olympia (O. Weinreich in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, cols. 781 ff.) shows clearly enough that these deities were connected with the gymnastic contests. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 74, referred to a passage in Herodotos (II, 7) recording the distance from the altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens to Olympia; there is, however, an inscription preserved, *I.G.*, II², 2640, which indicates the distance from the altar of the deities in Athens to the harbor.²

It seems, therefore, safe to suggest that Leagros' dedication to the Twelve Gods was a victor statue set up after a victory he won in one of the panhellenic games, perhaps in the Panathenaia. The inscription itself does not indicate that it belongs to a victor monument, but we find the same omission in Nos. 2 and 3 of our list and in K. Purgold, *Inschriften von Olympia*, no. 143. We may assume either that such omission was customary in this early time³ or, as is probable, that the statue itself sufficiently indicated the purpose of the dedication. This interpretation is certainly right for the statue of Epicharinos and for the chariot set up by Gelon, and it can also be applied, as we shall see, to the statue of Leagros.

A further evidence for this interpretation may be found in a vase painting (Fig. 1) which shows the dedication made by Leagros and contains the love-name *Λέαγρος καλός*.⁴ The platform upon which the young athlete stands cannot be understood as a *βῆμα*, though there was no difference between the *βῆμα* and the statue base either in vase painting or in reality. A *βῆμα* is, however, no place for an athlete to stand. But obviously appropriate for an athlete are the *ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος ἐσταότ'*.⁵ Therefore, the vase painting may be interpreted as representing the statue of a young victor, standing on a rectangular base, with a laurel crown on his head. His right foot is advanced; in his right hand he holds a javelin, in his left an aryballos and a sponge or a discus-bag.⁶ The similarity between this painting and the statue which must have stood on the Leagros base is obvious if we notice the preserved dowels and dowel-holes which indicate the posture of the statue (see the illustration in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 357, fig. 14). We may even suggest that the small hole near the left

¹ The date given for this inscription by O. Weinreich in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, VI, col. 845, 60 ff., is too late. Thus, the reference he gives for his interpretation of Tyche as the Thirteenth God is not valid. Cf. A. Greifenhagen, *Röm. Mitt.*, LII, 1937, pp. 238 ff. Another dedication to the Twelve Gods, *I.G.*, II², 2790, was found so far from the Agora that it can be doubted whether it actually belongs to this sanctuary of the deities.

² Cf. R. L. Scranton, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 529 f.

³ It is also significant that none of the inscriptions listed above specifies the dedication as *aparche* or *dekate*; cf. Hampe and Jantzen, *Jahrbuch*, LII, 1937, *Olympiabericht*, I, pp. 79 f.

⁴ *C.V.A.*, Baltimore, fasc. 2, III I, pls. 5 and 6, pp. 13 f.

⁵ Pindar, *Nemean*, V, 3 f.

⁶ The latter interpretation was given by K. McKnight Elderkin, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, XXXV, 1924, pp. 119 ff. Neither interpretation is satisfactory, but I cannot give any other.



Fig. 1. The Leagros Cup in Baltimore

front corner on the top of the base once received the end of the javelin held by the athlete in his right hand.

The bearded man standing in front of the statue has always been interpreted as a trainer.¹ This interpretation cannot be maintained if the scene is the Agora of Athens and not a gymnasium. The bearded man is crowned with an ivy wreath and this ornament is not in keeping with the interpretation of this figure as an instructor.² We have, however, the inscription both words of which begin near the head of the bearded man indicating that they refer to him. Leagros himself is standing before the statue which he dedicated to the Twelve Gods. The javelin in the right hand of the statue indicates that the victory was won in the pentathlon.³

If our interpretation of the vase painting on the cup in Baltimore is correct we may include it in E. Langlotz's list of paintings which show Leagros in different states of his youth.⁴ Our vase painting is certainly earlier than the cup in Brussels. The cup in Baltimore was attributed to the Kiss-painter and dated *ca.* 500 B.C. The date, however, which was proposed for the inscription of the Leagros base is the decade 490-480 B.C.⁵ Yet Miss G. M. A. Richter with whom I had the opportunity to discuss the question told me that, "though stylistically the vase has been dated about 500 B.C., an absolute date as late as 490 B.C. would perhaps be possible if we suppose that the painter retained an old-fashioned style."⁶ The date of the Leagros base must be discussed together with the date of the earlier structure of the precinct of the temenos since the base was set against the structure's west face at a time when the early precinct was still standing. The date of the earlier building, as I was informed by the excavators, goes back to the sixth century. The second structure was erected when the statue was already removed, but it is dated still in the fifth century. Since the disappearance of the statue can be connected with the devastation of Athens by the Persians we can conclude that only the first structure belongs to the time before 480 B.C. This assumption explains the good preservation of the front face of the base, in comparison with the top which was worn when used as a floor.⁷ We also understand why the victory of Leagros, whose descendants were famous in the fifth century, is not recorded in our literary tradition.⁸ If the first structure is rightly

¹ See, however, the doubts expressed by P. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 43.

² For instructors with wreaths see F. Hauser, *Jahrbuch*, X, 1895, p. 110; Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love-Names*, pp. 169 f.

³ Cf. W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 164 f.; J. Jüthner, *R.E.*, XIX, cols. 524 ff.

⁴ *Zur Zeitbestimmung*, pp. 48 ff.; Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love-Names*, pp. 132 ff.; see the additions made by A. Rumpf, *Gnomon*, XIV, 1938, p. 456.

⁵ B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 357: 490-480 B.C.; E. Löwy, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 216, Abh. 4, 1937, p. 9: not long before the death of Leagros in 464 B.C.; Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love-Names*, p. 134: about 485 B.C. It may be noted that the theta with a circle in the middle does not occur in the Hecatompodon and Marathon inscriptions as Robinson and Fluck assert. The Leagros inscription is not metrical, not even a bad hexameter, as the same authors suggest.

⁶ A similar answer was given me by Miss D. K. Hill.

⁷ Notice here the horizontal striation of the right and left vertical margins which occurs also on the base with the Marathon epigram; cf. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, no. 11.

⁸ Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 15.

assigned to the time before 480 B.C., it must have been a part of the parapet built around the altar dedicated by Peisistratos, son of Hippias, when he was archon eponymous. His archonship has generally been dated in some year immediately before 512/1,¹ but new evidence suggests a date as late as 497/6 B.C. (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 21). There may have been, however, an earlier altar of the Twelve Gods on the same place, though the preserved structure belongs to the building of Peisistratos.² Shortly after the building of the temenos of the Twelve Gods, Leagros must have made his dedication. We do not know whether there existed any connection between Leagros and the family of the tyrants, but, if so, it certainly was not close. We do not know anything of Leagros' father, Glaukon. He was certainly not the Glaukon whom J. Kirchner, *R.E.*, VII, col. 1402, 7 ff., put in the first place in his list of the bearers of this name.³ It is, however, remarkable that Leagros was elected general immediately after the trial of Themistokles which happened between 468 and 466 B.C. when the aristocratic influence again increased in Athens. On the other hand the author of the eighth letter of Themistokles assumes that Themistokles and Leagros were friends.

Soon after Leagros' statue was dedicated it was illustrated on the cup now in Baltimore. The vase painting belongs, therefore, to the class of vases with representations of statues (K. Schefold, *Jahrbuch*, LII, 1937, pp. 30 ff.).

Our knowledge of Leagros' life is increased. The celebration of his youth on the vase paintings of the late sixth century will now be understood as a result of his activity as an athlete, and the fact that he was allowed to set up his dedication by the altar of the Twelve Gods shows his political significance which led to his *στρατηγία* in 465/4 B.C.

Indeed almost all of the victor monuments which we have listed above were dedicated by men who took active part in political life. Now we understand the passage in Lykourgos (*In Leocratem*, 51) which states that, in contrast to other Greek cities, there were no victor statues in the Agora of Athens.⁴ Thus the statue of the pancratiast Autolykos, set up near the prytaneion,⁵ is said to have been erected long after his death in commemoration of his political merits (cf. G. Lippold, *R.E.*, XII, cols. 1994 f.). We may understand all these victor statues as the forerunners of the honorary statues of the fourth century.⁶

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¹ An even earlier date was proposed by J. J. E. Hondius, *Hermes*, LVII, 1922, pp. 475 ff.: ca. 525 B.C.; F. Cornelius, *Die Tyrannis in Athen*, p. 10, note 1: before 514 B.C.; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, III, p. 321: 523/2 B.C., or somewhat later.

² Cf. Herodotos, VI, 108, 2; and the discussions of W. Aly, *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 21; W. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 64, 350, note 3; J. F. Crome, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX/LXI, 1935/6, p. 306.

³ Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 201 and 212; J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV², 2, p. 457; F. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, II, no. 80, Pythemos, no. 2.

⁴ Misunderstood by W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, p. 26.

⁵ A building which was far from the Greek Agora; cf. E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 470, note 4; W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen*, I, p. 36.

⁶ Cf. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 269.

AN INSCRIBED DORIC CAPITAL FROM THE ARGIVE HERAION

This stone was called to my attention in December of 1937 by the farmer who had unearthed it in digging a well about a mile southwest of the Argive Heraion.

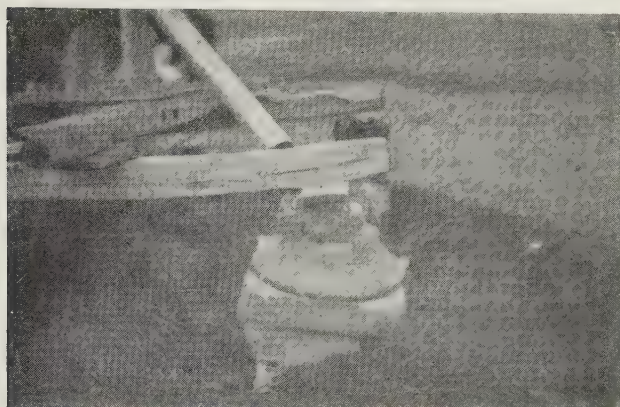


Fig. 1. Inscribed Doric Capital

of abacus, 0.45 m.; height of abacus, 0.09 m.² It has three annulets on the echinus, and an empolion cutting *ca.* 0.04 m. square. The upper surface of the abacus was much damaged in removing the stone from the earth.

Votive capitals³ are often quite irregular in form, but ours is as regular as any made for use as an architectural member, finding its closest parallel for profile in the capitals of the Treasury of the

He had found it, as he told me, and as the imprint in the side of the well still showed, at a depth of about one meter beneath the present surface of the earth. It was serving, when I first saw it, as a support for one corner of the framework of a water-lift over the well from which it came (Figs. 1 and 2).¹

The dimensions of the capital, which is made of a soft, rather coarse-grained stone, are as follows: diameter of column, 0.28 m.; height of echinus, *ca.* 0.09 m.; width



Fig. 2. Face B of the Capital

¹ It is now in the museum at Argos. I wish to thank the Ephor, Mr. Petides, for facilitating my study of the capital in the museum. I am also grateful to Mr. Nathan Dane II for photographs which he took for me and to Professor William A. Oldfather for a number of helpful suggestions on the inscription.

² These measurements correspond rather closely to those of an inscribed capital found during the excavation of the Heraion. *The Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 202 (cf. *A.J.A.*, IX, 1894, p. 351): diameter of column, 1 ft.; height of echinus, 4 in.; width of abacus, 1 ft. 9 in.; height of abacus, 4 in. The height of the letters in the two inscriptions is also about the same.

³ The Doric examples known to me are: (1) from the Heraion, *v. supra* note 2; (2) from Corcyra, *I.G.*, IX, 1, 869 (cf. O. Puchstein, *Winckelmannsprogramm*, XLVII, 1887, p. 47, fig. 39),

Athenians at Delphi.¹ This similarity would seem to suggest a date for our capital somewhere toward the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth.²

There are four lines of inscription on each of two adjoining faces of the abacus (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). The average height of the letters is *ca.* 0.02 m., but the *omicron*



Fig. 3. Photograph of a Squeeze of the Inscription on Adjoining Faces of the Capital:
above, Face A; below, Face B

is only *ca.* 0.01 m., and it is aligned with the tops of the other letters. The letters of the last line on either side are, on the other hand, *ca.* 0.025 m. high. The size and spacing of the letters of these two last lines is due to the fact that they are not confined at the bottom by guide-lines, as well as to the fact that there is a free space at the end of each line (this free space exists because the text was divided in halves which would not quite fill the available surface on each face of the abacus). On each face there are three incised guide-lines, a little shallower than the incisions for the letters.³

The inscription is especially interesting as one of the few in the archaic, epichoric alphabet of Argos (Figs. 3 and 4). It shows the peculiar Argive β (*beta*, v. *infra*),

of the 6th century; (3) from Ptoön, L. Bizard, *B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, pp. 227-36, dated between 554 and 539; (4) from the Acropolis at Athens, *I.G.*, I², 472, of about the same date as the preceding; (5) from Etruria, *C.I.E.*, II, 5240; and (6) also from Etruria, *C.I.E.*, II, 5523.

¹ Cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, pl. XIII.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 85-91.

³ For other examples of such ruling cf. Otto Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, pls. 4, 5, and 8.

Ϝ, Μ (san), and Ψ (psi). The form of the epsilon varies somewhat (Fig. 4). The Ο seems to have been dotted in some cases and not in others, no distinction, of course, being made between Ο and Ω. This seems to be the first recorded instance of the use in an Argive inscription of Ψ (psi). The most curious and interesting letter form in the inscription is the *beta* of *hébav* in the second line of Face B, which is written Ϭ (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). The horizontal line appearing at the top of the letter is simply the guide-line above, and the vertical line to the right, next to Α, can only be a flaw in the stone or a mistake of the stone-cutter. This form, so similar to the Δ of the Byblos inscriptions,¹ occurs with slight variations on only two other Greek inscriptions: one likewise from the Heraion,² and the other almost certainly Argive, although reputedly found at Hermione;³ both are earlier than the present example. In the former the upper bar of the letter, instead of the lower, is horizontal

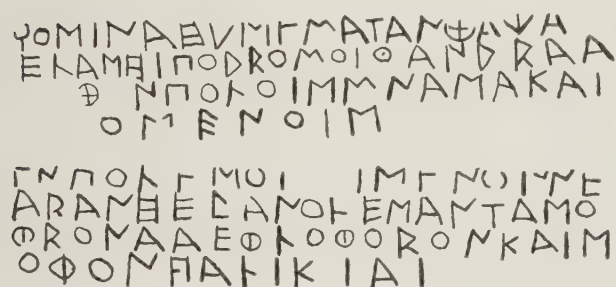


Fig. 4. Facsimile Based on the Photograph in Fig. 3

(Ϭ); but on the 'Hermione' tablet we find Ϭ, from which either of the other forms might be derived, although our form seems to correspond more closely to the Byblos character. Closely related forms are also found at Megara in ϭ, and at Corinth in the well known ϭ. From the use of the Μ this alphabet would belong to Roberts' first period,⁴ but he notes the form Ϭ

only for his third period. In general the letter forms seem to correspond most closely to those in use in the fifth century,⁵ and it is probably to the first decades of the century that the inscription should be assigned.

The text (Figs. 3 and 4) is an epitaph in two elegiac distichs. The first line on either side has been damaged somewhat by chipping of the upper edge of the abacus, and the loss of a chip from the lower left-hand corner of the first inscribed side has destroyed two letters from each of the last two lines on that face. I restore as follows:

ῥόσ(σ)ιν(ν)α ἡνσ(σ)εμάταν ῥάψα [π]|έλας ἡπ(π)οδρόμοιο,
 ἄνδρα ἄ|[γα]θ[ό]ν, πολ(λ)οῖς μνᾶμα καὶ |[έσ](σ)ομένους, ||
 ἐν πολέμοι [φθ]ίμενον, νε|αρὰν ἡέβαν ὀλέσαντα,
 σό|φρονα, ἀε<θ>λοφόρον, καὶ σ|οφὸν ἡαλικίαι.

¹ Cf. Ullman's table, *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 314.

² J. R. Wheeler, *A.J.A.*, IX, 1894, p. 354; *The Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 203.

³ *I.G.*, IV, 554, line 2.

⁴ Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, I, pp. 117-118.

⁵ Cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, I, Tafel III.

Kossinna is apparently the wife of Hyssematas, and having buried him, as she says, close to the race-course, sets up this monument as a memorial to him.

The consonants in ῥόσ(σ)ιν(ν)α, as also in ἠυσ(σ)εμάταν, must be doubled, as indicated, to make position for the preceding vowels; and that this is permissible is clear from the writing of a single consonant for a double in ἠυποδρόμοιο and πολοῖς. Elision is not indicated in the inscription,¹ but the final alpha of ῥόσ(σ)ιν(ν)α must be elided to avoid hiatus. The names both sound strange and hardly Greek. ῥόσσιννα, for example, is distinctly reminiscent of such Etruscan names as Cossinius and Κοττίνας;² but, while the name is not found elsewhere, there is the very similar Boeotian Κόριννα, and the name Κοσσίδαμος is also found in Boeotia.³ From nearer to Argos comes the obviously closely related name Κόσσας, which belonged to a man from Pellene near Sikyon.⁴ Later a Κουσέννα is found as the writer of a letter from Oxyrhynchos.⁵ Neither is the name ἠυσσεμάτας found elsewhere, but it is probably good Argive, for according to Hesychios the ancient name for Mt. Arachnaion was Ὑσσέλιον.⁶ The mountain name, and the personal too, for that matter, may well be pre-Hellenic, as the double *sigma* and the information given by Hesychios seem to suggest. The element Ὑσ(σ)- is also found in the name of a place on the border between the Argolid and Arkadia, Ὑσιαί, with which Autran⁷ compared Karian Ὑσσωίης, Ὑσσισις, and Ὑσσωλλος.

The verb ῥάψα seems absolutely clear and certain. The lengthening of the final *alpha* in the thesis of the fourth foot of the hexameter is irregular but not unexampled, for the lengthening of a final short vowel is admitted before the masculine caesura.⁸ The indication [π]έλας ἠυπ(π)οδρόμοιο is comparable to the more common ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ. If it can be assumed that the capital was found anywhere near its original site, this would give some indication that horse-racing was one of the features of the Heraia, and that the race-course was somewhere close by. The terrain in this neighborhood is, indeed, quite level and could well have been used for a race-course.

The eulogy of Hyssematas is couched in terms quite commonplace in the diction of sepulchral inscriptions of the period. For the expression ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν compare *I.G.*, I², 976; and for the combination ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν - - - σόφρονα compare *I.G.*, I²,

¹ Cf. ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν and σόφρονα, ἀεθλοφόρον.

² Cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 79.

³ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1936, Ἀρχ. Χρον., p. 26, no. 194, 6.

⁴ Suidas, s. v. Κόσσας.

⁵ Grenfell and Hunt, *Ox. Pap.*, XIV, p. 183, no. 1765, line 1 (cf. line 29).

⁶ Theognostos (Cramer, *Anec. Ox.*, 2, 24, 9) gives it as Ὑσσέλιον; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 367; Hesychios, s. v. Ὑσσέλιον.

⁷ *Introduction à l'étude critique du nom propre grec*, p. 443.

⁸ Cf. *Iliad*, II, 116; XVII, 152; *Odyssey*, V, 415; XVI, 206. A precise analogy occurs in *Odyssey*, X, 322, where the final *alpha* of the first person singular, first aorist, active, indicative is lengthened at the masculine caesura.

972 (ἀγαθὸ καὶ σόφρονος ἀνδρός). The phrase καὶ ἐσσομένοις is so used also in *I.G.*, I², 945. The correctness of the reading of the entire third line is insured by an identical line from an Attic epigram of the sixth century.¹ With this line might be compared:

φσυχὰς δαίμονίος ὀλέσατ' ἐμ πολέμοι

from the epigram on the fallen of Koronea found in the Kerameikos.² Simonides uses the expression ὤλεσαν ἥβην in his epigram on those who fell beside the Eury-medon.³ The expression σοφὸν ἡλικίαι involves an unusual use of the dative, which is, however, only an extension of the use of ἡλικία with such adjectives as νέος⁴ to a combination with another adjective. *I.G.*, I², 1021 shows the same placement at the end of an epigram of the similar expression παπᾶσες — — ἔχσοχος ἡλικίας.

If the dating of the inscription in the first decades of the fifth century is correct, the statement that Hyssematas died ἐν πολέμοι becomes much more significant. There was only one really important military engagement in which the Argives were involved at this time, and that was the invasion of the Argolid by Kleomenes, which ended so disastrously for Argos.⁵ The city was so crippled by this blow that she was *hors de combat* for some time and still felt justified in offering her consequent weakness as an excuse for not coöperating against the Persians in 480.⁶ The oracle given in common to the Argives and Milesians before the battle⁷ is usually connected with the destruction of Miletus, according to which the invasion would have taken place in 494 or thereabouts.⁸ It is not at all impossible, then, and most attractive as an hypothesis, that Hyssematas lost his life fighting against the Spartans under Kleomenes about the year 494.

LLOYD W. DALY

¹ *I.G.*, I², 976.

² Kyparissis and Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 142-146; and Peek, *Hermes*, LXVIII, 1933, pp. 353-356. Cf. C. M. Bowra, *C.Q.*, XXXII, 1938, pp. 80-88.

³ Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, II (1925), p. 105, no. 115; cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 79-81.

⁴ Cf. Thucydides, V, 43, 2: ἀνὴρ ἡλικία — — ἔτι τότε ὦν νέος.

⁵ Herodotos, VI, 76-82.

⁶ *Id.*, VII, 148.

⁷ *Id.*, VI, 77, 2.

⁸ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, pp. 319-321; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II², 1, pp. 13 f.; E. M. Walker, *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, pp. 164-165. Lenschau, Pauly-Wissowa, XI, p. 700, prefers a date around 520, which would agree with Pausanias' statement (III, 4, 1) that it was early in the reign of Kleomenes.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. The Treaty with Philip; *I.G.*, I², 53.

In 1918 Bauer published a fifth-century fragment found in the Asklepieion (*Klio*, XV, 1918, p. 193; see Fig. 1), and identified it as part of a treaty between Athens and Philip (433/2 B.C.), which is mentioned in Thucydides (I, 57, 3). The identification and date of the document depend on the name *Φίλιππος*, part of which occurs in line 4. For a short time Philip played an important rôle in Macedonian history,

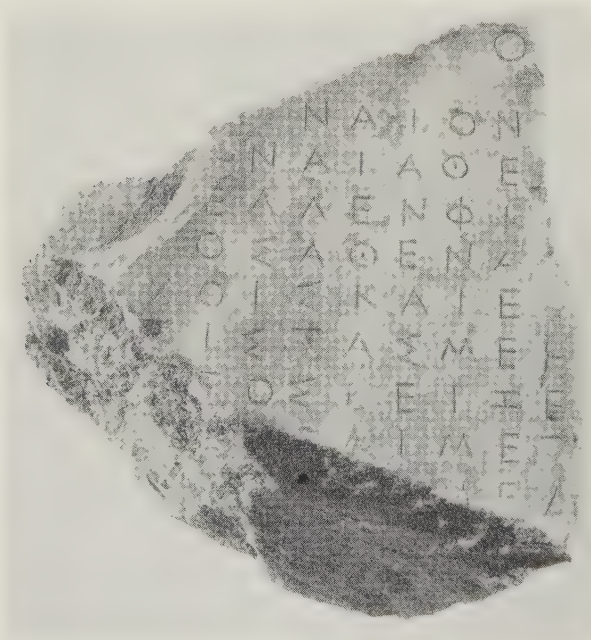


Fig. 1. *I.G.*, I², 53

largely because he was used by Athens as a counter-weight to the prestige of Perdikkas. Since by the year 429/8 he had fallen out of power, a date *ante quem* is established for the text. Using this historical background and depending justly on the opinion that the letter forms of the fragment belonged to the well-developed style of the 430's, Bauer made a text of the piece, which remained unchanged in the second publication in the *Editio Minor* (*I.G.*, I², 53). Further examination of this document has convinced me that more can be done in establishing the text. A close parallel to the substance and phraseology of this fragment can be found in another inscription from the year 424/3. For example, in lines 7 and 8 of Bauer's piece are the words [λ]ειστὰς μὲ *h-*

and τὸς λείζε[σθαι]; and again in line 9 -θαι μετ-. These words are part of a formula which is used in the treaty between Athens and Halieis (*I.G.*, I², 87; new text by Meritt and Davidson, *A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, pp. 65-71). Compare the following passage from lines 7-9 of *I.G.*, I², 87 (quoting the text of Meritt and Davidson):

----- λ[ειστὰς μὲ *h*υποδέχεσθαι μεδ' α|ὕτ[ὸς λ]είζε[σ]
θαι μεδὲ χσ[υστρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τὸν πολ]εμίον ἐπ' [Ἀθε]
ναίος -----

"They are not to harbor pirates nor themselves engage in plundering nor yet campaign on the side of the enemies against the Athenians." The letters [λ]ειστὰς

μέ *h*- are clearly to be restored [λ]ειστὰς μέ *h*[υποδέχεται]. I would restore lines 7-10 of our fragment thus:

[καὶ λ]ειστὰς μέ *h*[υποδέχε
[σθαι μεδὲ αὐ]τὸς λείζε[σθαι μεδ']
[ἐπιστρατεύεσθαι μετ[ὰ τὸν πολ]
[εμίον τὸν Φιλίππο] μεδ' [ἐπὶ Φίλι]
[ππον μεδ' ἐπὶ τὸς χσνμμάχος].

This new text has a length of twenty-five letters a line, on the basis of which lines 2-3 may be restored as follows:

[χσνμμαχία Ἀθ]εναίων [καὶ Φιλίπ]
[πο ὁ τὰδε ὁμνύ]ναι Ἀθε[ναίος ---].¹

The letters -εγγεν are clearly part of the phrase ἐπὶ τὸν γέν, and belong to the formula pertaining to the defense measures of the alliance. For this passage I suggest:

----- εἰν]
[τις ἔει ἐπὶ τ]ὸν γέν Φι[λίππο, ἔστ]
[ο καὶ πολέμ]ιος Ἀθενα[ίους καὶ τ]
[οὖς χσνμμά]χοις -----

Above the N of line 2 is an omicron, obviously part of the heading [Θε]ο[ί], which can be disposed symmetrically with its letters over the first, ninth, seventeenth, and twenty-fifth letters in the stoichedon text of the lines below, as follows:

	433/2 B.C.		ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25
	[Θ	ε]	ο [ί]
	[χσνμμαχία Ἀθ]εναίων	[καὶ Φιλίπ]	
	[πο ὁ τὰδε ὁμνύ]ναι Ἀθε	[ναίος· εἰν]	
	[τις ἔει ἐπὶ τ]ὸν γέν Φι	[λίππο, ἔστ]	
5	[ο καὶ πολέμ]ιος Ἀθενα	[ίους καὶ τ]	
	[οὖς χσνμμά]χοις καὶ ε	[... ⁸ ...]	
	[... ⁵ ... καὶ λ]ειστὰς μέ <i>h</i>	[υποδέχε]	
	[σθαι μεδὲ αὐ]τὸς λείζε	[σθαι μεδ']	
	[ἐπιστρατεύεσθαι μετ[ὰ τὸν πολ]		
10	[εμίον τὸν Φιλίππο] μεδ'	[ἐπὶ Φίλι]	
	[ππον μεδ' ἐπὶ τὸς χσνμμάχος -]		

2. A Duplication of Texts.

In 1853 Pittakys published the following small fragment (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., no. 2014), stating that he had found it north of the Parthenon on June 2, 1845.

¹ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 19; *I.G.*, II², 14, 16, and 36.

X Ω Ρ Ω Ξ Ι
 Ι Δ Η Μ Ω Ι Κ Α Ι Τ
 Η Ν Ξ Υ Μ Μ
 Υ Ή Φ Ι Ξ

This piece was subsequently published again by Rangabé in 1855 (*Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 594) with one minor variation in the text, and it was also copied by Velsen in his notebooks, again with some changes in marginal letters. It is now published twice in the *Editio Minor* as *I.G.*, II², 883 (from Velsen's notes) and as *I.G.*, II², 43, lines 93-96 (378/7 B.C.). In actuality it joins *I.G.*, II², 43, and yields the following text:

ἐκόντες π[ρο]σχωρώσι [----- ἐψη]
 φισμένα τῶι δήμῳ καὶ τ[-----]
 νήσων εἰς τὴν συμμα[χίαν] -----
 τοῖς τῶν ἐψηφι[σμένων] -----

3. A Decree of the Year of Euboulos, 345/4 B.C.

In his commentary on *I.G.*, II², 219 Kirchner remarks that the phrase ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ, which he has restored in lines 5-6, occupies an unusual position; and so it does, appearing between the designations of the secretary and of the chairman of the proedroi; but the parallel he adduces in *I.G.*, II², 215 is not close, since in that example the whole phrase τῶν προέδρων κτλ. is omitted. The ultimate reason for the present queer position of ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ in *I.G.*, II², 219 is the faulty restoration of line 6 as τ[ῶν] πρ[οέδρων ---]. I append the following restoration to show the proper position and character of the text (see Fig. 2):

345/4 B.C. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

Θ [ε ο ί]
 Ε Λ / [-----^{ca. 6}-----]
 ['Ε] π' Εὐβόλ[ου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ἰδος ὁ]
 [γδ] ὅς πρ[υτανείας ἦι . . . ξενος . . .⁵ .]
 5 [. .] ἐξ Οἴο[υ ἐγραμμάτευν· ἔκτῃ καὶ δεκάτ]
 [ἡι] τ[ῆς] πρ[υτανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφ]
 [ἰζ] ἐν Διο[.¹⁹ . . . ἔδοξεν]
 [τῇ β] οὐλ[ῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ·¹² . . .]
 [. . .⁵ .] εα[---- εἶπεν -----]
 10 [. . .] δοτ[-----]

Here the phrase ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ falls into a proper place between τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψηφίζεν and ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν. The decree was passed on the sixteenth

day of the eighth prytany. Perhaps the name in line 2 is Ἐλα[ισίων], for there is space enough to inscribe the name symmetrically above the text proper.¹

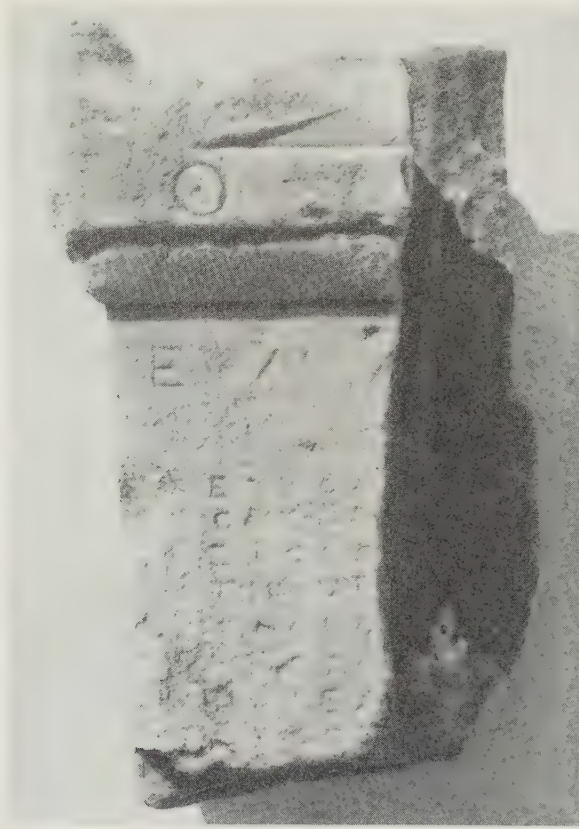


Fig. 2. *I.G.*, II², 219

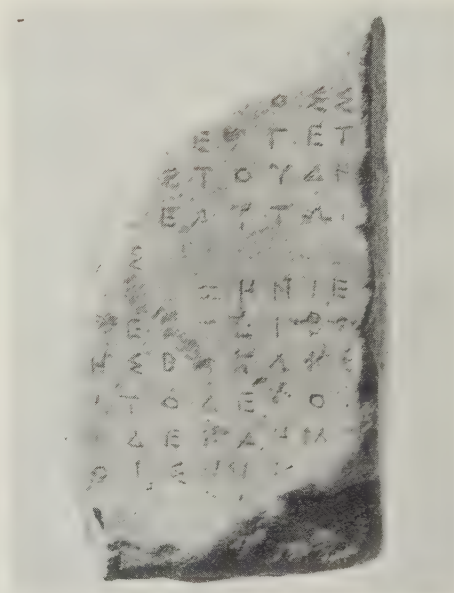
4. An Honorary Decree, 322/1 B.C.

Koehler published in *I.G.*, II, 146, a small fragment, which he called Pentelic,² that has been republished several times, including the edition in *I.G.*, II², 289. The stone must be attributed to *I.G.*, II², 372 of the year 322/1 B.C., which is described as "marmoris Hymettii." Weather and environment, as every archaeologist knows, work wonders with the surfaces of marble, and fragments which join often possess totally different colors. In this case *I.G.*, II², 289 has a brighter aspect than *I.G.*,

¹ In 346/5 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1443, lines 93-95) the Elaiousians honored Athens with a crown. Their good-will was further rewarded by Athens in 341/0, when the Demos granted Elaious terms comparable to those given to the Chersonesitai (*I.G.*, II², 228). For their loyalty cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 4; Demosthenes, XXIII, 158.

² Published also by Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, no. 544, and Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, no. 1984.

II², 372, as the photographs reveal (Figs. 3 and 4), but in every other respect the workmanship and style are identical. I have consequently reconstructed the following text:

Fig. 3. No. 4, Fragment *a*Fig. 4. No. 4, Fragment *b*

a (I.G., II², 372)

322/1 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 27

- [Ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς]
 [... ντίδος ὄγ]δό[ης πρυτανείας ἥι]
 [Εὐθυγένης Ἡφ]αίσ[τοδήμου Κηφισι]
 [εὐς ἐγραμμάτ]ενε[ν· Ἐλαφιβολιῶνο]
 5 [ς ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ] δέκα, [ἕκτῃ τῆς πρυτα]
 [νείας· ἐκκλ]ησία [ἐν Διονύσου· τῶν π]
 [ροέδρων ἐ]πεψήφ[ιζεν¹⁰.....]
 [...⁷...]ς· ἔδοξ[εν τῷ δήμῳ·] *vacat*
 [Δημάδῃ]ς Δημέ[ου Παιανιεύς εἶπεν·]
 10 [ἐπειδὴ Ἀ]νκο[.....¹⁷.....]

b (I.G., II², 289)

[.....²³.....]ιος Σ
 [...⁹..... πρόξενον καὶ εὐ]εργέτ
 [ην αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνου]ς τοῦ δή
 [μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ^v εἶναι] δὲ αὐτῷ

- 15 [ἔγκτησιν γῆς καὶ οἰκία]ς. *vacat*
 [.....¹⁹.....]ο[. 'Α]ζηνιε
 [ὕς εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά]πε[ρ] τεῖ βο
 [υλεῖ, τὸν δὲ γραμματέα τ]ῆς βουλῆς
 [ἀναγράψαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει]ι τόδε τὸ ψ
 20 [ῥήσιμα ἐστήλει λιθίνε]ι δέ[κ]α ἡμέ
 [ρῶν καὶ στήσαι τέλεσι τ]οῖς Νικα[.]
 [-----] *vvvvvv*

For the restorations in lines 5-6 and the calendar character of the year, see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 373-374.

The restoration in line 15 is one letter short of the space available on the stone.

In line 16 the name Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀριστοφάνος Ἀζηνιεύς can no longer be restored, for by the year 330 B.C. he had already died at an advanced age (Demosthenes, XVIII, 162; Aeschines, I, 158; schol. *ad* Aesch., I, 64). The restoration [ἐπειδὴ Δ]υκο[---] in line 10 was made by Leonardos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 1916, p. 216 (= *Adenda* to *I.G.*, II², 372, p. 660).

5. The Gorgoneion of Athena Parthenos.

Through the preservation of numerous fragments of the records of the Treasurers of Athena we are informed at various periods of the fourth century about the condition of the Athena Parthenos. The anxiety and strict watch over the statue is attributable to the forty-four talents of gold, which naturally attracted the eyes of thieves, whom even Athena does not seem to have deterred from filching part of her costly accoutrements. In fact, it is known that a certain Phileas dared steal the Gorgoneion.¹ It was the duty of the Tamiai to examine the statue carefully, comparing the state of its various parts with the specifications inscribed on a bronze stele, and to present their report in this form:

[ἐν τ]ῷ Ἑκατονπέδῳ τὸ ἄγαλμα παρελάβομεν ἐντελὲς κα
 [ὶ τ]ῇ ἀσπίδι κατὰ τὴν στήλην τὴν χαλκῇ.²

In the years 321/0 and 317/6 it was still intact,³ and remained so until it was stripped of its gold plates by Lachares in the early years of the third century.⁴

Aside from the references to it in the treasure-records and the literary allusions, there is further evidence about the statue in a fragmentary decree of 304/3 B.C. (*I.G.*,

¹ See Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 96.

² See *I.G.*, II², 1443, col. I, lines 10-11.

³ *I.G.*, II², 1468, lines 6-7; 1477, lines 9-13.

⁴ Cf. Roussel, *Hist. Græc.*, IV, p. 353; Hunt, *Ox. Pap.*, XVII, no. 2082, frag. 4; Ferguson, *Cl. Phil.*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 1 ff.; *Treasurers*, p. 126.

II², 482, lines 10-11), for the collocation of the words ἀγάλμα[— and ἐ]κατομπέ[δ— can hardly fail to elicit comparison with the passages in the treasure records.¹ Since this allusion to the Athena Parthenos exists in a public decree, what is the sense of the passage? I would associate with this passage the following official designation of a committee chosen to supervise repairs on the Athena Nike (*I.G.*, II², 403, lines 6-8): [οἱ ἡριρ]μένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ[ο]ν — — — [ἐπὶ τὴν] ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ἀγά[λ]μα[τος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ]ς τῆς Νίκης — — —. The restorations are certain. Since the form of the designation οἱ ἐπὶ — — — — is typical, and can be shown to be a parallel for the passage mentioning the Athena Parthenos, I would restore on analogy with that official title the passage in lines 9-12, as follows:

— — — —] εὖς εἶπεν· ἐ
 [πειδὴ οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τ]οῦ ἀγάλμα
 [τος τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἑ]κατομπέ
 [δωι ἡριρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κτλ.].

According to this restoration the repairs concerned with the Athena Parthenos occurred in 304/3, and were of sufficient importance to warrant the passing of a decree. Unfortunately the rest of the decree is lost, and it may not, after all, have described the nature of the repairs. The theft of the Gorgoneion again comes to mind, for it was separated from its place on the shield (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1388, B, lines 52-53: [γοργόνειον χρυσόν] ὑπάργυρον ἀπὸ τ[ῆ]ς ἀσπίδος τῆς ἀπὸ τῷ [νεώ]).² If the repairs are concerned only with the statue itself, it is a possibility that the Gorgoneion and the sliver of gold mentioned in the treasure-records were replaced in their proper positions. Their separation from Athena may perhaps have received attention from Demetrios, now resident for the winter of 304/3 (the time of the decree) in the Parthenon, and annoyed not to be able to see “his sister” in full regalia.³ The restoration of these pieces to their former positions would have been a pleasing little attention on the part of Demetrios to his colleague in the Temple.

EUGENE SCHWEIGERT

¹ Dinsmoor suspected without offering further proof that this passage referred to repairs on the Athena Parthenos. See *Archons of Athens*, p. 37, note 2; *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 96.

² The references are *I.G.*, II², 1388; 1393, 35; 1400, 53; 1401, 38; 1415, 22-23; 1421, 22; 1425, 251; 1428, 145; another piece from the shield in *I.G.*, II², 1423; 1425; 1428; 1429.

³ Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 23-24.

DECREE IN HONOR OF EUTHYDEMOS OF ELEUSIS

The inscription here published is made up of three fragments, all found at Eleusis and now preserved in its Epigraphical Museum. Fragment *a* (*I.G.*, II², 1274) and fragment *c* (*I.G.*, II², 1194) have been known for some time. The new fragment (*b*) is of white marble, probably Pentelic, broken below and at the left, and it preserves parts of thirteen lines, written stoichedon.¹

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.10–0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.0065 m.

Catalogue number 714.

Ο Υ Ε Ι Γ Ε Ν Τ Υ Χ Η Ι
 Υ Ε Λ Ε Υ Ξ Ι Ν Ι Ω Ν Κ
 Α Ι Ε Λ Ε Υ Ξ Ι Ν Ι Ο Ι
 Δ Ι Α Τ Ε Λ Ε Ι Ε Υ Ν Ο
 Λ Ε Υ Ξ Ι Ν Ι Ω Ν Κ Α Ι 5
 Κ Α Ι Κ Ο Ι Ν Η Ι Κ Α Ι
 Ω Ξ Κ Α Ι Δ Ι Κ Α Ι Ω Ξ
 Η Ν Θ Υ Ξ Ι Α Ν Τ Ω Ι Δ
 Α Ξ Κ Α Ι Ξ Ω Τ Η Ρ Ι Α
 Τ Ο Υ Ε Θ Υ Ξ Ε Ν Κ Α Ι 10
 Φ Ι Λ Ο Τ Ι Μ Η Τ Α Ι Κ
 Ι Ω Γ Ε Γ Ο Ι Η Κ Ε Ν Κ
 Κ Α Ω

It is evident that this fragment is part of an honorary decree of known type, several examples of which from Eleusis have already been published (*I.G.*, II², 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1280, etc.). A comparison of the new fragment with *I.G.*, II², 1194 and 1274 shows that they must be united to form one document, of which the greater part of the text can be recovered.

¹ A short catalogue of the inscriptions of Eleusis was made some years ago by Professor Andreas Skias. I have been engaged recently in a revision of this catalogue and in systematizing the arrangement of the stones at Eleusis. In the present publication I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. K. Kourouniotes, director of the excavations, and to Mr. B. D. Meritt of the Institute for Advanced Study.

I.G., II², 1194 (here called fragment *c*) was first published by D. Philios in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1887, pp. 192-194. He describes it as a stele of white marble (Pentelic) broken except at the left. Its greatest height is 0.34 m., its width 0.25 m., and its thickness 0.11 m. The entire thickness of the stone is preserved, but the surface is badly worn, and some of the letters can now be read only with difficulty.

I.G., II², 1274 (here called fragment *a*) was published by Skias in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1896, p. 28, no. 9. According to his description it is a fragment of white marble broken except at the left; it has a height of 0.16 m., a width of 0.127 m., and a thickness of 0.10 m. The greater part of the surface near the top is uninscribed. This fragment bears the catalogue number 307. It is possible to read from the squeeze now in the Institute for Advanced Study parts of letters along the lower edge of the fragment which have not been given by previous editors. These additions are incorporated in the composite text of the inscription as transcribed here:

TEXT

ca. 300 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

- Θεόβουλος [Θεοβούλ]ον εἶπεν· τύχη
 ἀγαθῇ τοῦ [δήμου το]ῦ Ἐλευσινίων κ
 αὶ Ἀθηναίων [ν· δεδόχθ]αι Ἐλευσινίοι
 ς· ἐπεὶ [δὴ Εὐθύδημος] διατελεῖ εὖνο
 5 υς [ὦν] τῶ[ι] δῆμ[ω]ι [τῶι Ἐ]λευσινίων καὶ
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἰδ[ίαι] καὶ κοινῇ καὶ
 [λ]αχῶν δῆμαρχος κ[αλ]ῶς καὶ δικαίως
 δεδημάρχηκεν καὶ [τ]ὴν θυσίαν τῶι Δ
 ιονύσῳ ὑπὲρ ὑγι[ί]ας καὶ σωτηρία
 10 ς τῶν δημοτῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔθυσεν καὶ
 εἰς τοὺς δημότας πεφιλοτίμηται κ
 [α]ὶ τὴν πρόσοδον πλείω πεποίηκεν κ
 αὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τῶν δημο[τῶν] κα[λ]ῶς καὶ κ
 ατὰ τοὺς νόμους δι[εχειρίσεν, ὑπάρ]
 15 χειν μὲν Εὐθυδήμ[ωι] δοθείσης καὶ τ
 [ο]ῖς προγόνοις αὐτο[ῦ] ταύτης τῆς δω
 ρεᾶς προεδρίαν αὐτ[ῶι] καὶ ἐγγόνοι
 ς κα[ὶ] καλείτω αὐτὸν [ὁ δῆμαρχος ὁ ἄε]
 ἰ δημαρχῶν εἰς τὴν [προεδρίαν ἣ ὀφε]
 20 ιλέτω ^v H ^{v v} δραχμὰς [ιερὰς τῶι Διον]
 ύσῳ, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ [Εὐθύδημον Μοιρ]
 οκλέους Ἐλευσινίο[ν] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα
 καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰ[ς] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐ
 λευσινίων καὶ στεφ[ανώσαι] αὐτὸν θ
 25 [αλ]λοῦ στε[φανώσαι] φάνωι - - - - -

COMMENTARY

Line 1. The restoration of the patronymic as [Θεοβούλ]ου seems extremely probable. A kosmetes of the epheboi from the year 185/4 (*I.G.*, II², 900, line 19) is named as Θεόβουλον Θ[-----]. He may belong to the same family as the orator of the present decree, and it may be noted that the restoration Θεόβουλον Θ[εοβούλου Ἐλευσίνιον] fulfills admirably the requirements of space on the stone in *I.G.*, II², 900.

Line 4. The name Εὐθύδημος is supplied with reference to line 15, where the name is largely preserved on the stone.

Lines 6-10. The restorations published by Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 5, 574 *h*) in lines 6, 7, and 9, are confirmed by the discovery of the new fragment, but a new text is here necessary in lines 8 and 10.

Lines 11 ff. The new fragment necessitates some modification in the text of lines 11-14, but below line 14 the transcript is given essentially as it appears in *I.G.*, II², 1194.

Koehler and Kirchner have already observed that the inscription should be dated about 300 B.C. Euthydemos is probably to be identified as the grandson of the man with the same name who appears in *I.G.*, II², 1191, lines 5-6: [...]ρ[οκλῆς Ε]ὐθ[υ]δῆμ[ου Ἐλευ]σ[ί]ν[ιος] (cf. *P.A.*, 5535, and note on *I.G.*, II², 2845). The son of this Euthydemos was the orator of a decree in honor of Xenokles, epimeletes of the Mysteries; his name may now be restored with certainty as [Μοι]ρ[οκλῆς], by comparison with a new text from Eleusis published a few years ago by A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios in *Πολέμων*, I, pp. 237-240, and more recently by Kirchner in *I.G.*, II², 2845, where in line 1 the form Μοιροκλῆς [Εὐ]θ[υ]δῆμ[ου] appears. The editor also identifies the Moirokles of this new inscription with the Moirokles whose name is listed in the accounts of the epistatai of Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 1672 (line 210: Μοιροκλείους). With these inscriptions in mind we may restore the patronymic of Euthydemos in lines 21-22 of the present text as [Μοιρ]οκλέους. I believe that this same Moirokles was the father of that Kallippos known from a decree of Arkadian Orchomenos (*B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 451) as ambassador from the Athenians, known from Pausanias (X, 20, 5) as one of the generals at Thermopylai in 279/8 B.C., and named as one of the synedroi of the Athenians in the well-known decree of Chremonides from the archonship of Peithidemos (*I.G.*, II², 686 + 687).

Kallippos must have been a near relative of Euthydemos, and I think it very probable that he was a younger brother. Another Euthydemos is known to have been priest of Asklepios in the early part of the fourth century, and he is probably to be identified as the grandfather of the Euthydemos of our present text. One further identification is possible. Our present Euthydemos was probably the same as the Euthydemos named as paredros of the King Archon in *I.G.*, II², 1230. This inscription is a decree of the genos of the Kerykes, but this does not necessarily imply that

the person they honored was himself a member of the *genos*. If my identification is correct, this *paredros* was from the deme Eleusis.¹ These various relationships are shown, with references, in the following table:

Early Fourth Century	Εὐθύδημος Ἐλευσίνιος Priest of Asklepios. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 47, line 24; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 4962, lines 11-13; <i>P.A.</i> , 5533.
329/8 (?) and 321/0	Μοιροκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Ἐλευσίνιος <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1191, lines 5-6; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2845; possibly <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1672, line 210; <i>P.A.</i> , 5535.
ca. 300	<div> <div>Εὐθύδημος Μοιροκλέους Ἐλευσίνιος Demarch of Eleusis and <i>Paredros</i> of the King Archon. <i>I.G.</i>, II², 1194; <i>I.G.</i>, II², 1230; <i>P.A.</i>, 5534.</div> <div>Κάλλιππος Μοιροκλέους Ἐλευσίνιος Ambassador, <i>Synedros</i>, and General. Plassart and Blum, <i>B.C.H.</i>, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 451; <i>I.G.</i>, II², 686, line 23; Pausanias, X, 20, 5. Cf. Dinsmoor, <i>Archons of Athens</i>, p. 79; Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i>, VII, 1938, p. 104; <i>P.A.</i>, 8059.</div> </div>

The inscription is of interest not only for the information it gives about the method of election of the Eleusinian demarch,² and about his administrative and religious duties,³ but also because it adds to our knowledge of the career of one prominent member of a distinguished Eleusinian family which was active in public life over a span of many years.

JOHN CH. THREPSIADES

¹ See Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 51, for the exclusion of the Eleusinioi from the *genos* of the Kerykes. The decree *I.G.*, II², 1230 was found by Lenormant in his excavations by the Great Propylaea (see *Recherches Archéologiques à Eleusis*, pp. 58-61). On the right as one enters the Propylaea and by the northeast side of the hill of Eleusis Kourouniotes places the οἶκος τῶν Κηρύκων ('*Αρχ. Δελτ.*, 1934-1935, Παράρτημα, pp. 18-20, also figs. 3-7, 12-13, and plan Γ-Γ', Α-Α'). Inasmuch as the decree was probably set up near the house of the *genos*, the place of its discovery gives some confirmation to the topographical determination made by Kourouniotes.

² Cf. Schoeffer in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Demarchoi, p. 2707 and Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, pp. 966-969.

³ The sacrifice to Dionysos, which Euthydemus offered at his own expense, must have taken place in the sanctuary of the god, the Dionysion at Eleusis, which is known from inscriptions (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1186, lines 32-33) and which must have been connected with one of the two theatres at Eleusis (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1672, 1682; also Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, pp. 198-206). For the worship of Dionysos in Eleusis see P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, pp. 106-110; H. G. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Eleusinischen Kultes*, pp. 32-34; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 69-91, 137; O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *Mysterien*, pp. 1259-1260.

AN OFFICIAL RESCRIPT FROM CORINTH

Among the numerous inscriptions discovered in Corinth in recent years¹ one large fragment (Fig. 1) is of special importance for the light it throws on the



Fig. 1. Official Rescript from Corinth

municipal affairs of the Roman city. It is part of a stele of hard gray limestone, preserving the entire width and thickness but broken above and below. The left edge is smoothly finished with a fine-toothed chisel, whereas the right edge, which shows the marks of a pointed tool, though carefully finished, is less smooth. The back

¹ A general study of these inscriptions, now under way, will be published as a supplement to *Corinth*, vol. VIII.

is so rough that it seems likely that the stele was set against a wall, so as to be seen only from the front. It is broken away just above the base into which it was inserted. The last line at the bottom is preserved with the exception of the first one or two words. How much is broken away at the top cannot be determined.

The stone tapers slightly, having a width of 0.665 m. at the top and 0.667 m. at the bottom. The thickness measures *ca.* 0.29 m., and the preserved height is *ca.* 0.60 m. The Greek letters are 0.015–0.017 m. high, and the Latin letters of the last line are 0.013 m., with occasional letters 0.025 m. in height. The number of letters in each line of the Greek text varies between 34 and 39, but the last line had more.

TEXT

- //////////
- ΝΑΡ·Ι ἐρείπια στοᾶς
- Ε·ΗΡΙΑ -- [κα]μάρας οὕτως ὥστε ποιῆσαι οἴκους
 πεντήκοντα. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φιλοτείμως
 ὁ Πρεῖ[σκ]ος ἀναστρέφεται ὥστε ὑπὲρ τῆς τειμῆς
 5 τοῦ προδηλουμένου τόπου δοῦναι τοῖς πολήταις [*sic*]
 ἐκάστῳ δηνάριον ἔν, οὐ μόνον συνκατατίθεμαι
 τῇ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου γνώμῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀ-
 ποδέχομαι τὸν ἄνδρα ὅπως ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν ἀναστρε-
 φόμενον φιλοτείμως καὶ ἐπιτρέπω τὸν προ-
 10 δηλούμενον τόπον ταύτῃ τῇ αἵρέσει αὐτῷ πρα-
 θῆναι, οὕτως μέντοι ὥστε τοὺς γεινομένους
 οἴκους τοῖς ἀθληταῖς προῖκα τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἀγώ-
 νων σχολάζειν εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, ἔχοντος τοῦ κα-
 τὰ καιρὸν ἀγωνοθέτου ἐξουσίαν διανέμειν
 15 τὰς ξενίας αὐτοῖς. εἰ μέντοι τις πρὸς τοῦτο ἀν-
 τιλέγει δυνήσεται διδάξαι με ἐντὸς Καλανδῶν
 Ἰανουαρίων τῶν ἔνγιστα. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι.

data --- xIII · K · DECEMBR · ET · PRO · ROSTRIS · LECTA · IX · K · DECEMBR ·

TRANSLATION

-- ruins of a stoa ----- vaulted chambers (?) so as to make fifty rooms. Since in this matter, too, Priscus conducts himself emulously, so that above the price of the aforementioned plot he pays to the citizens one denarius each, not only do I concur with the resolution of the senate and people, but I agree that the man conducts himself with honor (in this matter) as in all things, and I permit the above mentioned plot to be sold to him; however, with this proviso, that the rooms thus obtained shall be at the disposal of the athletes for the duration of the games, free of

charge, in perpetuity. The agonothetes holding office at the time shall have the authority to distribute the guest chambers to them (the athletes). But if any one has any objection to raise, he may advise me before the Kalends of January next. My best wishes for your health.

Given at ---- on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of December (Nov. 18) and read from the rostra on the ninth day before the Kalends of December (Nov. 23).

COMMENTARY

The document is part of an official rescript, probably from the Governor of Achaia. It contains the magistrate's permission to a certain individual, whose name, Priscus, appears in line 4, for the erection of a building, or buildings, with fifty rooms, at the Isthmia, and the regulations about the use of these rooms. Presumably the ground, ὁ τόπος, referred to twice, was part of the sacred land belonging to the sanctuary.

The inscribed surface of the stone is much weather-worn, especially in the upper left corner, but the preserved text can be deciphered with certainty, except in the first two lines. Slight traces of letters, quite illegible, are extant at the upper edge above line 1.

Line 1. Only the words ἐρείπια στοᾶς are certain. Of the rho only the upright stroke is visible.

Line 2. The preserved traces of letters at the beginning of the line might be interpreted as [ΕΥ]Ε[Τ]ΗΡ!Α, but the only certain letter is the second epsilon. The word [κα]μάρας is also uncertain, but in view of the nature of the document it is highly probable, as will appear below.

Line 4. The letters of the name Πρεῖ[σκ]ος are poorly preserved, but there is very little doubt that the reading is correct. The use of the article with the name of a person, though comparatively rare, occurs in other documents of the same kind and of approximately the same date. In decrees and rescripts concerning one or more individuals, the full name is usually given either in the prescript or somewhere near the beginning of the inscription, and when the same persons are referred to again in the text the cognomen alone preceded by the article is often used.¹ For the identity of Priscus see below.

Line 5. Προδηλουμένου might conceivably here have some legal significance, but it is more likely to mean simply "the aforementioned"² like προειρημένου.

¹ Cf. *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 33, col. a, 13; 293, frag. a, col. I, 28; col. II, 58, 66-67; 1031; 1644; *S.I.G.*, 889, 10 and 37; Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, No. 75. A similar use of the article occurs after a personal pronoun in direct address; see Grenfell-Hunt-Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, p. 193, LXIV.

² For a similar use of the word cf. *I.G.*, XII, 7, 239, 23; *S.I.G.*, 1234, 4; Welles, *op. cit.*, No. 75, lines 10, 11. The term προγεγραμένους is used with a similar meaning, *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 1558, 27.

The second vowel in *πολείταις* is an eta, and it might be questioned whether the word should be read *πολείταις* or *πωληταίς*. The first alternative seems preferable, since the sum of one denarius is rather small to be paid to each of the *πωληταί*. The latter could only be interpreted to mean the commissioners in charge of the transaction, and these would hardly be permitted to accept a gratuity from the purchaser or lessee of the land. It was not unusual for donors, however, to pay cash money to the citizens at the same time as they made large donations for municipal buildings and entertainments.¹

Lines 7-8. *Ἀποδέχομαι*, here in the sense of accept, acknowledge, but with the added idea of agreeing.²

Line 13. *Σχολάζειν*, to be unoccupied, hence at the disposal of. This verb is not commonly used in such connections, where one would rather expect *παραδίδοσθαι* or some form of *παρέχειν*.

Line 15. *Ξενίας*. These must be the same as the *οἴκοι* in lines 2 and 12. Although the word is more commonly used in the sense of hospitality, in Roman times it sometimes has the specific meaning of guest-chamber.³

Lines 15-16. *Διδάξαι με*. Stipulations like this are indicative of the fair methods which the Roman government employed in dealing with individuals in the provinces.⁴

Line 17. *Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι*. This is the form of greeting commonly used in letters issued by Roman high officials.⁵ A variation of this formula, *ἔρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι*, occurs less frequently.⁶ In imperial letters these formulas rarely occur, but shorter forms of greeting, *ἔρρωσθε*, *εὐτυχεῖτε*, and their equivalents in the singular, are used instead.⁷ In two instances, where the longer formula occurs in imperial letters,⁸ the emperor's message is re-written and forwarded to the petitioners by some official who sends the greeting in his own name. It is likely that the emperors followed a formula used in royal correspondence in the east, in which *ἔρρωσθε* and *ἔρρωσο* are the only forms of greetings used at the end of letters.⁹ The important difference in the usage of these forms of greeting,¹⁰ consistently followed in official correspondence of the first two centuries of our era, shows beyond a doubt that the letter

¹ See Abbot and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, pp. 387-388, No. 71; and cf. Pliny's *Letters*, X, 116.

² Cf. Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 423, No. 101; and Welles, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 316. Cf. the phrase *ἀνδρὸς δοκιμωτάτου καὶ πάσης τειμῆς καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίου*, *S.I.G.*, 867, 20-21.

³ See Acts 28: 23; and cf. *S.I.G.*, 888, 35.

⁴ Cf. Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 401, No. 81, 5.

⁵ Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, Nos. 80, 82, 87, 98, 99, 102, 114; Grenfell and Hunt, *Ox. Pap.*, XII, No. 1409, line 22.

⁶ Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, 97; Grenfell and Hunt, *op. cit.*, XII, No. 1408, line 20; *S.I.G.*, 851.

⁷ Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, Nos. 79, 91, 104, 120; *S.I.G.*, Nos. 780, 821, 831, 873.

⁸ *S.I.G.*, 851; Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, No. 130.

⁹ See Welles, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 10-12, 24-28, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55.

¹⁰ I am indebted to Mr. Eugene Schweigert for kindly calling my attention to this fact.

partly preserved in the inscription from Corinth was not issued by the emperor but by some high official, probably by the governor of the province.

Line 18. Data ----lecta. Probably neuter plural.¹ If this line, which is in Latin, began as far to the left as the lines of the Greek text, there is room for approximately 13 letters on the missing piece. At the beginning of the line are preserved four upright strokes, broken off at the bottom, the first of which is higher than the others. To the left of these strokes there appears to be an uninscribed space, *ca.* 2 cm. wide. The interpretation of this line is beset with serious difficulties. The beginning of the line probably recorded the place where the magistrate's signature was affixed, and this event must have preceded the public reading of the document from the rostra. But the first numeral seems to be IIII, which would reverse the order. It seems therefore necessary to restore the numeral XIII, although no trace of the X is preserved. The date for the reading of the rescript is certainly IX, but the upper part of the X has been chipped away. This leaves five days between the two events. If we assume that the document was issued in Rome, it is hardly likely that the messenger could have reached Corinth in such a short time;² nor would there be any reason for the public reading of such a document in the capital, since its contents are concerned with the local affairs in a distant colony. Consequently the rostra from which the document was read was not that in the Roman Forum but the speakers' platform in Corinth, where the magistrate's decision would be publicly proclaimed before it was recorded on the stone. This building, corresponding to the Rostra in Rome, has recently been identified in the middle of the Agora at Corinth.³ In view of the small amount of time that elapsed between the signing of the document and its publication in the popular assembly it is likely that the place of issue to be restored in the last line is some city in Greece, probably Corinth itself, the official residence of the Roman Governor.

¹ Cf. Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 436, col. iv, line 25.

² Mr. Robert Scranton by actual calculation has shown that it would have been possible, with the conveyances then available, to go from Rome to Corinth in five days, but this would presuppose that the messenger was sent immediately after the document had been issued, that there was no delay on the journey, and that the public reading took place immediately upon his arrival. We know from Philostratos, *Vit. Apoll.*, 8, 15, that a sea voyage from Syracuse to the mouth of the Alpheios took six days, and this distance is considerably shorter than that between Rome and Corinth, and did not entail the delay caused by the change of conveyance from one by land to one by sea. In the case of an imperial letter sent to Stratonicea in Lydia (*I.G.R.R.*, IV, 1156) over two months elapsed between the date of issue and the reading of the document in the ekklesia.

³ See Broneer, "Studies in the Topography of Corinth in the Time of St. Paul," *Arch. Eph.*, 1937, pp. 125 ff. From the account of St. Paul's visit to Corinth (Acts 18: 12-17) we know that this building, called *βήμα* in the Greek, was used by the Governor of Achaia for the transaction of public affairs and for the delivery of speeches addressed to the people of the city. The word "rostra" is rarely used for such buildings outside of Rome, but the colonies, being considered *quasi effigies parvae simulacraque* of the mother city (Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, XVI, xiii, 9) in some cases transferred the name to their own imitations of the Roman rostra (see Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 6862).

The rescript has to do with the erection of certain houses at the Isthmia, for which special permission had to be obtained. Probably the building lot, sold or leased to the man at whose expense the houses were erected, was part of the sacred land of the Isthmian sanctuary. The nature and purpose of the houses do not appear from the extant portion of the inscription beyond the fact that they were to be occupied free of rent by the athletes during the Isthmian games. This proviso seems to indicate that at other times they would serve a different purpose.

The name Πρεῖ[σκ]ος, restored in line 4, connects this inscription with another document copied by Spon and Wheler in 1676 at the Isthmia and now in the Museo Lapidario in Verona (Fig. 2).¹ This contains a record of the benefactions of P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, who held the title of ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίον.² At the head of a long list of buildings constructed and repaired by him at the Isthmia is the item τὰς καταλύσεις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴσθμια παραγεινομένοις ἀθληταῖς κατασκεύασεν. The καταλύσεις,³ obviously here in the sense of quarters for the athletes, are probably the rooms referred to in the new inscription as ξενίαι, which the agonothetes was to distribute to the athletes free of charge.

The grouping of the items in the Isthmia inscription seems to indicate that the construction of these καταλύσεις was a separate undertaking, apart from the buildings and repairs in the various sanctuaries of the gods, which were outright gifts from Licinius' private means, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. At the end of the account we are told that a stoa, which he built, together with its vaulted chambers, σὺν τοῖς κεκαμαρωμένοις οἴκοις, adjacent to the stadium, was erected or dedicated ὑπὲρ ἀγορανομίας, the equivalent of the Latin phrase *pro aedilitatis munere*. From this we learn that Licinius in addition to the priesthood also held the office of aedile, though probably not simultaneously. It was doubtless during his term as aedile, when he was in charge of public buildings, that he undertook the extensive building program at the Isthmia, although the phrase ὑπὲρ ἀγορανομίας grammatically governs only the sentence relating to the building of the Stoa. It is probable that the ruined stoa and the καμάραι mentioned in the first two lines of our inscription have to do with the same building project.

The main part of the inscription from the Isthmia is in the form of a statement, enumerating the public donations of Licinius. But the last two lines form the beginning of a new part, the promise, ὑπόσχεσις, of the benefactor. This begins with a conditional clause εἰάν μοι πωλήσητε τῆς λεγ[ομ]ένης ῥήγλια —,⁴ showing that the

¹ The photograph published in Figure 2 was obtained through the kindness of the Director of the Museum, Professor Avena. For the text see Spon and Wheler, *Voyage*, II (Amsterdam, 1679), pp. 225 and 486-487; and *I.G.*, IV, 203.

² J. A. O. Larsen (*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, p. 453) has shown that this title does not imply life tenure of the office of high priest, but was used as an honorary title for former high priests.

³ The word καταλύσεις is here used like κατάλυμα as in Polybios, II, 15, 5; see also F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch d. gr. Papyrusurkunden*, s. v.

⁴ For the meaning of this word see the explanation suggested by Fränkel, *I.G.*, IV, p. 33.

donor did not bestow his gifts upon the public outright. He bargains for the lease or purchase of something, probably of land belonging to the Isthmian sanctuary. Boeckh's suggestion that this is part of a commercial transaction between the aedile and private individuals, is rightly rejected by Fränkel. It is more likely that it was made as an election promise when Licinius entered upon the aedileship.¹ Whatever its motive, it probably contained the stipulations² relative to the public benefactions recorded in the first part of the inscription.

The relation of the new document to the inscription from the Isthmia may now be determined with fair certainty. Licinius, in return for certain benefits, made a promise to the city to expend large sums of his private funds for new buildings and for repairs of the old, at the Isthmian sanctuary. Since the property concerned did not belong to the city but was part of the sacred domains of the Isthmian sanctuary, the proposition, having been favorably acted upon by the local senate and popular assembly, was referred to the highest representative of the emperor in the province, the Governor of Achaia. The reply to this appeal was sent in the form of an official rescript, which was publicly proclaimed in the assembly and later recorded on a stele set up in the city. The original promise of Licinius, on the other hand, as well as the statement recording the fulfilment of the promise, was set up in the Isthmian sanctuary where the visitors could read it while they admired the buildings that owed their origin and embellishment to his beneficence.

The donor, P. Licinius Priscus, is known from other inscriptions from Corinth and the Isthmia, but these add very little to our knowledge of the man. Two contiguous fragments of a Latin inscription³ belong to the base of a statue set up by Licinius in honor of a woman, who was priestess of Victoria, and probably the wife of the dedicator. The text of the combined fragments reads:

----- M(arci) · F(iliae) ·
polyAENAE⁴

¹ See Abbot and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 87: "When honors were eagerly sought, it was not illegal nor unusual for candidates to promise money for public works, games, banquets, or other entertainments-----."

² A large number of inscriptions, having to do with private donations, contain the phrase ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως: see Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 171; *S.E.G.*, II, 410, which records the gift ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως of 10,000 *peches* of wood for a basilica in Thessalonike; also *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 242. An inscription from Thera, *S.I.G.*, 852, dated in 149-150 A.D., shows the proceedings at the making of such a promise, here called εἰσαγγελία. In the text of the promise the verb ὑποσχεῖσθαι is used. In Pliny's letters to Trajan there are records of similar promises by individual donors; see *Epist.* X, 8, and X, 39, where the Latin equivalent of ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως, *ex privatorum pollicitationibus*, is used.

³ The two fragments were published by West as coming from separate inscriptions, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions*, Nos. 70, and 111. The name in the second line of 111 is not masculine, as restored by West, and the first preserved letter is not M but A. The name was probably [Poly]aenae, and the [o]ptumae in the next to the last line of 70 agrees with it in gender and case.

⁴ The name Polyaenus occurs in other inscriptions from Corinth: West, *op. cit.*, No. 180;

sacerdotI · VICTORIAE¹
 ---- p liCINIVS · PRISCVS
 iuventianVS · ARCHIEREVS ·
 uxori oPTVMAE ·
 D(ecreto) · D(ecurionum)

Another instance of the name of Licinius was recognized by West on a much effaced statue base with traces of a Greek inscription.² A dedication of Licinius, once at Corinth and later brought to Rome, which reads: Π. Λικίνιος | Πρέσκος | ἱερεύς, West³ takes to refer to the father of Iuventianus. The inscription is cut on the head of a dolphin attached to the base at the feet of a colossal statue of Poseidon.⁴ The omission of the father's name and of the name of the tribe is hardly sufficient reason for assuming that this inscription refers to the father rather than to Iuventianus himself. There are two unpublished Greek inscriptions in Corinth which probably have to do with the same man. One of these, a small fragment,⁵ preserves the name, Π. Λικί[νιον | Π. Τ. Α]ῖμ. Πρέσκ[ον ----]. The second,⁶ a large base with a cutting in the top for the plinth of a marble statue, was found built into a modern house in New Corinth and later brought to the Epigraphical Museum in Old Corinth. On the front surface is cut in large letters: IOYBENTANOC | ΙΕΡΕΥC. It is likely that this base came originally not from Old Corinth but from the Isthmia. The omission of the rest of the name leaves it uncertain whether this is the P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus⁷ of the inscription at Verona, but it is highly probable that all these documents refer to the same man.

With regard to the date of Licinius we have no definite information, but certain features of the inscriptions point to the second century after Christ. The letter forms resemble very closely those of Meritt, No. 15, which from its contents may be dated in the second century. The lunate epsilon and sigma and the cursive forms of mu

Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, No. 15. One C. Julius Polyaenus was duumvir in the second half of the first century after Christ: Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 7.

¹ At the beginning of line 4 there is room for a word before the name of the dedicator, probably an epithet of Victoria. In the only known cult of Victory in Corinth she was worshiped as *Victoria Britannica* (West, *op. cit.*, Nos. 86-90, and pp. 10-11), but since we know that the priesthood of this cult was held by a man, it is likely that we are here dealing with a separate cult of the same goddess.

² Meritt, *op. cit.*, No. 105, and West, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 55; *I.G.*, IV, 202.

⁴ For the present whereabouts of the statue see Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, III, p. 292, No. 18.

⁵ Inv. No. 935, referred to by West, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁶ Inv. No. 1626.

⁷ One other official with the same *cognomen*, C. O[rfdius] Benignus Iuventianus (Inv. No. 1443), who was *theocolus* of Jupiter Capitolinus and priest, is honored in a Latin inscription in Corinth, but his date seems to be considerably earlier.

and omega are used throughout in these inscriptions,¹ whereas in dated documents from Corinth of the first century only capital forms occur.² The omission of the iota adscript, on the other hand, is common both in the first and second centuries. West³ has argued from probabilities that Licinius' activities at the Isthmia should be dated in the last quarter of the first century after Christ, his chief argument being based on the assumption that the repairs at the Isthmian sanctuary were occasioned by, and engaged in, shortly after the earthquake of 77 A.D. The inscription mentions that certain walls and buildings had fallen into disrepair because of damage through earthquakes and old age, but the phrase used, ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ παλαιότητος διαλελυμένα (*I.G.*, IV, 203), seems rather to imply that the destruction had been going on for a long time.

Lavish donations by private individuals were more common in the second century than in the first.⁴ In the last quarter of the first century economic and political conditions in Greece were such that neither the means nor the public spirit existed to make possible private donations on such a scale as that to which the inscription in Verona testifies.⁵ On the other hand, the "Greek renaissance," ushered in by Hadrian and continuing for some time under the Antonines, found expression among other things in unprecedented expenditures of private money for public purposes. Historical considerations, as well as letter forms and phraseology of the inscriptions, point to this period as the most likely time for Licinius' activities in Corinth.

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¹ Cf. also Meritt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 75, 86.

² Meritt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 14, 19, 70.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 54 f.

⁴ The time of Augustus, another period of lively building activity in Corinth, had its Cn. Babbius Philinus and C. Julius Eurycles I, but neither of these engaged in operations on such a gigantic scale as did Licinius. The celebrated Baths of Eurycles were probably erected by the second Eurycles, whose extensive building activities fall in the second century (cf. West, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Taylor and West, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 390; Groag, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. v. Julius 221). Corinth likewise benefited from the generosity of Herodes Atticus, who embellished Peirene and rebuilt the Odeion (see Broneer, *Corinth*, X, pp. 1, 144 ff.), and was so beloved in Corinth that the very ground on which he had trod was held in veneration (Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, p. 88; Meritt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 85, 86). He, too, like Priscus, made donations for the embellishment of the Isthmian sanctuary (Pausanias, II, 1, 7).

⁵ See Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist.*, pp. 111 f., 143 ff., and 529, note 13; cf. Larsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 465 ff., who endeavors to show that the gloomy picture of economic conditions in Greece, presented by such writers as Dio Chrysostom, Strabo, Plutarch, and others, is likely to be overdrawn. It should be remembered that both Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom, who certainly knew Greece, were active during the period of decline which was well on its way at the end of the first century. Even if most of their writing was done after the time of the Flavians, the vivid impression of those years of general distress is certain to have colored their views of the subsequent period, as Larsen has pointed out (*op. cit.*, pp. 466-467).

ON THE DATE OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT CORINTH

The building at Corinth now identified as the Temple of Apollo is one of the few remains of the ancient city which have always been in view. Early travellers of the Renaissance period frequently mentioned this ruin and often speculated on the name



Fig. 1. View of Temple from East Showing Fill under North Pteroma

to be applied to it. These early notices have been discussed at length in the published accounts of the temple.¹ Speculations as to the date of the temple began with the new

¹ *Corinth*, I, pp. 126-134, a revised version of the history originally published in *A.J.A.*, IX, 1905, pp. 44-54.

archaeological interest in the early part of the nineteenth century. The dates given since then, based always on architectural stylistic criteria, have varied widely within the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and even earlier dates have been suggested.¹ The only external evidence for the date of the temple offered so far consists of a handle of a middle-Corinthian krater "found among the chips of stone lying between the cuttings for the foundation walls of the temple" during the early excavations of the American School on the site.² Powell concluded from this evidence that the temple dated from the early sixth century B.C.



Fig. 2. Typical Fill under North Pteroma

After the excavations in the temple by the Germans in 1886³ and by the Americans in 1898 and 1899,⁴ the only apparently undisturbed fill now remaining within the area of the temple proper is the long mound, about two metres wide and averaging 0.70 m. in height, under the north pteroma of the temple (Fig. 1). This fill consists largely of small poros chips, evidently from the working of the temple blocks, mixed with earth, a few larger stones, and small quantities of pottery (Fig. 2). For about

¹ Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III (1830), p. 250, suggested the mid-seventh century or earlier. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, p. 305, dates the temple in the sixth century or earlier. Anderson and Spiers, *Architecture of Greece and Rome* (1903), p. 24, give the mid-seventh century as a probable date. In the revision of this work by Dinsmoor (1927), p. 87 and the chronological list at the end, the date is brought down to ca. 540 B.C. A similar late date, 535 B.C., is given by Robertson, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (1929), p. 325. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (1929), p. 114, also dates the temple in the middle of the sixth century or slightly later. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I (1932), p. 124, gives the first half of the sixth century as the probable date.

² Powell, *A.J.A.*, IX, 1905, p. 62. See also Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Cat. no. 1166.

³ Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, pp. 297-308.

⁴ Powell, *A.J.A.*, IX, 1905, pp. 44-63.

0.20 m. above the rock of the hill the fill is prehistoric accumulation such as is usual on the Temple Hill.¹ Therefore it is evident that the area of the temple was not cleared entirely to rock in preparation for the building, but that only the bearing surfaces were so cleaned. The remaining area was probably considerably lowered at the time, and after the temple foundations were constructed the interspaces were filled with whatever débris was at hand. It follows, therefore, that the fill which now remains belongs to the period of construction of the temple. The abundance of stone-working chips in this fill is confirmatory evidence.

In recent months the writer investigated a stretch of this fill nine metres long, running from behind the west side of the foundations for the ninth column from the

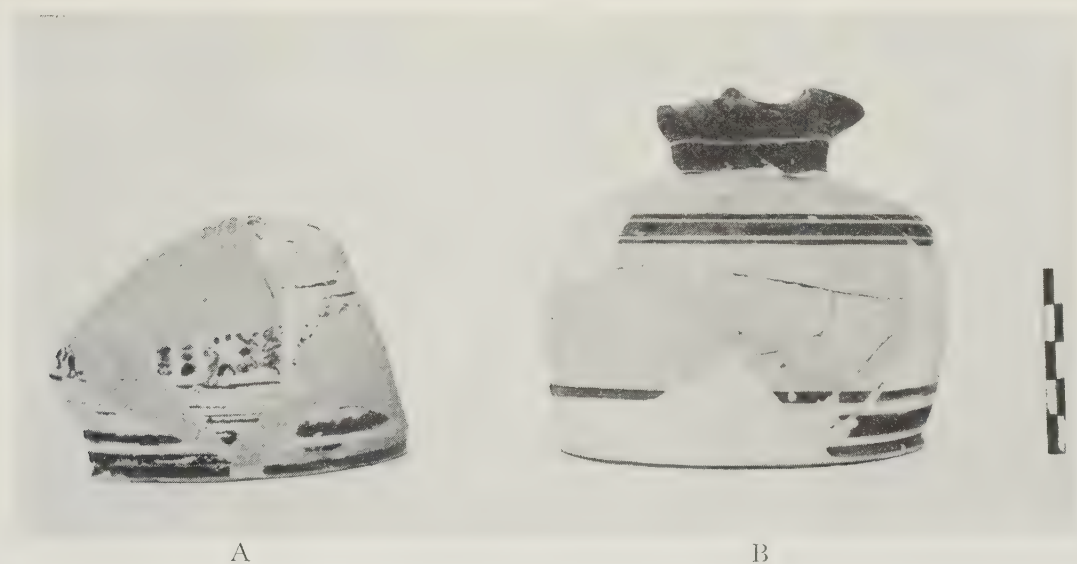


Fig. 3

west end of the temple to the east side of the foundations for the eleventh column from the west end. The purpose of the investigation was to check the former external evidence for the dating of the temple and to study whatever new evidence was procured. It was not expected that such construction débris would contain abundant or complete objects. The finds consisted almost entirely of small potsherds together with a few more complete pots. Of the material found, a catalogue of the latest, and therefore most pertinent, pottery follows.

1. C-38-550 (Fig. 3, A). Broad-bottomed oinochoe. About one fourth of the base and body is preserved. Preserved height, 0.069 m.; restored diameter of base, 0.10 m. The fabric is Corinthian; the clay buff with a gray-green tinge. At the base and shoulder are broad black and red bands; on the shoulder are incised

¹ Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 489.

tongues. The broad zone of the body is filled with a repeating group of stylized ornaments consisting of a small bird with a dot-rosette above it and then two vertical squiggles.

The fabric and decoration of this vase clearly place it in the class which Payne calls Late Corinthian II¹ and which has been named also Corinthian Conventionalizing ware.² The birds are closely paralleled on a pyxis of the same period from Delos.³ The pot resembles in size and shape the earlier oinochoai. The decoration is more neatly arranged and better executed than is usual in the developed conventionalizing ware. It would belong, then, to the beginning of the period, early in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.

2. C-39-1 (Fig. 3, B). Broad-bottomed oinochoe. About one-half preserved. Preserved height, 0.10 m.; restored greatest diameter, 0.112 m. Corinthian buff clay, well levigated. At the shoulder and at the base are a group of three horizontal bands; the central, wider band is red, the other two black. The neck is red, the lip black. Incised lines set off the neck from the shoulder and lip.

The vase belongs to a Late Corinthian class known as the "white style." It is similar in shape to Late Corinthian I oinochoai, but the decoration is much simpler than on the usual vases of that class.⁴ It is probably to be placed near the end of the series, roughly at the middle of the sixth century B.C.

3. C-38-542 (Fig. 4, A). Round aryballos. About two-thirds of the body preserved. Preserved height, 0.08 m.; greatest diameter, 0.09 m. Well levigated Corinthian clay, buff color. The decoration consists of a septifolious rosette on the front of the body, in the center of which is a dot-rosette. The ends of the foils extend to the back, but they do not come together, and just under the handle there is an X in streaky black glaze. On the shoulder are tongues which are formed of a black dot with a tail of lighter glaze extending towards the neck. Although much of the color has disappeared, it is apparent that some of the leaves were filled with red while others were left plain.

The septifolious rosette is apparently rare, though there are numerous examples of aryballoi of the same class with very similar sexifolious and octafolious rosettes.⁵ Payne dates the more complex rosettes with eight or more points "never earlier than the last quarter of the sixth century."⁶ Ure, on the other hand, says that such aryballoi form a homogeneous group found in group

¹ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 331 ff.

² Newhall, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 16-20.

³ Dugas, *Délos*, X, Pl. XXXII, No. 507.

⁴ Cf. *C.V.A.*, Musée Scheurleer, I, Pl. 3, 3 = Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Cat. no. 1382; also *C.V.A.*, U. of California, I, Pl. X, 3.

⁵ Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, pp. 46 and 103; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 148.

⁶ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

c graves and the earlier of the Boeotian-kylix graves at Rhitsona, which he would date in the second quarter and the middle of the sixth century.¹ Miss Haspels brings the later group down into the early part of the third quarter of the century.² It is probable that the present example with a septifolious rosette is to be placed at just this period.

4. C-38-541 (Fig. 4, B). Round Aryballos. Fragment of lip missing. Height, 0.047 m.; greatest diameter, 0.047 m. The body of the aryballos is decorated with six horizontal bands of varying width. The second one from the bottom is red, the others black. Around the mouth also are concentric circles and on the bottom are radiating small tongues.

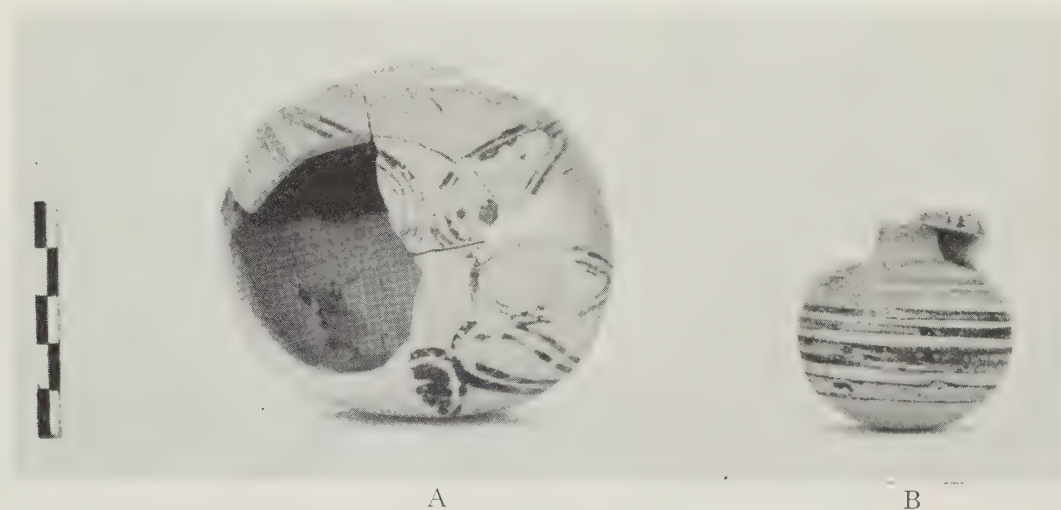


Fig. 4

Payne considered the aryballoi with concentric circles on the mouth as all belonging to the Late Corinthian period.³ Such aryballoi occur in large numbers in the Rhitsona graves over a wide period and at least as late as the middle of the sixth century.⁴

The accumulated evidence from the pottery just described certainly indicates that the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the temple must be the middle of the sixth century B.C., if not even a decade later. Some further evidence pointing to the same dating has been obtained from other investigations around the temple.

When digging some trenches on the Temple Hill in the spring of 1937, the writer found in the northern half of Trench V⁵ a fill consisting almost entirely of small poros

¹ Ure, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 and 51.

² Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, p. 5.

³ Payne, *op. cit.*, Cat. nos. 641 and 1261.

⁴ Ure, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.

⁵ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 489 and fig. 1.

chips. More recently this fill was dug for eight metres to the West from Trench V. This débris, obviously from the construction of a poros building, was brought to the

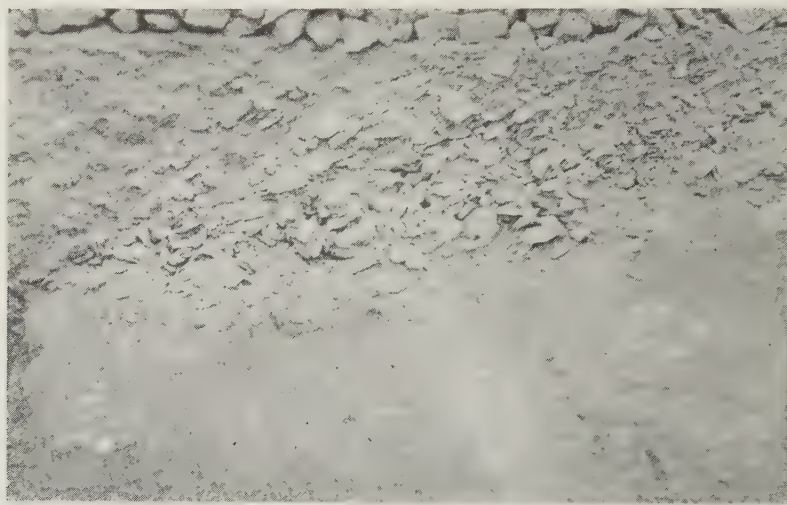


Fig. 5. Fill of Poros Working Chips

edge of the hill and dumped, falling obliquely (Fig. 5). The similarity of the chips to the poros of the temple suggested that this was actually débris from the construction



Fig. 6. Dumped Blocks and Tiles from
Archaic Building

of the temple. A comparison with the chips from the fill in the north pteroma of the temple confirms this belief.¹

Among the loosely packed poros chips were found a few rather complete vases.

1. C-37-2309 (Fig. 7). Round aryballos. Fragment of lip missing. Height, 0.043 m.; greatest diameter, 0.04 m. The lower part of the sphere is badly mis-shapen. Around the body are four horizontal bands in black; two concentric rings decorate the mouth. On the shoulder are tongues, on the bottom a dot-rosette. Although of poorer workmanship, the aryballos belongs with No. 4 described above and is of the same period.



Fig. 7

2. C-37-2308 (Fig. 8). Plate. About two-thirds preserved. Diameter of lip, 0.192 m.; height, 0.021 m. The buff-colored clay is fine and well levigated. The plate has a broad, flat bottom and a wide, flaring rim. The rounded lip is set off from the rim by an incised line. The foot is formed by two wide, low rings at the edge of the bottom. At the center of the plate is a medallion consisting of a rosette reserved in a dark field, which is bordered by a reserved key pattern and then a broad red band. At the outer edge of the bottom of the plate is a double, broad, black line with the reserved interspace filled with dots; beyond this another red band. At the edge of the lip are a red and a black band, separated by an incised line.

The shape is known from the Middle Corinthian period and then again from the middle of the sixth century onwards.² The sparse ornament arranged in bands is of the type usual in the Late Corinthian "white style." The reserved rosette appears on the mouth of Corinthian aryballoi from the early sixth century on.³ I would date the plate in the Late Corinthian period or the very

¹ From *ca.* 3.00 m. west of Trench V and running westward for 5.00 m., there was a mass of fragments of large poros blocks and tiles, dumped in a line apparently at the edge of the hill (Fig. 6). This débris was covered all around by the smaller poros chips. The blocks and tiles are obviously from a very archaic structure of some size. The concealed faces of the blocks each have two deep grooves, rope holes used in lifting the blocks. The tiles must be placed among the earliest known terracotta roof tiles found in Greece. Both blocks and tiles show definite signs of burning. It is believed that this débris may be the remains of a predecessor of the Temple of Apollo, and that the present temple was built when the first one was destroyed.

² Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 312, fig. 154 and p. 336; Newhall, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 17 and fig. 15.

³ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 287; Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 541, fig. 21, bottom row, fifth from left.

beginning of the Conventionalizing period, for the work of the full Conventionalizing period is more ornate and less well executed.

This pottery is approximately of the same period as that from the fill under the north pteroma of the temple and it suggests the same *terminus post quem* for the construction of the temple. Neither in the temple nor in the fill of poros chips outside it were there any remains of the Attic pottery or of the Corinthian imitations of



Fig. 8

Attic pottery which are so abundant everywhere in the excavated areas at Corinth which date from the last quarter of the sixth century, or even a little earlier.¹ It seems certain that such material would have been found in the fill investigated, had the construction of the temple been as late as the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. From such negative evidence it seems probable that the *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the temple is the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.

Thus, the possible period of construction of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth is narrowed down to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., and the pottery found in

¹ Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 540; XXXIV, 1930, p. 423. Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 557-611.

the temple makes the early part of that quarter-century the most probable date. This date, arrived at on the basis of external evidence alone, agrees well with most of the more recent datings based on internal stylistic considerations.¹ However, it precludes the possibility of attributing the construction of the temple to the great tyrant Periander, as is so often done.² It falls, rather, in the following period, thought to be

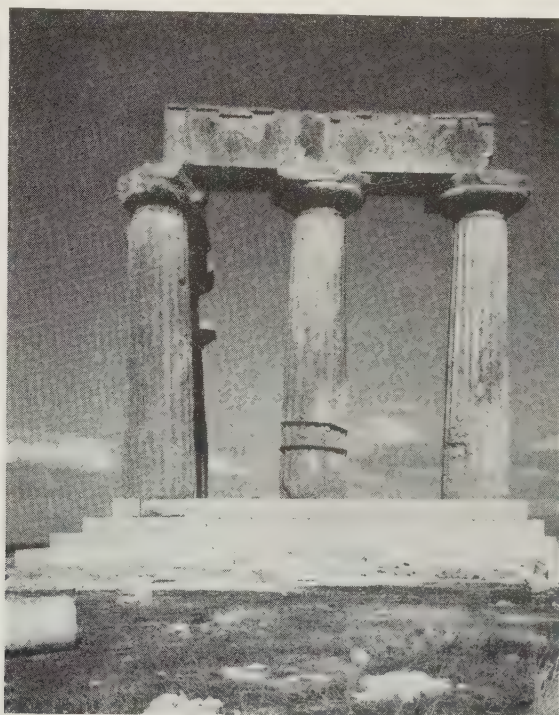


Fig. 9. South Side of Temple with New Substructure

one of decline at Corinth when judged by the products of the ceramics industry. Nevertheless, the construction of a large temple at this time would be amply explained by the destruction by fire of its predecessor. The inhabitants would quickly replace the temple in an obviously important sanctuary on one of the most conspicuous sites in ancient Corinth.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

¹ See note 1 on p. 192. The appearance of the temple has been greatly enhanced by the recent construction of a substructure on the south side (Fig. 9). Thus the line of the stylobate is again to be seen, and the true proportions of the columns can be appreciated. This work was done by the Department of Antiquities of the Greek Government for the purpose of solidifying the structure and of strengthening it against future earthquakes.

² For the most recent material on the dates of Periander, see Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* Periandros, pp. 711-714.

A NOTE ON THE THESSALIAN CULT OF ENODIA

In the spring of 1933, when working at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, I had an opportunity to examine in the archaeological collection at Larisa the interesting dedication found at Tartar (east of Tyrnavos) and published by N. I. Giannopoulos in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, X, 1926 (issued in 1929), p. 52, no. 4 (Larisa inventory number 286). I am concerned here with the text of the dedication inscribed on the stele; in a forthcoming article a photograph and a description of the stone will be given by Kendrick Pritchett in connection with his discussion of the type of monument to which the stele belongs. Though the beginnings of both lines of text are lost, the space available for restoration can be exactly limited by prolongation of the left edge of the stele. In line 1 there is space for not more than three letters; in line 2 there is space for four letters, or, if one is a narrow letter and all are set more closely than the letters in the rest of the line, for five. Impossible, then, is the reading proposed by Giannopoulos: . . . κίουν Θερσάνδρειος | [Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐνο]δία Φεραία (*sic*) ὀνέθει|κε (*sic*). All epigraphical requirements are satisfied by the following restorations: [Μικ]κίουν Θερσάνδρειος | [Ἐννο]δία<ι> Φεραία<ι> ὀνέθει|[κε]. The forms of the letters are suitable enough for the third century before Christ.

In a paper read in 1931 (*résumé* in *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 40-41) I suggested that the "Goddess of Pherai," known in Greek cult and literature (*R.E.*, s. v. Pheraia) was the Thessalian Enodia, a Hekate-type deity whose cult was widespread in Thessaly and particularly prominent in Pherai.¹ Wilamowitz, too, proposed the identification in *Glaube der Hellenen*, I (Berlin, 1931), pp. 174 ff. (cf. Weber, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXXII, 1933, p. 180). The Tartar dedication to [Ἐννο]δία<ι> Φεραία<ι> increases, I think, the probability that the identification is sound. The somewhat later inscription on a small cylindrical altar of white marble (Halmyros inventory number 210, reported from Demetrias), variously read by Arvanitopoulos (*Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 1915, *παράρτημα*, p. 56; *Πρακτικά*, 1920, p. 22; *Γραπταὶ Στήλαι*, p. 78, note 1; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 485), but in fact Μενεκράτης | καὶ Δημήτριος | Ἀρτέμιδι | Ἐνοδίαι, is an early instance, I take it, of local assimilation of the Thessalian deity to her better known congener.

PAUL A. CLEMENT

¹ Giannopoulos lists the inscriptions published in *I.G.*, IX, 2. Add *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, p. 482; *Πρακτικά*, 1924, p. 108; 1926, p. 117; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1911, p. 127, no. 61; 1924, p. 191, 418 β; Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπταὶ Στήλαι*, p. 93; *I.G.*, XII, 9, 1193 (with Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen*, I, p. 175, note 1). Cf. Stählin, Meyer, Heidner, *Pagasai u. Demetrias*, p. 188, note 2. The Enodia coinage of Pherai: *B.M.C. Thessaly*, pp. 47-48 (cf. Hirsch, XIII, 1905, Rhousopoulos Sale, 1446; Regling, *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.*, VIII, 1905, pp. 175-176; Head, *Hist. Num.*², pp. 307-308).

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1938

The excavation of the American Zone of the Athenian Agora has been continued on the usual large scale, the eighth season of work covering a period of twenty-one weeks, from January 24 to June 18. The present Report, like those of previous years, will give a comprehensive, non-technical, well-illustrated account of the results of of the campaign. Each year as the work has progressed the problems arising from the expropriation of the large area of excavation and from the administration of the business and scientific departments of the work have become increasingly simple of solution. This happy result has been achieved by the devotion and efficiency of A. Adossides, the business manager of the organization, and by the skill and ability of the attorney, A. Kyriakides, who has successfully defended the interests of the Agora before the various courts to which proprietors in many cases have made appeal, as they are privileged to do under the terms of the Agora law. Since practically all the cases have now been adjudicated, it is opportune to record that decisions by judges of all ranks have been rendered with clarity, promptness, and full justice to all concerned. At the outset of this project few Athenians believed that the colossal task of expropriating some three hundred and sixty pieces of property in the heart of the city could be achieved within any reasonable time. That this has actually been accomplished within the projected span of ten years is due to the efficient functioning of the Agora organization which has been constantly supported and assisted by the authorities of the Greek Government.

The constitution of the scientific staff of the excavations has been adequately described in previous annual Reports. Most of the members continued with the work during the current season. But Professor Caley, who established the chemical laboratory which has proved a valuable adjunct in research and in the identification of the discoveries, was unable to leave again his duties at Princeton, and the position of research chemist was, therefore, filled for the season by Miss Marie Farnsworth, who is engaged in chemical research of somewhat similar character at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge. Miss Constance Curry withdrew from the Catalogue Department in order to resume her studies in America, and this vacancy was filled by the appointment of Miss Suzanne Halstead (now Mrs. John Young), a student enrolled in the American School. Miss Elisabeth Washburn, also a student of the School, was added to the staff of the Coin Department. The supervision of the workmen and of the practical management of the work was continued by the chief foreman, Sophokles Lekkas, and the corps of sub-foremen remained the same as last year. The number of workmen, which averaged 145 for the season, was considerably smaller than in previous years because of the shallower deposits of earth on the

southern hillslopes where the major part of the work was concentrated. For the same reason the total amount of earth removed, 20,647 tons, was less than in the preceding season (30,000 tons).

The work of the present campaign was twofold in character: the excavation of several additional city blocks, and the minute investigation, in preparation for publication, of a building (the Tholos) which had been previously cleared superficially. Both of these branches of the work produced important topographical results. The



Fig. 1. Present Appearance of the West Side of the Agora

buildings on the west side as far as the Tholos, which have been carefully studied and published by H. A. Thompson (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 1-226), were put into more or less permanent order by filling trial pits, by strengthening walls, and by removing extraneous stones, with the result that the topography of this part of the area is now more comprehensible to visitors. The present state of the area is shown in Figure 1; on the left is the Tholos with its environs still in uncompleted condition, while on the right are the buildings to the north on which the necessary repairs have been finished. It might be assumed from the appearance of the buildings in the photograph that little more than foundation walls is preserved, but in fact sufficient architectural pieces were found in connection with each building so that a complete restoration on paper is possible with but few unessential details left to be added conjecturally. Such a

restoration has been drawn by J. Travlos on the basis of all evidence at present available (Fig. 2) in order to give a clear view of the west side of the Agora as it appeared after the building boom of the Pergamene period in the second century before Christ. Such substantially was the appearance of the site when Pausanias visited Athens in the middle of the second century after Christ, the damage wrought by Sulla in 86 B.C. having been repaired as promptly as possible after the Roman victory.

Pausanias entered the Agora in the northwest corner coming from the direction of the Dipylon and shortly reached a cross street leading to the south, finding near



Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the Buildings on the West Side.
Drawing by J. Travlos

the junction of the streets the Altar of the Twelve Gods, which served as a milestone for measuring distances from the city. The cross street passes in front of the public buildings on the west side which, as shown in the restoration, have been securely identified in succession from north to south as follows: the Stoa of Zeus with projecting wings on the north and south ends; a small shrine dedicated probably to Zeus and Athena; the Temple of Apollo Patroos; a great stairway ascending to the Hephaisteion, situated on a terrace on the summit of the Kolonos Agoraios and surrounded by shrubbery; the Metroon south of the stairway; and behind the Metroon the Bouleuterion, of which only the roof appears in the restoration; then a gateway (propylon) to a passage leading to the Bouleuterion; and finally on the extreme left the Tholos, a circular building with a conical roof, with a small gateway opening into its precinct.



Fig. 3. Plan of the Excavated Area at the Conclusion of the 1938 Campaign

AGORA BOUNDARY STONE

Just east of the Tholos the street forks into two branches and at this fork a boundary stone of white marble, dating from the sixth century before Christ, was found standing in its original position. The spot is marked A on the latest ground



Fig. 4. Boundary Stone of the Agora

plan of the excavated area reproduced in Figure 3. The post, which measures 1.20 m. high by 0.31 m. wide by 0.19 m. thick, had been set down through a pre-existing layer of road gravel into a hole in the bedrock 0.20 m. deep, and the next higher stratum of road deposit which gathered against it contained ostraka of Hippokrates and

Themistokles of about 483 B.C.; it was completely concealed by the higher road level of later classical times. The stone bears an inscription cut on a smoothed band across the top and down the right side with carefully made archaic letters of the latter part



Fig. 5. Street of the Panathenaia, Looking South

of the sixth century (Fig. 4). The inscription reads: *hópos eímì tēs ágorâs* "I am the boundary stone of the Agora." This discovery obviously provides valuable topographical information relative to the limits of the Agora in the sixth century before Christ. Its significance will be discussed in an article on the Tholos and its environs by H. A. Thompson in a forthcoming supplement of *Hesperia*.

THE ELEUSINION

The main street from the Dipylon, from which the west cross street branched, passes the Altar of the Twelve Gods and, running through the northeastern part of the excavated area, ascends towards the Acropolis on the east side of the Agora, where it is preserved in places to its full width of about ten metres. It was paved with large blocks in the Roman period and was bordered by the Valerian Wall in the latter part of the third century after Christ. A view of the street looking south is given in Figure 5. This street is undoubtedly the famous "Dromos," the broad way along which the Panathenaic procession proceeded from the Ceramicus to the Acropolis. Confirmation of this view is provided by an inscription cut on the wall of the Acropolis near the Klepsydra, where the street bore west to pass around to the entrance of the Acropolis. The letters of this inscription, which is to be dated at about the end of the fourth century, are badly weathered but the last words are clearly legible: "The Street of the Panathenaia." High on the hillside, below the Acropolis walls, at a gentle curve in the road references in ancient authors (discussed by Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 287 ff.) designate as a pausing place for the procession the site of the Eleusinion, the sanctuary in Athens dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses Demeter and Kore.

The excavations of the current season have produced much significant evidence indicating the proximity of the Eleusinion at a point which is topographically in accord with the ancient references. Within a restricted area east of the street where it curves slightly to take a course which would pass between the Areopagus and the Acropolis (the point marked B on the plan), many marble blocks were found which bear inscribed dedications to Demeter and Kore or contain references to their sanctuary. One of the inscriptions is cut on an epistyle block of large size which was re-used in the construction of the Valerian Wall. Another dedication is on a huge marble statue base, measuring 1.57 m. long and 0.80 m. high, which was lying beneath the wall. Because of their great size and weight it is improbable that these blocks were removed far from their original positions. Another marble base from the wall bears a dedication to Demeter composed in two elegiac distichs (Inv. No. I 5484). The inscription, dated in the fifties of the fifth century before Christ, records the dedication to Demeter by her attendant (πρόπολος) Lysistrate. Still another monument (Inv. No. I 5323) which is to be associated with the Eleusinion is the base for a bronze statue of Syndromos, son of Kallikratides, which is inscribed with the record that the man was honored by the Senate and People of Athens in the Augustan age, because as agonothetes he had financed at his own expense the celebration of the Eleusinian games.

Further pertinent records from the same neighborhood are a marble eagle perched on a base which is inscribed with a dedication by Ulpius and Hermogenes

to "the goddesses" (Fig. 6: Inv. No. I 5436); a decree of the year of the archon Nikokles, 302/1 B.C., which honors the taxiarchs for attending to the regulation of orderly procedure at the celebration of the festival of Demeter and bears the order that the stele be erected in the Eleusinion (Inv. No. I 5228); and many pieces of the stele with the record of the sale of the confiscated property of Alcibiades and of the other mutilators of the Herms and profaners of the Mysteries, which was also set up in the Eleusinion. Such a cumulation of Eleusinian records within one restricted area is clearly indicative of the proximity of the sanctuary.

But even stronger proof of this proposition is furnished by the discovery in the

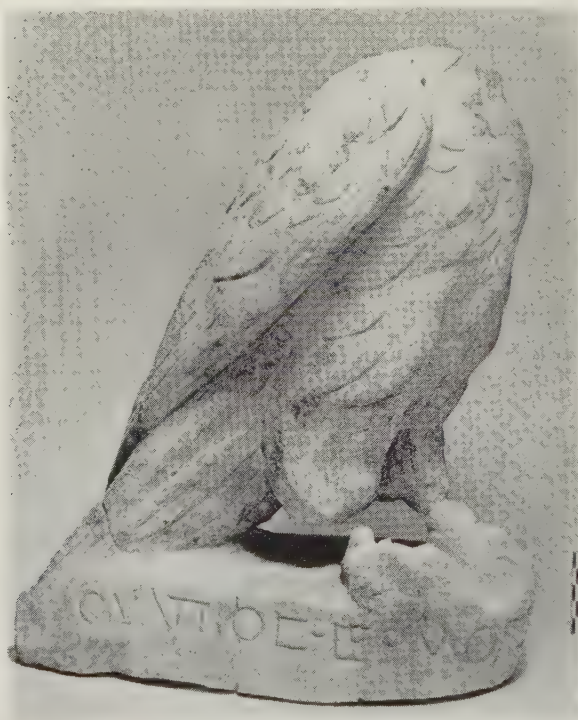


Fig. 6. Marble Eagle Dedicated to the Goddesses

same area of buried deposits of kernoi, one of which is shown in Figure 7 as it appeared when excavated. A shallow pit was carefully cut in the bedrock and was filled with the discarded vases. The one illustrated in the picture was later covered in part by blocks of the Valerian Wall. Five such closed deposits of kernoi were found as well as other scattered pieces, the dates of burial ranging from the late fifth to the end of the fourth century before Christ. The kernos is a vase of peculiar shape which was exclusively used for the offering to Demeter of the first fruits of the harvest. While the type of the vase is fairly uniform the size and elaborateness vary. Those from the buried deposits are of a cheap, common kind (Fig. 8). The interpretation of these burials is apparent from the familiar custom practiced in Greek sanctuaries. When shrines became over-

crowded with cheap votive objects the priests gathered up groups of offerings and carefully buried them within the confines of the precincts. The position of these votive deposits consequently designates approximately the site of the Eleusinion.

Still further evidence is provided by three marble plaques which are decorated in relief with Eleusinian themes. One of these is a beautifully executed piece of work, of the fine style of the fifth century, which represents Triptolemos seated in a chariot with serpent wheels and receiving instructions from Demeter to go forth throughout the world and teach men husbandry. Preserved on the fragment are most of the



Fig. 7. Buried Deposit of Kernoï as Excavated



Fig. 8. Kernoï from the Buried Deposits

chariot and of the figure of Triptolemos and the lower half of a draped female figure standing behind the chariot (Fig. 9: Inv. No. S 1013). On the evidence of similar reliefs found at Eleusis itself the woman behind the chariot must be interpreted as Persephone, since Demeter stood in front of it. The second relief, which is done in equally fine style and technique, shows Demeter holding a torch with her head turned to the left towards Triptolemos who held a sceptre of which only the top is preserved.



Fig. 9. Fragmentary Relief of Persephone and Triptolemos

This fragment is similar to the first in scale and style, but the pieces vary in thickness, and it therefore seems unlikely that they come from the same plaque. On the third relief two draped women are represented, of whom the one on the left is standing and has a shield by her side and must therefore be interpreted as Athena; the one on the right is seated and by her side is the coil of a serpent so that she is presumably to be interpreted as Demeter.

The site of no building in the Agora is so well documented as is this of the Eleusinion, but structural remains appropriate to the sanctuary were not uncovered

in the area in question. It is therefore probable that the sanctuary itself lies directly opposite, on the west side of the street, in Section Beta Beta, which will be excavated during the next campaign. The close determination of the site of the Eleusinion and the definite establishment of the route of the Panathenaic procession are of the utmost value for our knowledge of the topography of the Agora. The tentative assignment of the sanctuary to a site next to the Enneakrounos, as was done on our earlier plans, must now be abandoned, and the previously accepted theory of its position far southwest of the Agora is quite untenable.



Fig. 10. Byzantine Houses in Section Sigma

The major work of excavation of the current year was conducted in three city blocks in the southeastern part of the area designated as Sections Psi (Ψ), Omega (Ω), and Alpha Alpha (AA) on the city plan of the American Zone published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335, fig. 2, and also in three areas which had been partially cleared in 1937, Sections Sigma (Σ), Iota Iota (II), and Omicron Alpha (OA). Detailed investigation was also carried on in the area of the Tholos and in a preliminary way at the Odeion. The general account of the results of the season's work, which will be given under the captions of the various Sections, is largely based on

the reports of the members of the staff in charge of the respective areas of excavation. A full report on the results of the exploration of the Tholos will be given by H. A. Thompson in a later supplement of this Journal.

SECTION SIGMA

For the third season excavation was continued in Section Sigma in the north-eastern part of the Zone under the supervision of R. H. Howland, and the work was not completed by the end of the year, much of the early classical strata remaining still unexplored. Progress was particularly slow in this area because of the presence of a large Byzantine settlement with rows of houses flanking a road on either side (Fig. 10). It was necessary to clear these houses carefully and then have the walls

measured, drawn, photographed, and studied before the earlier strata below could be explored.

Two early wells were found in the area, one with contents of the second and third quarters of the seventh century before Christ, including pottery of familiar Proto-attic type and the oenochoe decorated with the hindquarters of a lion, illustrated in Figure 24; the other containing a deposit dated in the first half of the sixth century. A Mycenaean terracotta figurine had found its way into the upper part of the filling of the sixth century well. It is intact except for its small crude head (Fig. 11: Inv. No. T 1653). Arms are not indicated but the breasts are clearly formed; the lower part of the figure is cylindrical in shape. It is decorated on front and back with wavy stripes painted in red on the buff ground. This type of figurine is not uncommon but it has not previously appeared in the Agora, where Mycenaean remains are scanty.



Fig. 11. Mycenaean Figurine

The great Dromos passes near this Section and not far from its course was lying an important monument of the early fourth century before Christ. This is a boundary stone of Hymettian marble which was not found in its original position but had been re-used as a threshold block. It is perfectly preserved and bears an inscription cut with large well-made letters on the smoothed surface of the upper part of the face. The inscription reads: "Boundary of the Sacred Way by which the Pythaid proceeds to Delphi." We know from statements in classical literature (*e. g.* Strabo, IX, 2, 11) that for three days and nights in each of the months of April, May, and June the priests of Apollo in Athens watched at the altar of Zeus Astrapaaios for a flash of

lightning over Mt. Parnes. As soon as one was seen they started in procession to carry their offerings to the sanctuary at Delphi. If no flash occurred the procession was postponed to the succeeding year. Whether the sacred way to Delphi coincided in its early stages with that to Eleusis is uncertain, but the fact of the erection of this marker would seem to point to a distinctive route.

A little additional exploration was made about the foundations of the large square building which has been mentioned in a previous Report (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 354), but a thorough investigation of the building has not yet been possible. The shape of the building, with its large central court surrounded by porticoes, suggests its use as some sort of market-place. The filling along the west wing gives a date at the end of the fifth century for its construction; it was destroyed in early Hellenistic times, before the date of the erection of the Stoa of Attalos.

The most interesting topographical discovery in this area is a long stoa which runs across its north side in an east-west direction, and at its east end nearly touches the Stoa of Attalos, only sufficient space being left between the two for a passageway $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres wide. The foundation walls of the south side of this stoa were uncovered for a length of 30.50 metres; the north wall and the west end of the building have been cut by the roadbed of the Athens-Peiraeus railroad. This stoa was constructed in the late Hellenistic period and certainly after the disappearance of the rectangular building of the fifth century since it in part overlies the foundations of that building; it formed the boundary of the eastern half of the northern side of the Agora. In order to uncover the north central boundary, which it is conjectured was formed by the famous Stoa Poikile, it would be necessary to excavate the strip of land on the north lying between the railroad and Hadrian Street. The plan of the Greek Agora cannot be completed until its northern side has been uncovered, and in the meantime serious topographical problems will be left in suspense; but the land north of the railroad lies outside of the limits of the American Zone and is not at present available for investigation.

Throughout this area a great mass of filling, about 1.80 m. deep, was removed, which had accumulated during the fourth and fifth centuries of our era. This deposit, which lay between the early Roman and late Byzantine strata, contained many lamps, a large quantity of pottery, and a vast number of coins. At the very bottom of this stratum the coins and other objects were of earlier type, dating from the second and third centuries after Christ, and with them were found many lead seals similar in type to those discovered previously in the same neighborhood, which were described in the Report of the earlier excavation in this area (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 356 f., fig. 20). The new examples have representations of Helios, Selene, Asklepios, Poseidon, and other deities, and many are again countermarked with the figure of a cock. No explanation has yet been secured for the concentration of these lead seals or tokens in this particular region, but light may be thrown on the subject when the earlier buildings in this area shall have been completely uncovered.

SECTION PSI

This Section, which was excavated under the supervision of Eugene Vanderpool, is situated on the lower slope of the Areopagus in the southeastern part of the Zone. The deposit of earth over much of the area was shallow and in many places havoc had been wrought to ancient deposits by the intrusions of the cellars of modern houses. Early structural remains are scanty since the area lies south of the Agora proper, but the presence of many wells attests its use as a residential district. A small rectangular building of the fourth century before Christ, measuring about five by seven metres, located near the centre of the area, is probably part of a private house.

There are, however, extensive remains of a building of the late Roman period which covers almost the entire southern half of the Section and extends southward into Section Omega. The building contains rectangular rooms, corridors, and a

peristyle court, and is too large and too massive of construction for use as a private house. A date for the erection of the building at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century after Christ is indicated by numerous coins of the late fourth and early fifth centuries which were found in a terracotta drain leading from the northeast part and filled up during the early years of the building's existence. It was destroyed in the sixth century, as is proved by the evidence of pottery, lamps, and Vandal coins found in the destruction fill overlying it. The purpose for



Fig. 12. Roof-tile with Dedication to Hephaistos

which this building was used has not yet been determined.

The wells in the area contained deposits ranging in date from the sixth century before Christ to the late Roman period. They produced some well-preserved statues and some handsome vases, one of which is the subject of a later article in this number by Eugene Vanderpool. The most productive well extended down to a depth of 30.30 metres, and from it came a statue of Hermes, a head of Hera, two other heads of women, much pottery including complete miniature jugs and pitchers, and several plastic lamps. A particularly interesting object, found at a depth of 28.30 m., is a large terracotta *sima* roof-tile with a dedication to Hephaistos painted on it. Figure 12 gives a view of the upper surface of the tile, which is preserved in front to its full width of 0.55 m. On the face of the *sima* a stylized palmette-lotus design is painted in white on the torus moulding between narrow bands of bead-and-reel above and of

a broken meander below. A second bead-and-reel is painted on the projecting under surface. The letter epsilon, which appears on the back of the sima, indicates the fifth unit in a series, and shows that the tiles were prepared at the factory for placement in specific positions on the roof. On the flat upper surface of the tile the dedication to Hephaistos is painted in large handsome red letters of the style of the late Hellenistic period. This is evidently a roof-tile from a building in the precinct of the Hephaisteion, which found its way into a distant well after some devastation of the city, probably that of the Herulians in 267 A.D.

SECTION OMEGA

The situation in Section Omega, of which the excavation was in charge of Miss Margaret Crosby, is similar to that noted in the adjoining Section Psi on the north. The area was occupied only by private houses until late in the Roman age, and deposits of all periods were more or less disturbed by successive subsequent intrusions. In spite of the steep slope of the hill to the north a considerable depth of earth was preserved in part of the area; in other parts cellars of modern houses had been cut in the bedrock, destroying all traces of earlier occupation. Apart from a few scattered prehistoric and other early sherds no evidence was secured for the habitation of the site before the end of the sixth century before Christ, but at least as early as that time a road, five metres wide, existed, and remained in use throughout antiquity, passing through the centre of the area from northeast to southwest. Just north of the west end of the road a grave dating from the end of the sixth century was uncovered; it still held some undisturbed deposit, including two black-figured lekythoi. This was presumably a burial made beneath a house floor. Northeast of the grave a well was cleared which had been filled up at the end of the fifth century. From it came pieces of large red-figured vases, one of which is decorated with the scene of the battle of the centaurs and Lapiths, and part of a small jug of the type used in the celebration of the Anthesteria, which is decorated with a curious motive in the form of an inverted amphora from the bottom of which extends a satyr's head. This pottery will presently be discussed in a forthcoming article by Miss Talcott.

The central part of the area south of the street is occupied by the remains of a house of the classical period, of which the north wall is coterminous with the line of the south side of the street. The various rooms extend over an area measuring sixteen by fourteen metres and several building periods are evident in their construction. The walls, which are 0.45 m. wide, are built of rubble which served as a socle for a mud-brick superstructure. The floors are made of clay with a smooth level surface. In the northeast corner the north wall and the floor were covered with a filling of the early fifth century, and throughout the house evidence was secured for much rebuilding at the end of that century, the period to which belongs most of the

filling so far excavated. Further investigation of the early history of this house will be necessary in a future campaign.

The house continued in use during Hellenistic times, and to that period belong three connecting cisterns and a well which served its occupants. The lowest filling of the well produced many completely preserved lamps of types dated in the early part of the third century; the upper filling, which is contemporaneous with that of the cisterns, is somewhat later, dating from the second half of the century. From this upper filling came an official stamp of a police inspector named Xenokles (Fig. 13: Inv. No. SS 8080). This is a rectangular terracotta plaque with a length of 0.037 m., which had been attached to some object evidently inspected and approved by the police authorities. The stamp bears the name of the inspector, his deme Perithoidai, and his title *περιπόλαρχος*. This unusual word occurs in Thucydides (VIII, 92, 2) and is also epigraphically attested (*I.G.*, II², 204, lines 20-21, and 1193, line 2).

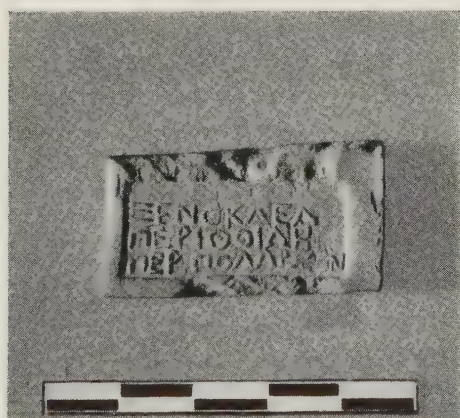


Fig. 13. Seal of Police Inspector
Xenokles

Scanty remains exist of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods because of the disturbance of earlier deposits wrought by the extensive building program of late Roman times, but the presence of many wells and cisterns testifies to the more or less uninterrupted occupation of the site. At the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century after Christ a large building was erected on the northern side of the ancient street which had continued in use throughout the centuries. This is the building which lies partly in Section Psi to the north. The plan of the building is without symmetry. Its main feature in the centre is a rectangular room, measuring eight by nine metres, which has an apse with

three niches at its southern end. Northeast of this is a court, twelve metres wide, with a peristyle, of which the marble stylobate is in part well preserved. The walls are constructed of alternating courses of stone and brick set in mortar, except on the south where the wall of the building served also as the retaining wall of the street and is therefore built of conglomerate blocks. The building continues east under the unexcavated edge of the area.

Another contemporary Roman building was erected on the south side of the street in the southeastern corner of the area. This has not yet been entirely cleared, but in the rooms so far uncovered there is evidence for reconstruction and re-use involving the building of a large brick oven in one of the rooms. This part of the area was covered by a mass of destruction *débris* of the seventh or eighth century after Christ. The site seems not to have been occupied in Byzantine times, since

the Turkish and modern houses rested directly on late Roman filling in the north and southeast parts, on classical and Hellenistic filling in the centre, and on bedrock in the southwest.

SECTION ALPHA ALPHA

This Section, which lies east of Omega, was excavated under the supervision of R. S. Young. It includes an ancient city block, forty metres long from north to south, and twenty-three metres wide, which was occupied by private houses and



Fig. 14. Valerian Wall with Marble Stele Used in Lowest Course

was bounded by four streets. On the east is the great Dromos, the main street of the Agora, which has already been described; on the west a narrow street runs parallel to the Dromos; on the north a street leads west from the Dromos; and the southern boundary is formed by a street about four metres wide, of which the continuation has been noted in Section Omega. The investigation of all these streets produced ample evidence to prove that they were in use at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century before Christ, and it seems, therefore, that this block was a residential unit from that time until the late Roman age.

Remains of houses of various periods were uncovered in the block, of which

the best preserved is one located in the southwest corner which was constructed in the fourth century before Christ. The house, which measures 11.70 m. from north to south and 10.70 m. from east to west, is arranged with three small rooms on each of the sides, grouped about a central room which has a hard floor made of pebbles and cement. This floor slopes slightly towards the west, from which side a drain leads to a large drain running under the west street. Remains of the bedding for a basin or tub are visible in the floor near the south wall of the room. It certainly served as a bath or a water-basin. The house was destroyed at the time of the sack of Sulla, but there is evidence of its re-use in the late Roman period.

Exploration of the east side of the area led to the uncovering of a retaining wall along the adjoining stretch of the Dromos. This wall, constructed of stones and cement, consists of four heavy piers, 1.70 m. thick, spaced at intervals of 3.50 m. to 4.00 m. and joined by a thinner wall of similar construction. The distance from this west edge of the street to the wall of the building bordering it on the east side is about eleven metres, but the actual width of the street itself may have been slightly less. The paving blocks of the Roman age had been removed from this stretch of the street, many of them for re-use in the Valerian Wall which was built along its east side at the end of the third century after Christ. In clearing the lower courses of the wall at this point a marble stele was revealed lying on bedrock at the bottom of the wall (Fig. 14). It lay lengthwise with one side visible from top to bottom so that it appeared to be a complete, full-sized stele; but after the blocks lying above it had been raised and the stele had been removed, it proved to be complete but only about half the usual width. The inscription gives a list of the names of ephebes of the tribe Oineis (Inv. No. I 5250). It is dated about 330 B.C. on the basis of the shapes of the letters and of the evidence provided by the names, and is important as giving the relative numbers of ephebes in the various demes of Oineis at this period.

A surprising discovery in this area was that of a large brick-lined vaulted tunnel which leads into the hillside sloping from north to south at a grade of about 3 to 1. The passageway, measuring 1.30 m. high and 0.53 m. wide, descends with low tread steps for a distance of twenty-nine metres, at which point the floor becomes flat and continues at that level for another seven metres. The floor is paved with tiles and beneath it a small terracotta conduit runs along the east side of the passage. At a point thirty-six metres from its mouth the tunnel opens into a tile-lined well, and, since the filling of the upper shaft of the well immediately collapsed, blocking the tunnel, further investigation was suspended for the present season. The date of the construction of the tunnel is in the early Roman period, and it seems probable that this elaborate engineering achievement, which has its counterpart in Section Iota Iota to the southeast, was part of the water-supply system of the period.

Wells and cisterns of various epochs in the area produced the amount of

interesting and important material which the excavator has come to expect from them. The earliest well was filled in the late Geometric period, near the end of the eighth century, the contents including the oenochoe decorated with large concentric circles which is illustrated below (Fig. 21). Other fine vases came from deposits of the seventh and early sixth centuries, some of which will also be described later. A



Fig. 15. Kernos and Figurines from a Deposit of the Fourth Century

well and a cistern beside it, dated about the middle of the fourth century, produced objects of such a type as to suggest that they were the dump from a coroplast's workshop. These include many terracotta figurines, moulds for figurines, and bits of red and white pigment for painting them. Among the types of figurines are comic and tragic actors, charging warriors, standing and seated draped women, and a Negro boy squatting beside a herm (Fig. 15). Since many fragments of kernoi were found with the terracottas, it is evident that the factory of origin was engaged in producing votive objects for dedication in the nearby Eleusinion.

SECTION IOTA IOTA

Work in this area under the direction of A. W. Parsons was a continuation of that begun in the preceding season. The circular building noted last year has been found on further exploration to have an inner diameter of 7.75 m. and to have been built in the second half of the first century after Christ. The earlier blocks re-used in its walls do not come from an older structure on the site, but from a building

with an interior diameter of 19 m. of which no trace exists in this area.

An elaborate underground system of water-works was revealed, which is similar in type to that existing in Section Alpha Alpha. A brick-lined, brick-vaulted passage leads into a small chamber, measuring 2.00m. high, 1.50m. long, and 1.00 m. wide (Fig. 16). This chamber and another of about equal size to the south of it open out of the west side of a great brick-lined shaft which lies in the southeastern corner of the area. The shaft, which has a diameter of two metres, has been cleared to a depth of 24 m. below the level of bedrock, but the bottom had not been reached by the end of the season. The shaft was open in early Byzantine times to a depth of about fifteen metres, but below that, as far as excavation has extended, the filling is an accumulation of sand and silt washed in at a late Roman date. From this deposit came the marble head of the archaic Kore which is illustrated below (Fig. 34).



Fig. 16. Brick-lined Chamber and Passage

The evidence bearing on the site of the Eleusinion found in this Section has already been presented. Some of the inscriptions and of the pieces of sculpture were taken from the walls of the small church of Hypapanti. This church had been repaired in modern times and a brick wall had been built across its front. The date of the original structure, of which only a few walls remained, had been set in the ninth century by Byzantine scholars, but careful investigation about its foundations proved that it had been built during the Turkish period, and that it had no predecessor on this site. When the church was demolished in order that the earlier

remains beneath it might be revealed, the evidence for its date was confirmed by pieces of Turkish pottery of the seventeenth century found in its walls. Beneath the church the Roman pavement of the Dromos was preserved in good condition. Just at this point the Dromos is intersected by a cross street, six metres wide, which passes through the Valerian Wall by means of a gateway. It is not yet certain how far back this street dates but it existed as early as the Hellenistic age and continued in use through the Roman and Byzantine epochs, and until it was blocked by the building of the church in the Turkish period. The gateway, which is about 2.50 m. wide, has its original pavement in place, and a pivot hole for the gate is preserved on the north side.

Among the many pieces of marble found in the original filling between the east and west faces of the Valerian Wall one fragment is of special beauty and interest. This is part of a large architectural block of Pentelic marble on which elaborate decorations are painted. The left end of the block is preserved, on the face of which a striding lioness was painted, probably in yellow, against a brilliant blue background (Fig. 17). This panel is bordered above and below by a narrow red stripe. Since the coffered undersurface of the block is decorated with a handsome palmette design the block was evidently intended to be visible from below as well as from in front, and therefore it was probably used as a lintel over a doorway. The style of the palmette and of the lioness and the general workmanship of the piece point to a date in the latter part of the fifth century before Christ.

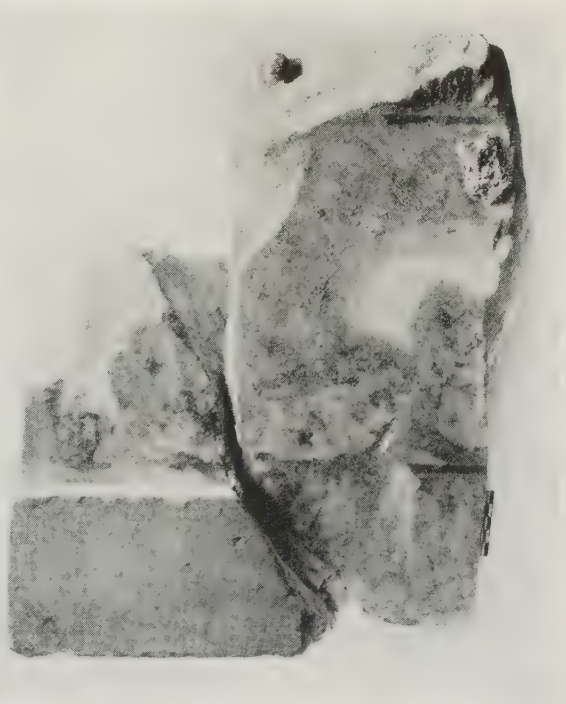


Fig. 17. Lintel Block with Painted Lioness

SECTION OMICRON ALPHA

A. W. Parsons continued the investigation, begun in 1937, of this area which is situated on the slope of the Acropolis south of Section Iota Iota. The work here was divided into two branches, one concerned with the further exploration of the Klepsydra and the other with the careful examination of the terrain south of Acropolis Street. The latter work revealed the presence of eight wells, of which three contained sherds of the Neolithic period, while four produced pottery of the sixth century

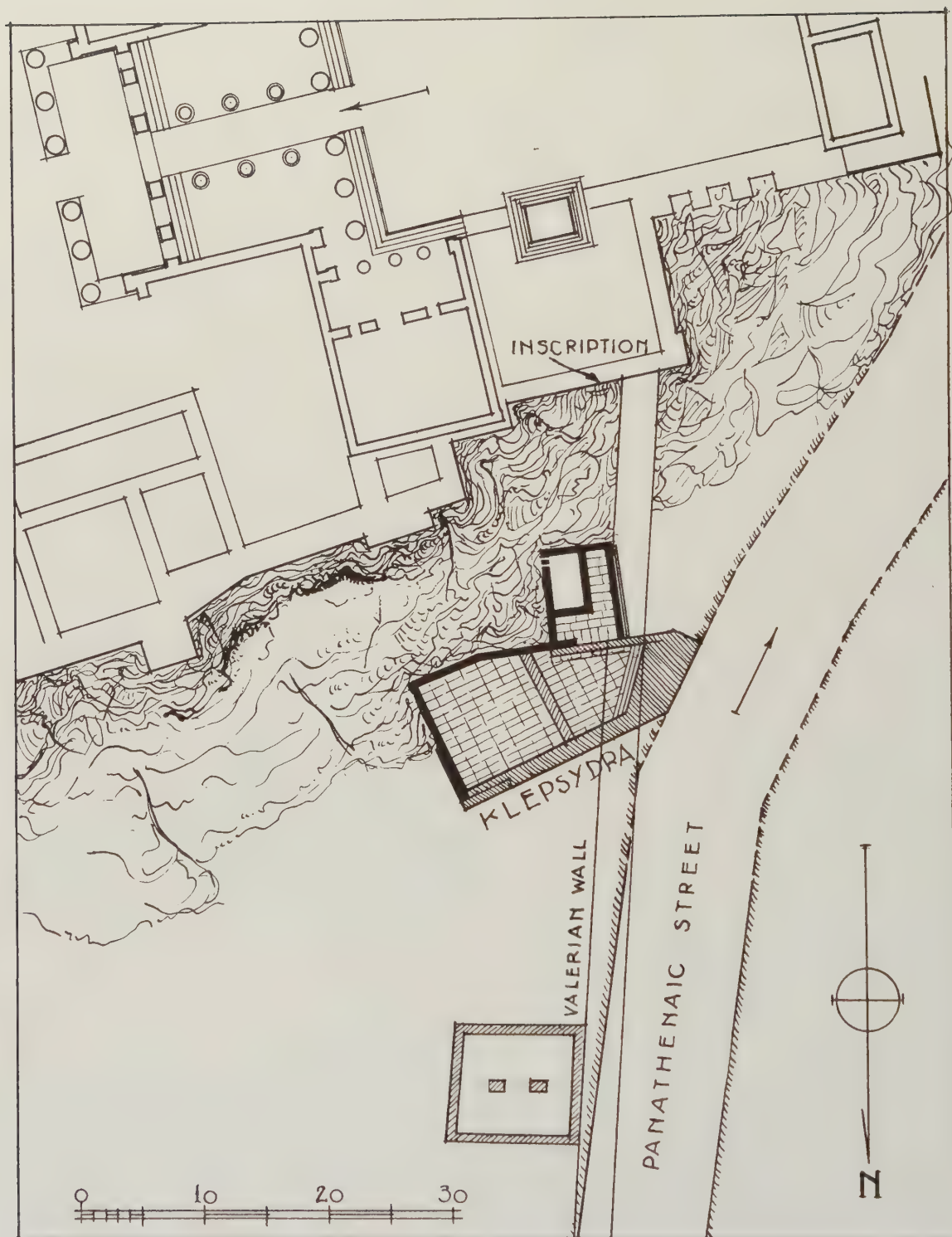


Fig. 18. The Klepsydra and its Environs

before Christ. Since three of the sixth century wells were filled with débris such as roof-tiles, mud-bricks, and fragments of wood, it is probable that they were filled on the occasion of the clearing up of the district on the retirement of the Persians after the sack of the city in 480 B.C. Some handsome black-figured vases from these wells will be illustrated later in the section of this Report devoted to the description of the pottery.

The investigation of the Klepsydra produced valuable information in regard to its construction and its chronology. The plan given in Figure 18 shows the structure



Fig. 19. Fissure in Rock Opening into Upper Chamber of Klepsydra

in relation to the Valerian Wall, to the Dromos (Panathenaic Street), and to the inscription on the wall of the Acropolis in which the Panathenaic Street is mentioned. The presence of an inscribed stele (Inv. No. I 5454), visible from below, which was lodged in a rather precarious position near the roof of the building, led to an attempt to secure it by entering the chamber through a fissure high up on its side. In order to do this it was necessary to remove a section of the Valerian Wall by which the fissure was blocked. Figure 19 shows the mouth of the fissure as seen through the breach of the wall. To the left of the fissure is the wall of the well-house which was built in the second century after Christ. The marble stele, which was easily extricated through the fissure, proved to be inscribed with a decree granting citizenship to Ainetos, son of Daemon, of Rhodes for his good services rendered in the

campaign of King Alexander in Asia. The decree was passed in the archonship of Apollodoros, 319/8 B.C.; the anagrapheus (registrar) was Eukadmos, whose deme, which had not been previously known, is Anakaia.

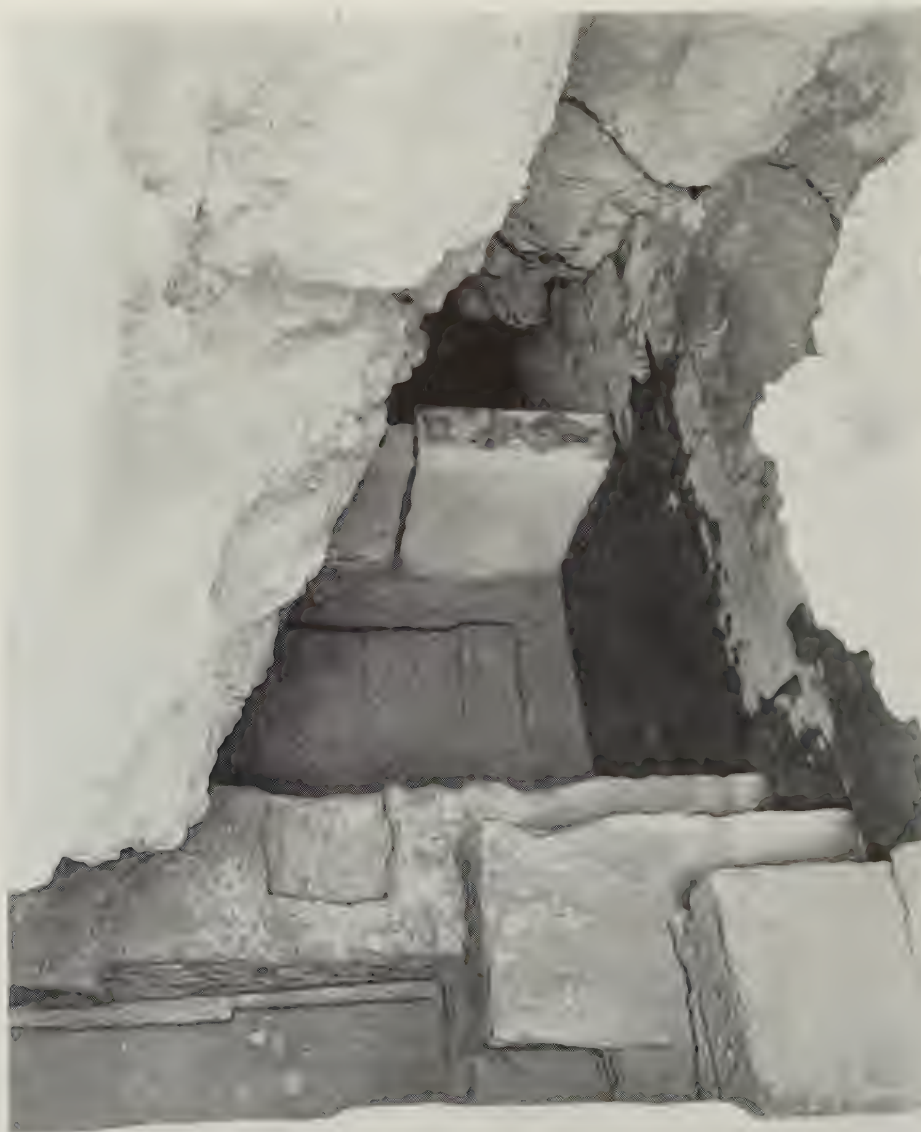


Fig. 20. View of Interior of Upper Chamber of Klepsydra

The clearance of the filling in the mouth of the fissure, which dates from Roman Imperial times, and of the area beneath it revealed much of the history of the fountain-house. Here was uncovered a small rectangular chamber with a draw-basin

in one corner, of which the top is level with the floor of poros blocks of the chamber. The south and west walls of the chamber, which are well preserved, are dated by the nature and excellence of their construction, as well as by objects from the packing behind them, in the first half of the fifth century before Christ, a date which is also suitable for the type of construction seen in the walls of the draw-basin. At that period, then, the fountain-house consisted of a great paved forecourt from which opened a small rectangular chamber, in one corner of which was a draw-basin protected by a grill or a wooden railing. In the Hellenistic period this railing was replaced by a parapet of marble blocks and the chamber was converted into an upper water-basin. Figure 20 gives a view looking down into the chamber from the mouth of the fissure, with the Hellenistic marble parapet conspicuous in the centre of the picture. The marble block on the right is a re-used base for a statue of the sixth century before Christ, which bears an inscribed dedication written retrograde across the top edge.

At the time of the siege of Sulla (86 B.C.) the building was damaged and the chamber-basin subsequently went out of use, for it was filled with a mass of débris resulting from the combat, such as lead sling-bullets, iron javelin heads, broken marbles and roof-tiles, many sherds of pottery, and fragments of Knidian wine jars. The Knidian stamps and the latest Athenian pottery with them belong in the first quarter of the first century before Christ, and this date for the deposit is confirmed by the coins in the filling, of which the latest are three of Athens, New Style, dated about 88 B.C. Three others are of the type of the New Style dated from 229 to 30, and one is of the Cleruchy of Delos dated after 166 B.C.

Subsequently, during the early Roman period, the rock roof of the chamber collapsed, huge boulders falling down and nearly filling the rectangular chamber, and one boulder slipping further and crashing through the floor of the forecourt. The boulders were never removed, but some time during the first century after Christ a general reconstruction was undertaken, and then later, but before the end of the second century, a well-house was built on top of the rocks and was connected directly with the Acropolis by means of a rock-cut, brick-vaulted stairway which led through a breach in the wall of the bastion west of the Propylaea. Thus at this epoch for the first time, as far as evidence is at present available, the spring was made directly accessible from the Acropolis. At the end of the second century the construction of the Valerian Wall across the west end of the forecourt strengthened the defenses of the spring. During subsequent ages minor changes only were made in the plan of the structure, until in the Greek War of Independence the Greeks, defending the Acropolis against the Turks, threw the Bastion of Odysseus around the fountain to guarantee the supply of water for the defenders. The investigation of further details of this important and interesting building will be continued during the next campaign.

In addition to these major fields of work Thompson made a detailed study of

the Tholos and its neighborhood, which will be published in the near future, and also began his examination of the Odeion in preparation of the publication of that building. Supplementary work was also conducted in Section Eta, where the extensive walls of a large Byzantine settlement, after full study, photographing, and recording, were removed under the supervision of Miss Alison Frantz. And Mrs. Dorothy Thompson resumed the clearance of a well and a cistern in Section Lambda Lambda, which had been left unfinished at the close of the previous season. Several interesting objects from these deposits will be described later.

Although the topographical results of the year did not necessitate any substantial additions to the ground plan of the area which is shown in its present state in Figure 3, they are unusually important for the following reasons: (1) the revelation for the first time in Athens of a complex of buildings of the archaic period; (2) the position of the boundary stone of the Agora of the sixth century before Christ; (3) the uncovering of an additional stretch of the great Dromos, the route of the Panathenaic procession; (4) the determination of the approximate location of the Eleusinion. The outlined blank blocks appearing on the plan on the southern side of the area are those which will be excavated during the next campaign.

POTTERY

The usual abundance of pottery was secured during the year, and as in the past the best preserved vases were found in wells, of which the number seems to be almost inexhaustible. The prehistoric periods are represented only by sherds which are similar in type to the complete vases found last year and require no additional commentary. Likewise the large quantity of pottery of the later periods, Hellenistic and Roman, is essentially duplication of material already in hand, which has been sufficiently described in previous Reports. The present season, however, produced a rich harvest of well-preserved vases of the archaic period, which has heretofore been rather scantily represented in the Agora collection, and the following account will deal mainly with these vases.

A vase of the late Geometric period, about the end of the eighth century before Christ, has a rather uncommon type of decoration (Fig. 21: Inv. No. P 12104). This is an oenochoe which was found in a well together with a number of other plain or simply decorated vases, black-glazed cups and skyphoi. The main element of decoration is a series of four large concentric circles, the centre of each of which is occupied by a star design; an hour-glass is placed in each corner on the shoulder and a wavy snake-like line decorates the ribbon handle. The ornaments are carefully and neatly painted in reddish-brown color on the buff surface of the clay. This vase is undoubtedly of Attic manufacture, but the type of decoration with large concentric circles is characteristic of contemporary pottery from Cyprus; it thus illustrates Cypriote influence in Athens, and it furnishes the Agora collection with a new type.



Fig. 21. Late Geometric Oenochoe



Fig. 22. Proto-attic Oenochoe.
Restored Painting by Piet de Jong

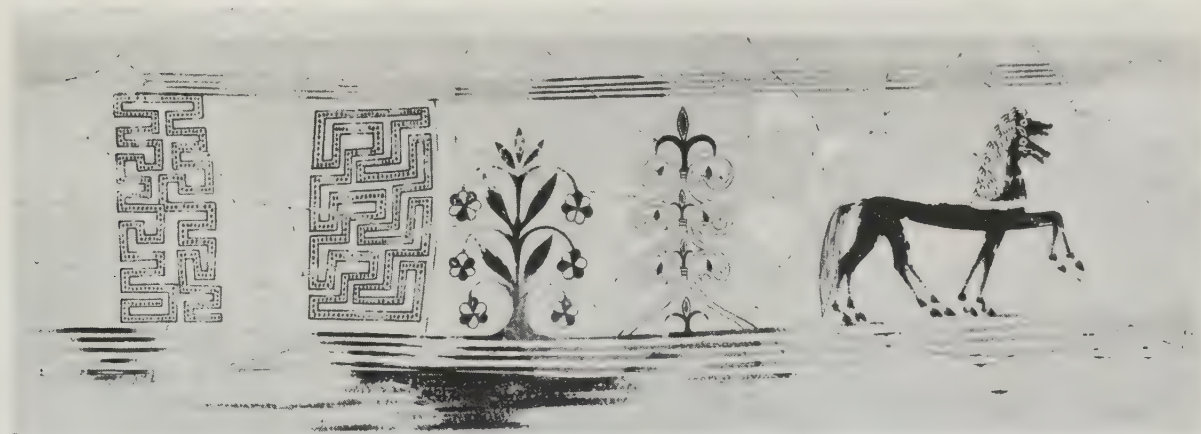


Fig. 23. Development of the Decorative Frieze of the Oenochoe. Drawn by Piet de Jong

During the first half of the seventh century the Attic potters were trying to free themselves from the restraints of the linear laws of geometric design and were experimenting with floral and figurative combinations. An excellent illustration of this experimental stage of ceramic development in Athens is provided by the decorative frieze of an oenochoe which is to be dated shortly before the middle of the century. A view of the vase is given in Figure 22 (Inv. No. P 12178), which is made from a

restored painting by Piet de Jong, and Figure 23 shows a development of the decorative band, also drawn by de Jong. The decorations are done in black to dark brown color on the buff ground. At the neck and the base are broad bands of solid color, around the shoulder is a wavy line, and the frieze around the body of the vase is set between borders above and below, each composed of four narrow bands. The frieze is extraordinary for its selection of subjects and for its lack of any symmetrical arrangement. On the extreme left are two vertical bands of variously designed meander patterns; these are followed by two different floral motives, of which the first is naturalistic in effect, while the second is a stylistic arrangement of lotus blossoms and their intertwined stems. On the extreme right is a pair of prancing horses, of which the second horse is represented only by his raised head and by the correct number of legs. In spite of the crudity of composition the artist gives ample evidence of originality and imagination, and shows considerable facility in handling his technical equipment. The work, in fact, gives promise of the great development in ceramic design that was to occur during the succeeding century.



Fig. 24. Another Proto-attic Oenochoe

Another Proto-attic oenochoe is also an experimental piece; its effect is less pleasing (Fig. 24: Inv. No. P 12612). The vase is covered with a black-brown glaze except for a reserved panel on one side. On the neck this is filled by a scroll pattern with the end of a spear in the middle, while on the body the centre of the panel is

occupied by the rear half of a lion, with small decorations in the corners. The bisected lion is symmetrically placed in the panel and his body is finished in a neat curve; thus the artist had evidently planned this odd motive as an ornamental unit, but fortunately such a perversion of artistic taste never survived the stage of experimentation.

With the advent of the sixth century the black-figured technique became the popular style in Athens, and of this group two fine early examples were secured from a well with a deposit dating from the late seventh and the early sixth century. One of these is an oenochoe decorated with an archaic siren in a panel on one side; the other is an amphora which is covered with black glaze except for a large panel on each side which is filled with the head and neck of a horse (Fig. 25: Inv. No. P 12526). The bridle straps, eye, ear, and the lines of the mane are made by incisions. No traces of color are visible. Amphoras with this characteristic type of decoration are not uncommon, but this example is one of the earliest of its class. Another black-figured vase found during the year, which is earlier than any other known Attic specimen of its type, dating from about the middle of the sixth century, is an alabastron, notable for the beauty and delicacy of its figurative decoration; this vase is the subject of a special study by Eugene Vanderpool published in this number of *Hesperia*.

Among the sixth century vases from a well in the centre of the Tholos is a handsome black-figured pelike with a decorative scene in a panel on each side. On the front a combat between two men is represented (Fig. 26: Inv. No. P 12561). A beardless youth on the right holds a double axe in his left hand and reaches out his right arm towards his opponent. He is nude except for a short cloak draped about the loins; his long hair is caught up behind by a fillet. Beside him a knotted club is resting on the ground and a quiver hangs behind him in the branches of a tree. The second combatant is a nude bearded man who is almost on his knees, bending far over to the left and reaching for a large

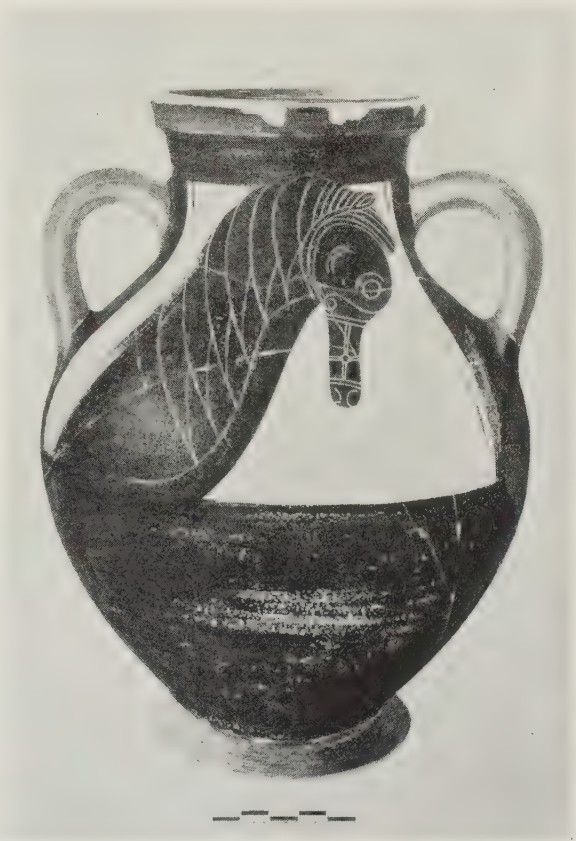


Fig. 25. Black-figured Amphora.
Restored Painting by Piet de Jong

stone which he has clasped in his right hand. His embroidered cloak hangs on a branch behind him. Although the club and the quiver are the usual attributes of Herakles, the weapon carried by the youth, the double axe, and the manner in which his long hair is arranged are characteristics of Theseus, and the scene presumably illustrates one of the deeds of that hero. The decoration of the back panel of the vase, consisting of a group of Dionysos between two satyrs, is less carefully executed, and the scene depicted is less elaborate.

The same well, which continued in use until 480 B.C., produced a great many



Fig. 26. Black-figured Pelike with Combat Scene,
Foot Missing

complete or nearly complete vases, of which a selected group is illustrated in Figure 27. The objects from this rich deposit which have been catalogued are ten lamps of late sixth century type, two archaic terracotta female heads, a terracotta dove, a spindle whorl, a loom-weight, and eighty-nine vases, among which the following shapes are represented: amphora, bowl, cup, hydria, jug, krater, kylix, lekythos, lid, oenochoe, olpe, pelike, pitcher, plate, psykter, pyxis, salt-cellar. Besides these objects twenty-five boxes of sherds were secured, from which eventually other vases will be put together. All this material forms an important collection which can be dated within rather close limits.

In the early part of the sixth century Attic taste was strongly influenced by decorative motives introduced from the East, and birds and animals, often of fantastic type, appear in profusion on the vases. A magnificent example of this orientalizing animal style of the

first quarter of the sixth century is a large conical stand for a vase, 0.32 m. high, which is almost completely preserved (Fig. 28: Inv. No. P 13012). The surface is closely filled with birds and animals arranged in four zones of graduated heights, and rosettes are thickly scattered over the background wherever any space is available. The front and back points of the design are clearly indicated, the former by two heraldic units, symmetrical lions in the top row and two cocks facing each other over a palmette in the second, and by a huge boar in the third row; the latter by a single goose in each



Fig. 27. A Group of Vases from the Well in the Tholos



Fig. 28. Vase-stand of Orientalizing Style

of the first and second rows and by a flying eagle in the third. The well-preserved purple and white colors, which were used liberally on the figures, greatly enhance the richness of the general decorative scheme of this superb vase.

A fine black-figured amphora came from the same well deposit on the slope of the Acropolis which produced the stand. Rays extend from its base, and palmettes adorn the neck, while the body of the vase is decorated on each side by a group which is framed by palmettes in the four corners. On one side a quadriga is represented with

the charioteer mounting the car (Fig. 29: Inv. No. P 13013). On the farther side of the horses stands a helmeted warrior who carries a shield and two spears; a large dog in front of the horses has a raised forepaw and his head turned back. On the other side of the vase is a group of three standing persons. A woman on the left, with hands raised, faces a warrior whose body is concealed by a large circular shield. Behind the soldier stands a draped man with white hair and beard, who holds a staff, while beside him is a dog with his long pointed nose to the ground. Again in the case of this vase much of the purple and white colors used for decorative adjuncts has been preserved.

A neighboring well on the Acropolis hillside produced much coarse pottery, a little glazed ware, a two-stater weight, and a large fragment of a huge black-figured amphora which has its shoulder band decorated with scenes of the battle of the centaurs and Lapiths (Inv. No. P 13126). Figure 30 gives de Jong's development of the battle scene and of



Fig. 29. Black-figured Amphora.
Restored Painting by Piet de Jong

the palmette border above it. The combatants are arranged in four groups of pairs engaged in single combat. The first group on the left is completely preserved and the second group is nearly complete, but the other two are fragmentary. In the first group the warrior has helmet and greaves, but no body armor; he holds a large shield on his left arm and with his spear has pierced the side of the centaur, whose torso is twisted to a frontal position and whose round face is framed by long shaggy hair and

beard. The Lapith of the second group is fully armed and with drawn sword is facing a centaur over the body of a fallen comrade. The centaur, who holds a heavy stone with both his hands, is represented with his grotesque head in profile. In the third group a centaur is trying to grasp, with his hairy arm extended, a warrior who holds shield and spear. The metal shoulder bands of this man's corselet have decorative terminals in the shape of panthers' heads. The vivacity and imagination displayed in the painting of this stereotyped theme cause the greater regret for the complete loss of the main paintings which decorated the body of this vase.



Fig. 30. Development of Decoration on Black-figured Amphora.
Drawing by Piet de Jong

The presence in the hillside wells of a number of vases decorated with equestrian groups inspires the suggestion that they may have been originally dedicated in the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, which was situated somewhere in the near neighborhood. Several of these amphoras are nearly complete; one of them has a panel on each side filled by a prancing horse ridden by a youth. Another member of the group has its panels decorated with a rearing winged horse behind which a man is standing. Still another is decorated on each side with a group consisting of a youth on a galloping horse who is followed by a running man of large size (Fig. 31: Inv. No. P 13036).

In spite of the uniformly careless workmanship in the painting of these groups, the liberal use of color provides a pleasing decorative effect.

An unusually interesting vase from one of the sixth century wells on the slope of the Acropolis is an amphora of the type called Fikellura. The new example exhibits the characteristic traits of the group. The shape is elongated, the mouth and shoulder handles are small, and the main decoration consists of a network of diamond-shaped

lozenges (Fig. 32: Inv. No. P 13009).

An inverted lotus is painted between the handles just below the rim, and stars and rosettes adorn the shoulder. Below the diamond pattern is a narrow band of crescents, which are typically characteristic of this ware, and at the bottom are rays springing from the base. Since examples of this ware, which was manufactured probably somewhere in Asia Minor, are rarely found in Greece, this well-preserved specimen makes a welcome addition to the Agora collection of pottery.

The vases which have been described are the better preserved and more interesting of those which have been secured during the season, but among the 2800 items of pottery catalogued are many other important pieces which have necessarily been omitted, either because mending has been postponed for a further sorting of sherds, or because the vases more or less repeat types previously described and illustrated. Enough has been shown, however, to emphasize the richness of this excavation and the importance to the

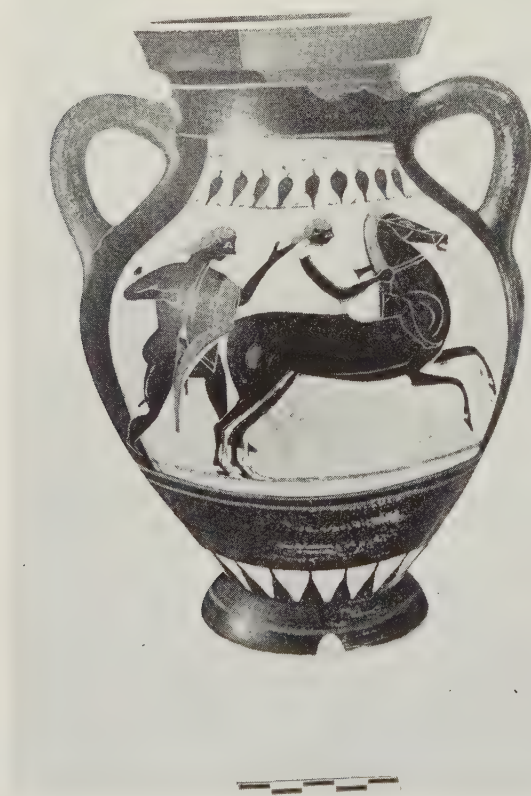


Fig. 31. Black-figured Amphora with Equestrian Scene.

Restored Painting by Piet de Jong

excavator of the existence of so many ancient wells.

SCULPTURE

The discoveries of the year in the field of sculpture are notable for some unusual pieces and for the uncommonly good preservation of several of them. Although Greek works are not lacking, most of the pieces, as in the past, are products of artists of the

Roman period. Only a small selected number of the 131 catalogued items can be described in this Report.

The earliest piece of sculpture so far found in the Agora is a marble statuette of Neolithic type (Fig. 33: Inv. No. S 1097). The female figure, which is conspicuously steatopygous, is represented in a twisted position with the upper part of the body facing front and the legs shown in side view. The best interpretation of the pose seems to be that of a figure lying on its stomach. In this position the height of the figure is 0.09 m. and its length is 0.137 m. The head is missing and the upper arms are partly broken; the lower arms are folded across the chest. In type the figure resembles a Neolithic statuette in Cambridge (Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 170, fig. 115), but no parallel has been found for its curious twisted shape. The discovery of this statuette in the Agora is particularly interesting because of the many Neolithic vases which have been found in the area of the excavations.

A long period of time separates the statuette from the next piece of sculpture in point of age, an archaic head of a woman made of Island marble (Fig. 34: Inv. No. S 1071). The nose, left eye, and chin are injured and the head is broken at the back, but the right side is well preserved. The face is round and rather flat; the eyes are bulging; the hair is arranged with terminal ringlets on the forehead, and in long wavy curls at the back. The ear is small and graceful, and a large round earring is fastened to its lobe. This head resembles the type of the Korai found on the Acropolis, but attempts to associate it with a surviving statue have been unsuccessful. It is probable, however, that the head, which should be dated in the last quarter of the



Fig. 32. Fikellura Amphora.
Restored Painting by Piet de Jong

sixth century, was broken from a statue dedicated on the Acropolis, and that in some disaster it was thrown over the north wall and thence found its way into the late filling of the brick-lined shaft in Section Iota Iota, which has been mentioned above.

Inasmuch as most sculptured heads from excavations are in a more or less damaged state, it is a pleasurable contrast to find a handsome head with its features preserved intact. This is a large marble head of the mature bearded god Hermes, executed in archaic style with the hair arranged on the forehead in three rows of formal curls, and with a long wavy curl hanging down on each shoulder (Fig. 35: Inv. No. S 1077). The nature of the break at the back indicates that the head had

surmounted a post, and it is identified by its resemblance to a head on a post, found at Pergamon, with the inscribed statement that it was the Hermes before the Gates by Alcamenes. Since the discovery of the statue at Pergamon many replicas of this famous work have been noted, but the new copy from the Agora is outstanding among them from the point of view both of preservation and of workmanship. Although it came from a cistern with a deposit dating from the early third century after Christ, it must be regarded as a product of the early Roman period, or possibly even of the Greek period.

Quite different in type is the youthful, lithe, athletic Hermes, the messenger of the gods, who is represented by a small statue, about two-thirds life size, which is completely preserved except for the right hand and a bit of the wing of the caduceus and part of the arm adjoining it (Fig. 36:



Fig. 33. Marble Statuette

Inv. No. S 1054). It was found in a well broken into seven pieces, but the pieces make perfect joins. The god stands on a plinth with his weight borne on the right leg, which is supported against the trunk of a palm tree. The figure is nude except for a chlamys which is wrapped around the neck and hangs down over the left forearm. He carries his characteristic symbol, the winged caduceus, in his left hand and in the right he may have held a purse; small wings are tied with ribbons around his ankles. Although chisel marks have been left on the back of the figure, the front was smoothly finished, and the bony structure of the torso is sketchily suggested, with a deeply moulded line about the groin. The statue is related in type and style



Fig. 35. Hermes of Alcamenes

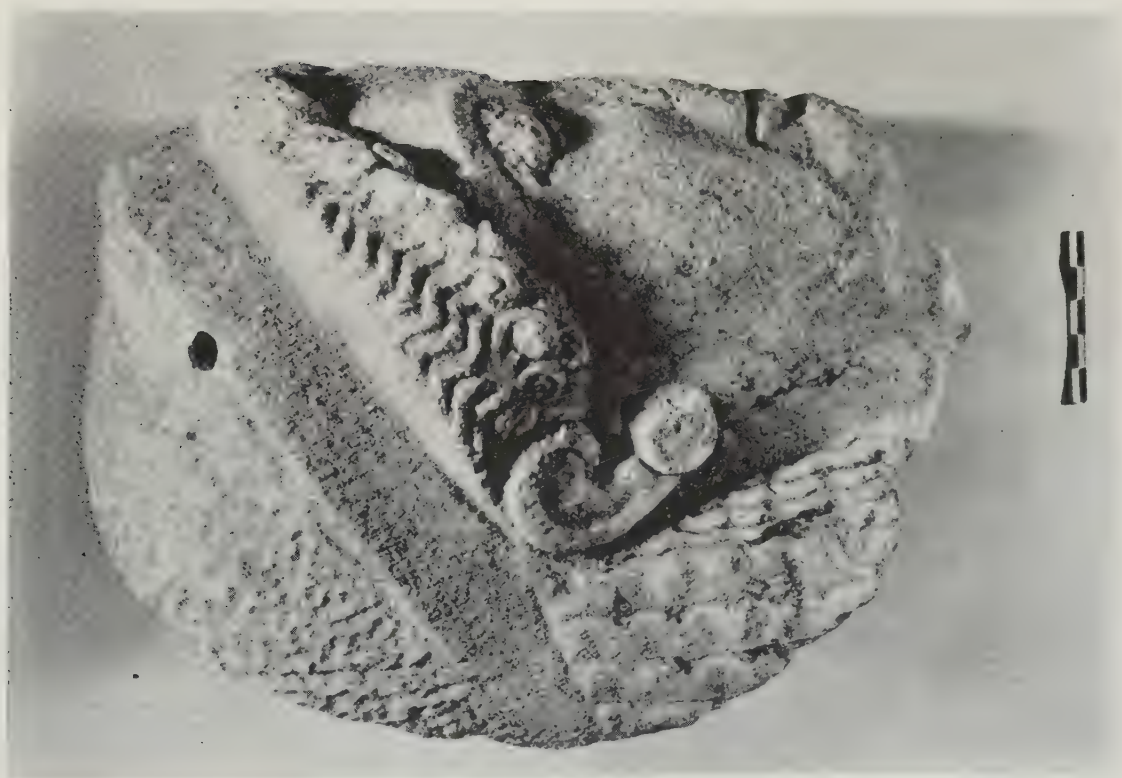


Fig. 34. Head of Archaic Kore

to various works made under Praxitelean influence, such as the Hermes of Andros in Athens, the Hermes Belvedere in the Vatican, and the Hermes Farnese in the British Museum. This type of Hermes must be descended from some famous original work of the fourth century before Christ. The excellent technique of the



Fig. 36. Statue of Hermes

griechischen Herme, p. 55). It is interesting to note that in spite of the careless workmanship this figure is a product of the Greek period, since nothing in this well can be dated later than the sack of Sulla, 86 B.C.

Agora replica suggests that it was made in the Augustan period; the contents of the well from which it came prove that it was broken and thrown away at the end of the fifth century after Christ.

Hermes are usually surmounted by the head of Hermes, either bearded or beardless, but sometimes they have the heads of other gods, particularly Dionysos. It is unusual to see a herm with the head of a woman, but such a herm was found in a well with Hellenistic contents situated northeast of the Hephaisteion. The piece, which is complete except for a break at the bottom of the shaft, is 0.32 m. high (Fig. 37: Inv. No. S 1086). There are no arms or projections at the shoulders, but the shaft is draped with a cloak hanging in stylized folds. The face of the woman is round; she has full cheeks and her hair is brushed back in waves from a central parting. Pausanias states (I, 14, 7; 19, 2) that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania lay near the Hephaisteion and that the image of the goddess was square like that of the herms. Therefore this marble herm with a woman's head, found in a well near the Hephaisteion, may be safely identified as representing the type of the statue of Aphrodite Ourania (for the type see R. Lullies, *Die Typen der*

From the same well came a remarkably well preserved ivory cross-bar for a sword hilt (Fig. 38: Inv. No. BI 457). At the top is a cutting to receive the handle and at the bottom an opening where the blade was inserted. Along the upper edge is a scroll decoration made by incisions which were filled with some metal, of which no traces remain. Since there is no stain about the edges of the incisions it is probable that the inlay was of gold rather than of silver. Such a gold design would harmonize handsomely with the beautiful polished surface of the ivory. The graining of the ivory proves that the piece was cut from a tusk with a diameter of at least 118 mm., which would indicate a large elephant or a mammoth. An extraordinary fact about the contents of this well is that they included the bones of between one hundred and two hundred new-born infants, and of more than eighty-five dogs. The combination in a single deposit of a statuette of Aphrodite Ourania, a magnificent and possibly ceremonial sword, and many bones of infants is certainly suggestive and recalls Pausanias' story that this sanctuary of Aphrodite was founded by Aegeus in order to propitiate the goddess who had condemned him to childlessness. Although infant sacrifice was not practiced in Greece, perhaps infants who died at childbirth were dedicated to the goddess as a symbolic sacrifice and a token survival of the original oriental ritual. Some reason must have existed for this mass accumulation of infants' bones, with very few bones of adults among them.

A small marble head of a youth is preserved in perfect condition (Fig. 39: Inv. No. S 1021). This head also originally surmounted a shaft, as is indicated by the squared corner of the post at the left shoulder. The modelling of the features is but casually suggested and the surface of the marble has been much smoothed, but it does not have the high polish characteristic of works of the Hadrianic period. It seems rather to be a good copy made in the age of Augustus after a Greek work of the fourth



Fig. 37. Herm of Aphrodite Ourania

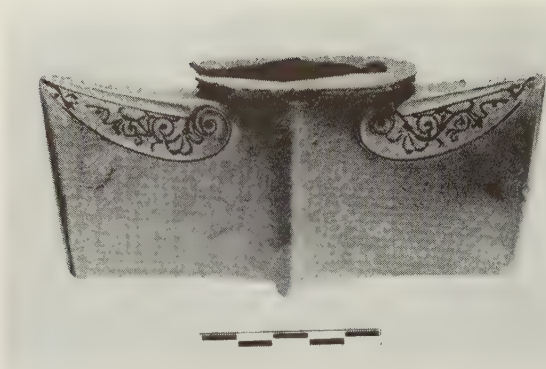


Fig. 38. Ivory Cross-bar for Sword Hilt

Since a diadem crowns the head and the features are of idealized type, this may be interpreted as the head of the goddess Hera. There is, however, little expression to the face, and the cheeks are quite devoid of modelling. This head is an almost exact replica of the head of the Hera Barberini in the Vatican. The similarities are conspicuous in the diadem, the arrangement of the hair, the sharp line marking the transition from forehead to hair, the shape of the forehead, the sharply cut eyebrows and eyelids, the mouth with the thick under lip, and the shape of the chin. Moreover the preserved neck shows that the head was set on the body at a slight angle to the left, like its position on the Vatican statue. The prototype of the work represented by the Barberini Hera and other replicas has been attributed to Alcamenes.

The head of a bearded man, larger than life size, was taken from a late Byzantine wall in Section Sigma (Fig. 41: Inv. No. S 1052). Draped over the head is a veil, or an end of the cloak, from beneath the edges of which long locks of hair extend. The man has a

century before Christ. The features are too idealistic for a portrait, and the head may represent the type of a victorious athlete or perhaps even the youthful Hermes himself.

A life-sized, marble head of a woman was found in the well from which came the statue of Hermes. It was broken in three pieces, but these join and make the head complete except for some chipping on the forehead, nose, and chin (Fig. 40: Inv. No. S 1055).



Fig. 39. Head of Youthful Hermes



Fig. 40. Head of Hera



Fig. 41. Colossal Marble Head

moustache and a long, full curly beard. Although drill holes are conspicuous on beard and hair, the cheeks are well modelled and the features have a majestic benign expression. This type of bearded head is used indiscriminately to portray Zeus, Poseidon, or Asklepios, but the veil on the head is the sacerdotal symbol of an Emperor when offering a sacrifice. It therefore seems reasonable to interpret this head as that of a Roman Emperor who is represented in the aspect of one of the major gods, perhaps Zeus.

It is extraordinary and unexpected to find in the Agora pieces of sculpture in so good a state of preservation as some of those here shown. Happy chance has brought to the excavator rich



Fig. 42. Terracotta Hedgehog

fruit from a field which, it was supposed, had already been thoroughly harvested in ancient times, and though no signed piece from the hand of any of the great Greek sculptors has yet been found, many works repeat and reflect the creations of the masters.

TERRACOTTAS

Many terracotta figurines are brought to light by the excavations as well as the moulds from which the figures were cast, and the presence of moulds in large numbers in one neighborhood obviously indicates the proximity of factories where the figurines were produced. Two interesting terracottas were taken from a filling deposit of the fourth century before Christ. One of these is a small hedgehog which has round knobs scattered over the body, three on each side and four along the spine (Fig. 42: Inv. No. T 1731). The knobs have in alternate arrangement either round holes or shallow grooves. It is difficult to conjecture a satisfactory interpretation for them in spite of numerous suggestions which have been made.

The other terracotta from the same deposit is a plastic vase with the front arranged in the shape of a grotto, framed by vine leaves and bunches of grapes,



Fig. 43. Plastic Vase Decorated with the Infant Dionysos

in which the infant Dionysos is standing erect (Fig. 43: Inv. No. P 12822). The baby god has a fat body and cheeks, wears a round cap on his head, and holds in his left hand an object which resembles a ribbed patera. This scene illustrates the legend of the birth of Dionysos which was current as early as the time of the Homeric Hymns, for one of them addressed to Dionysos relates how this son of Zeus and Semele was given by his father, in order to avoid the wrath of his legitimate spouse Hera, to the fair-haired nymphs, who reared him carefully in a sweet-smelling cave in the dells of Nysa (*Hymni Hom.*, XXVI, 1-6).

Several terracottas are evidently toys or offerings to children, such as a small dog from a context of the sixth century before Christ, or a toy horse which ran on wheels, with a hole through its nose for a leading string. A baby's rattle is in the shape of a large dove (Fig. 44: Inv. No. T 1854). This object, which belongs to the late Roman period, is preserved intact with the rattling pebble still in the interior; its lower part is conveniently shaped for the hand to grasp. Since 331 new terracottas were catalogued during the season,



Fig. 44. Baby's Rattle of Terracotta

it will be apparent that it has been possible to make only a very small selection for inclusion in this Report. Many of the others are of much interest and importance, and all are being studied in preparation for publication by Mrs. Thompson.

LAMPS

With the lamps as with the terracottas the excavator is overwhelmed by an embarrassment of riches, the 426 new pieces of the year bringing the total in the Agora collection up to 3578. Again as in the past all periods are represented among the new discoveries



Fig. 45. Roman Plastic Lamp

from the seventh century before Christ down to Byzantine times, but only one example has been selected for illustration here, an amusing plastic lamp from a Roman context

of the third century after Christ. This is in the shape of a high boot from the upper part of which a grotesque head protrudes (Fig. 45: Inv. No. L 3501). The hole for the wick is in the tip of the toe, and from the top of the head extends a pierced knob for convenience in suspending or carrying the lamp; the filling hole for the oil is placed behind this knob. The head, part human and part animal, has enormous ears, wide canine mouth and jaws, and a huge humped nose. The large collection of lamps is being classified and studied, preparatory to publication, by R. H. Howland.

COINS

The number of coins found during the year is 9,590 which, added to the 70,325 previously secured, bring the grand total from the Agora up to nearly 80,000.



Fig. 46. Pergamene Coin of Commodus

While good progress has been made with the cleaning, identifying and cataloguing of this mass of material it is not possible to evaluate promptly the results of any one season's work. In many instances, as in the earlier seasons, the coins have supplied the excavator with important chronological evidence for stratified deposits. The oldest coin secured this year is a silver drachma of Attic standard, which was found in perfect condition, together with pottery of the late sixth century, in the uppermost floor packing of the archaic building southeast of the Tholos. It is of the type dated 572-561 B.C., having on the obverse a four-spoke wheel, and on the reverse an incuse punch.

An interesting bronze coin of the Roman period is an issue of the province of Judaea, which can be exactly dated in the second year of the First Revolt of the Jews, 67-68 A.D. On the obverse are a vase with two small curved handles, and the date "Year two." The reverse type is a vine leaf around which is the Phoenician inscription which reads in translation: "Deliverance of Zion."

Another uncommon coin is a bronze piece of the city of Pergamon which was

issued in the reign of the Emperor Commodus, 176-192 A.D., and is notable for its large size (diameter: 0.046 m.) and for its fine state of preservation (Fig. 46). Bronze pieces of this size and weight are often classed as medallions, and it is possible that this one, which shows very little wear, was issued for some special occasion rather than for general circulation. On the obverse is the laureate draped bust of Commodus with an inscription giving his name and titles. The reverse legend gives the name of the mint magistrate, which is preceded by the formula designating him as president of the Board of Strategi. In the exergue are written the name of the city, Pergamon, and its honorary title. The reverse type is a statue of Asklepios, patron god of the city, which stands on a pedestal between two youthful centaurs with torches. Centaurs are associated with the Asklepios cult because of the legend according to which the centaur Cheiron was the instructor of Asklepios in the art of healing.

With the steadily increasing number of coins the largest groups continue regularly to be the Hellenistic and Roman issues of Athens, the Roman Imperial issues of the fourth century, and the late Byzantine coins. When the excavations shall have been concluded and opportunity is available to analyze the entire sum of numismatic material, it will be possible to deduce some interesting conclusions in regard to the history and activity of the city at various epochs.

INSCRIPTIONS

Some of the more significant of the 550 inscriptions brought to light during the present season have already been mentioned. Numerous others provide interesting information. The extent and variety of the possessions of Alcibiades are indicated by the auction list of his effects set up in the Eleusinion, of which many more pieces were secured. A decree found near the Tholos was passed in honor of a commission elected to supervise the equipment of the Tholos, the provision and renewal of furniture and mattresses, and of objects such as bowls and cups (Inv. No. I 5344). The style of the lettering of the decree fixes the date in the early part of the second century before Christ, but the archon, Hippias, who had not been previously known, cannot be accurately placed because the names of the secretary and of his deme are missing.

A new piece of the Athenian Tribute List for the year 430/29 gives the caption for the list of Hellespontine cities making supplementary payments in order to meet their full assessment, and adds to that list the names of three cities not hitherto recorded, Neandreaia, Arisbe, and Priapos (Inv. No. I 5229, published by Meritt in the first number of *Hesperia* for the current year [p. 52]). A piece of the inscription with the building accounts of the Erechtheum is part of the record for the year 408/7 (Inv. No. I 5394). It gives the name of Theodotos of Acharnae, which occurs in the record of the preceding year, and also the name of [. . .]tippos Kettios, which is not found elsewhere in the accounts. Another fragmentary inscription, which joins pieces previously found, is part of a decree passed in the year of the archon Diomedon, which lists the contributors to a fund for the repair of the walls and for the defense of the city.

The new discoveries have necessitated some readjustment of the list of Athenian archons, and changes and corrections of published inscriptions are frequently made necessary by the appearance of fragments with the missing parts which had been incorrectly restored. Thus the inscriptions of the current season, just as in past years, have furnished the epigraphical specialists of the staff with abundant material for study and research.

OSTRAKA

The collection of ostraka from the Agora was increased during the year by the discovery of forty-two additional ballots, but with one exception all are repetitions of names previously secured. The one exception, however, is an important

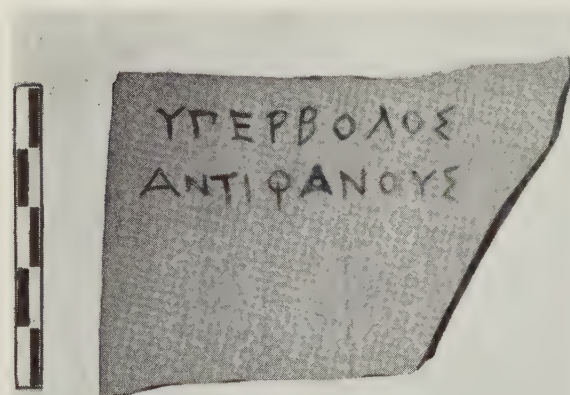


Fig. 47. Ostrakon of Hyperbolos

piece, the appearance of which has been eagerly awaited. This is an ostrakon with the painted name of Hyperbolos, son of Antiphanes (Fig. 47: Inv. No. P 12494), who was ostracized in 418-416 (the exact date is not definitely known), and was the last of the Athenians to whom this practice was applied. According to the account of Plutarch (*Nicias*, XI; *Alcibiades*, XIII) the parties of Nicias and of Alcibiades were striving to ostracize each the leader of the rival faction. But when they realized the uncertainty of the outcome of the balloting because of the almost equal

strength of the two camps they agreed to join forces and all vote against the unpopular politician Hyperbolos. The people were so disgusted with this farcical result that the practice of ostracism was abolished. The fact that the name is neatly painted on the sherd is evidence that the ballots had been prepared in advance for distribution to the voters at the polls. This is the first ostrakon of Hyperbolos which has so far been found, and its discovery satisfactorily rounds out the comprehensive collection of ostraka from the Agora.

Such are the main results of the work of the year. They have been extremely valuable for the topographical information secured and for the richness and variety of the individual discoveries. One more season of excavation on a large scale remains to be conducted in the blocks on the south side of the area, where sixty-one modern houses were demolished during the Autumn of 1938. Subsequently, after the construction and organization of the new Museum, the areas must be excavated which are now occupied by the temporary Museum and by the workrooms of the staff. Finally, the area of excavation must be cleared of any intrusive encumbrances and must be arranged in orderly condition for exhibition and preservation.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

AN ALABASTRON BY THE AMASIS PAINTER

The 1938 campaign of the Agora Excavations produced a considerable amount of black-figured pottery, of which one of the most important and interesting pieces was the small clay alabastron illustrated in Figures 1-7.¹ It is distinguished not only as a fine piece of pottery and as a first-rate example of miniaturist vase painting, but also in that it may be attributed to the Amasis painter, one of the leading black-figure artists of the middle of the sixth century.

It was found broken into many fragments in a well of the third quarter of the sixth century.² The condition of the vase can be seen clearly in the photographs, Figures 1-6. Most of the body is preserved, but the mouth and neck, one of the small lug-handles, and fragments of the body and bottom are missing. The surface, particularly at the back, has been somewhat damaged. No restorations have been made on the vase itself; the restored drawing shown in Figure 7 is from a water color by Piet de Jong.

The vase is very small. Its original height was probably about four inches and its diameter is about one and seven-eighths inches.³ The main decoration consists of a single row of figures which runs entirely around the vase at the middle of the body. Above this are two subsidiary zones of pattern, the upper of tongues, alternately black and red,⁴ the lower of vertical zigzag lines. The lower zone is broken by the two little unpierced black lug-handles. Below the figured zone there is an undecorated area, and on the rounded bottom of the vase there is a circular medallion decorated with double rays.

In the main zone, which is continuous all the way around the vase, there are eight figures. They fall naturally into two groups, three figures on the front of the vase and five on the back. At the centre of the front is the principal figure, a woman with double wings wearing a long peplos. She is running to the right and looking back over her shoulder. She is probably to be identified as Nike or Iris, though lack of specific attributes other than the wings makes certainty impossible. It may be that she is merely a decorative figure without mythological significance, as are all the other figures on the vase. Facing her on either side stands a man in a long cloak holding a spear.⁵

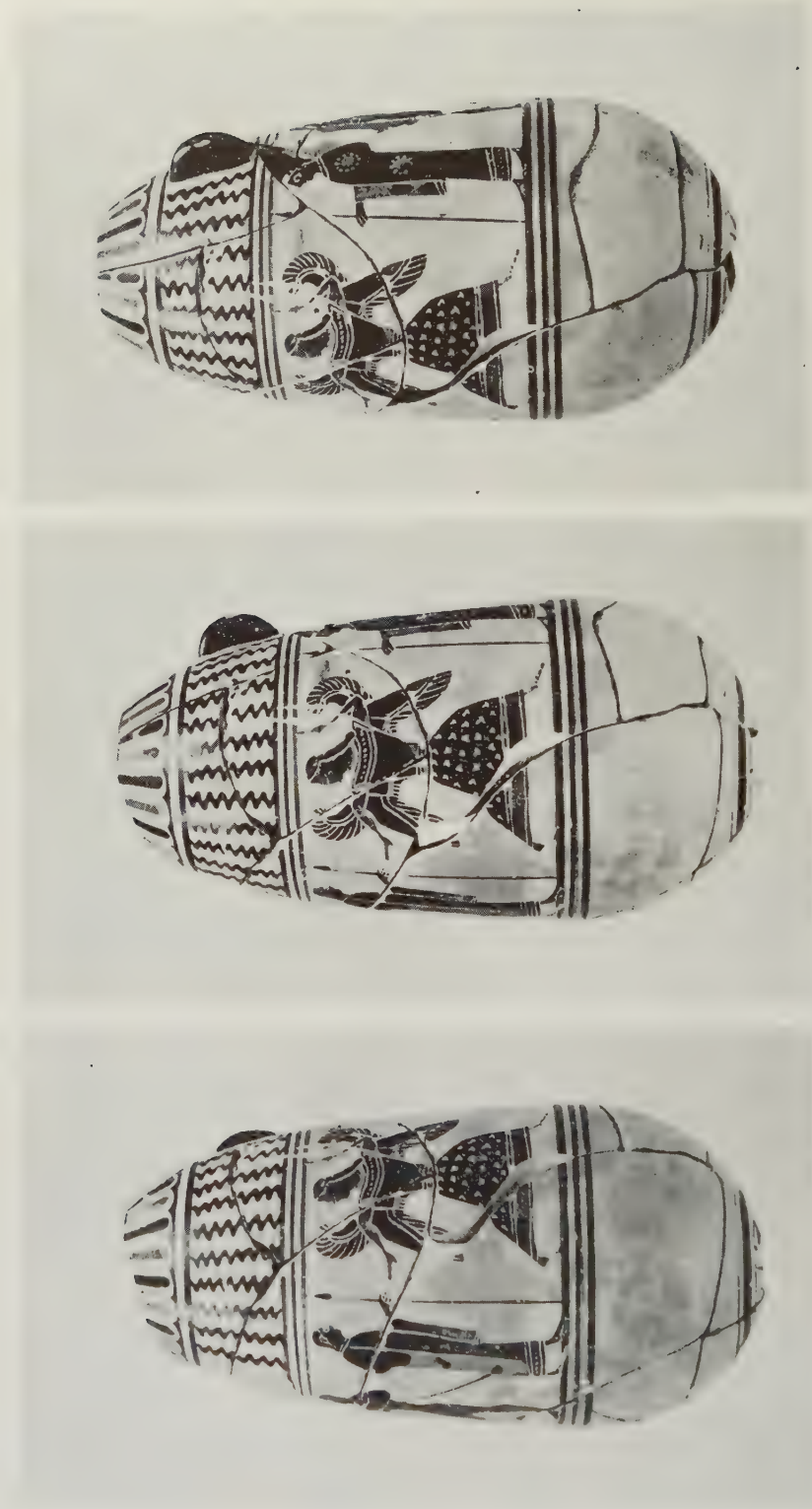
¹ Agora inventory P 12628. A preliminary notice has appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, July 9, 1938, p. 59. For some of the other black-figured pottery from the 1938 campaign see Shear's general report in this number of *Hesperia*.

² For an account of the circumstances of finding and of the objects found with it, see below.

³ Preserved height, 0.092 m.; estimated original height, ca. 0.10 m.; maximum diameter, 0.047 m.

⁴ The lines between the tongues are not relief lines.

⁵ On these "framing" figures see C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, p. 10.



Figs. 1-3. Black-figured Alabastron by the Amasis Painter. Front. Actual Size

On the back of the vase there are five figures: at the centre a man facing left wearing a chlamys over his shoulders and gesticulating with his right hand; facing him on either side are, first a man with a long chiton holding a spear, then a man with a chlamys, also holding a spear. No interpretation of this scene, either mytho-



Figs. 4-5. Black-figured Alabastron by the Amasis Painter.
Back. Slightly Reduced

logical or genre, need be sought. It is typical of the scenes affected by the mannerist painters of the middle of the sixth century.

Added colors, red and white, were used lavishly.⁶ In places they are still fairly

⁶ Red is used on the winged figure for the fillet, for the upper part of the wings, for the upper part of the peplos, and for its lower border; on the other figures it is used for the hair and for broad stripes and large dots on the garments. Alternate tongues in the upper zone are also done in added red. In some places on the tongues the added red has flaked off exposing the glaze underneath, which has here fired a sort of orange red.

White is used for the face, neck, arms, and feet of the winged figure, and on the garments for circles of small dots around the large red ones (on the man to the left of the winged figure the central dots are also white) and for the row of small dots along the upper part of the lower border of some of the peploi. The drawing, Fig. 7, shows this row of small dots on all the peploi. They do not occur, however, on the peploi of the figure to the left of the centre on both front and back.



Fig. 7. Restored Drawing of the Alabastron.
From a Water Color by Piet de Jong

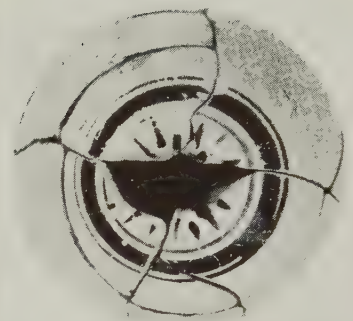


Fig. 6. Bottom of the Alabastron
and Restored Drawing of the
Design Thereon.
Actual Size



Fig. 8. Miniature Plaque by the Amasis
Painter. Actual Size.
Athens, Acropolis 2535

well preserved, but for the most part they have rubbed off. Even where they have rubbed off, however, traces of them can usually be distinguished. The water color by Piet de Jong, reproduced here in black and white as Figure 7, indicates clearly the disposition of the colors and gives an idea of the bright, gay effect of the vase in its original state.

The vase, which, to judge from its style and the circumstances of its finding, must date from around the middle of the sixth century, is the earliest known Attic alabastron.



Fig. 9. Lekythos by the Amasis Painter.
Louvre F 71

The clay alabastron has a long history before this time in the Corinthian and other early styles,⁷ but in Attica no clay alabastron earlier than the beginning of the red-figure period has hitherto been found.⁸ The outline of our vase is full and ovoid, and the body is rather squat in contrast to the taller, thinner alabastra of the later sixth and the fifth centuries, when the shape was relatively common. As the vase is broken just above the zone of tongues, there is no evidence as to the form of neck and mouth. They have been restored *exempli gratia* in the drawing, Figure 7. The shape corresponds in general to the alabastra of Pasiades shape, which Miss Haspels has recognized as the first stage in the development of the Attic alabastron.⁹

The vase is from the hand of the Amasis painter.¹⁰ Examples of this painter's miniature work appear on the

⁷ For the earlier history of the alabastron see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 269 f. (with note 3), 281, 303, 319.

⁸ Haspels, *A.B.L.*, pp. 100-104, especially p. 103.

⁹ Haspels, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁰ Soon after the discovery of the vase its connection with the Amasis painter through the Louvre lekythos (F 71: Haspels, *op. cit.*, pl. 3, 2; here Fig. 9) was noted. Professor Beazley, who saw it in the summer of 1938, said immediately that it was by the Amasis painter; he has since confirmed the attribution by letter.

On the Amasis painter see Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-2, pp. 18-19, where earlier bibliography is gathered; A. Rumpf, *Sakonides*, p. 20 and note 41 (references to recent publications); and Haspels, *A.B.L.*, p. 367, *s. v.* Amasis painter. Two of his Louvre vases, the band-cup F 75 and the cup-kotyle A 479, are now republished in the *Corpus Vasorum*, the former *C.V.A.*, Louvre (9),

shoulder of his signed neck amphora in the Bibliothèque Nationale¹¹ and in the narrow friezes above the main pictures on his big amphorae in Berlin¹² and Würzburg.¹³ Other vases with small or miniature pictures that have been attributed to him are a lekythos¹⁴ and a band-cup,¹⁵ both in the Louvre. That the Agora alabastron is closely connected with the last two is quite clear. The Louvre lekythos (Fig. 9) furnishes an almost perfect parallel for the scene on the front, a winged female figure, here characterized as Artemis of the Wild Beasts, flanked on either side by a man in a long cloak holding a spear. The style and the rendering of details on the two vases are similar. The costume of the winged figure on the alabastron is duplicated almost to the line by the costume of the left-hand maenad on the Louvre band-cup (Fig. 10), and details of it recur on the costumes of the other maenads on the same

III, H, e, pl. 81, 3-10, the latter *ibid.*, pl. 92. On the kylix by him recently acquired by the Louvre (CA 2918, *ibid.*, III, H, e, pl. 84, 1-5) see below. His amphora in the Faina collection in Orvieto (Beazley, *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch*, p. 33, no. 13) is now published by Technau in *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 101, no. 6, and plates 23, 2, and 29, 1. In Broneer's excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in 1938 there were found part of the base of a bowl with the name Amasis painted on the bottom and a new fragment of the painter's plaque, Acropolis 2510 (Graef-Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, pl. 104). The miniature plaque, Acropolis 2535 (Graef-Langlotz, pl. 104), which must surely be his and which was attributed to him in the Acropolis publication, has not appeared in any subsequent lists of his works. With the kind permission of Mrs. Karouzou I illustrate it here (Fig. 8) from a new photograph. The plaque fragment, Acropolis 2534 (*ibid.*), associated with him in the Acropolis publication, is not his. At the end of this article I append the fragments of a small amphora by him at the Agora. A monograph on the Amasis painter is being prepared for the Beazley-Jacobsthal *Bilder griechischer Vasen* series by Mrs. Karouzou.

Professor Beazley sends me the following note on the cups published by him in *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 266 ff. "The cup MM *bis* is now put together in Florence and published by Levi in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 29, p. 259, fig. 2. The cup MM is now all in the Vatican. The cup NN is now all in Oxford." He also writes me about three new attributions to the Amasis painter which he kindly allows me to mention here. (1) Lekythos: Paris, private collection. Youth seated, holding a sceptre, between a youth with a spear who has a dog beside him, and a youth wearing a cloak. (2) Fragments of a small amphora: Florence (from Chiusi?). A, a man drawing his sword, a youth, a male, a woman; B, three male figures, of which the legs remain, one in long clothes, between two with bare legs. (3) Phiale: present whereabouts unknown. G. Micali, *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani*, pl. 98, 2. Men, youths, dogs.

¹¹ *C.V.A.*, Bib. Nat. (1), plates 36-37. The old drawings in the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, plate III, 2, are still useful for details.

¹² Inv. 3210. Select bibliography: L. Adamek, *Unsignierte Vasen des Amasis*, plates I and II; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch*, p. 32, no. 1, and plates 9, 1, and 10, 1; *Jahrbuch*, XLIV, 1929, p. 115, figs. 4 and 5; K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium*, II, *Vasen*, p. 40 and plate 29; Charline Hofkes-Bruker, *Frühgriechische Gruppenbildung*, plate VI, 14.

¹³ Beazley, *A.B.S.*, p. 32, no. 2. E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, no. 265, plates 73 and 74.

¹⁴ Louvre, F 71: Beazley, *A.B.S.*, p. 35, no. 34; Haspels, *A.B.L.*, pp. 10-11, and plate 3, 2. The picture reproduced here as Fig. 9 is taken from Miss Haspels' plate 3, 2a.

¹⁵ Louvre, F 75: *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 274 and plate XII; *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 202; *C.V.A.*, Louvre (9), III, H, e, pl. 81, 3-10. The picture reproduced here as Fig. 10 is from a new photograph kindly supplied by the authorities of the Louvre.

cup, on the Artemis of the Louvre lekythos, and on the maenads of the little friezes on the Berlin and Würzburg amphorae. Her wings, especially the upper ones, can be compared both with those of the Louvre Artemis and with those which appear as shield device on the London band-cup fragment from Naukratis which has also been attributed to the painter.¹⁶ We may also compare the Artemis on his amphora in the Faina collection.¹⁷

The gesticulating figures on the back of the alabastron may be compared in a general way with the figures in the frieze on the reverse of the Berlin amphora.¹⁸ They are of much the same cut, though the Berlin figures lack the chlamys and are rather stockier. Anatomical markings, two short strokes for the knees, two on the torso, and a short, curved stroke on the hip can all be paralleled on the Berlin vase. Little fringes such as that on the hanging end of the chlamys of the right-hand figure on the back are found frequently on vases by the Amasis painter.

As for the decorative patterns, all are to be found on other vases by the Amasis painter: the tongue pattern, for example, on the Athens¹⁹ and Villa Giulia²⁰ lekythoi and at the roots of the handles of the Berlin amphora; the zigzag lines at the same points on the Würzburg amphora; and double rays, although there is never occasion for them to appear in a medallion as on the alabastron, are used frequently above the base of amphorae by the Amasis painter and others of his circle.²¹

The shape is not found among the other known works of the Amasis painter. This is not surprising, however, as he was a great experimenter with shapes. A glance at lists of his works²² shows not only a great variety of shapes, including some very rare ones, but also numerous variations from the norm among the standard shapes, especially the neck amphorae.²³ It is therefore appropriate that the earliest Attic alabastron should be from his atelier.

From the above comparisons it is clear that our alabastron is very closely related to works of the Amasis painter, so closely, in fact, as to be definitely attributable to his hand. Comparison with the works of other contemporary painters bears this out.

¹⁶ British Museum, B 601.37: *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1890-1, pl. VI, 4 d; Beazley, *A.B.S.*, p. 36, no. 41; *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 269, and plates XV, 26, and XVII, 28; LI, 1931, p. 275; and LII, 1932, p. 202.

¹⁷ *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pl. 23, 2.

¹⁸ Details can be seen only in the drawing, Adamek's pl. II.

¹⁹ Athens, National Museum, 404: *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI, 1931, pp. 98 ff., plate II, and Beilage XLV, 1; Haspels, *A.B.L.*, p. 30.

²⁰ Castellani collection: Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 264-5, and fig. 9; Haspels, *A.B.L.*, p. 30.

²¹ On double rays see Karo, *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, pp. 163-4, and compare the faience alabastron cited there (Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, III, plate 5, at p. 732). See also Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, p. 952, s. v. Doppelstrahlen.

²² Beazley, *A.B.S.*, pp. 31-36 (cf. also remarks pp. 21-2); and *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 256-275; cf. also *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-2, pp. 18-19; further see the long bibliographical footnote above.

²³ Note too the variety in the shapes of his lekythoi (cf. Haspels, *A.B.L.*, p. 30), oinochoai, kylixes, and bowls.

Here, although there are of course many general resemblances and many repetitions of detail, we find nowhere so many and such close connections as with the works of the Amasis painter.²⁴

Another vase by the Amasis painter is very close to the Agora alabastron in a number of respects. It is a kylix recently acquired by the Louvre and published in the ninth fascicule of the *Corpus Vasorum* (here Fig. 11).²⁵ Some of the figures on it are so like figures on the alabastron that they could almost be interchanged; compare especially the draped male figures on the two vases. The gesticulating figures on the back of the alabastron are comparable in many respects to the running figures which flank the horsemen on the kylix. Other Amasian features on the kylix are the horses, which are similar to the horses on the other Louvre kylix, F 75, and the lions at the handles, which are very close to those held by Artemis on the Louvre lekythos, F 71. The fringes on the ends of the chlamydes, the decoration of the garments, the anatomical markings, and the little beard on the right-hand figure on the reverse²⁶ are also characteristic of the Amasis painter; and odd shapes, as we have seen above, were a specialty of his atelier. All these connections with the Agora alabastron and with the other related vases by the Amasis painter place the kylix definitely among this painter's works. Like the alabastron it belongs to his early period and is to be dated around the middle of the sixth century.

I append a few notes on the circumstances of finding of the alabastron and brief descriptions of the more characteristic objects found with it.

During the latter half of April and the first few days of May, 1938, an ancient well was excavated in the southeastern part of the American zone. It lies on the lower part of the northern slope of the Areopagus, south of the Market Square and not far west of the direct road leading up from the Agora to the Acropolis.²⁷ It was

²⁴ Beazley's article "Little-master Cups" (*J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 167 ff.) and the first four chapters and thirteen plates of Miss Haspels' book, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, give a good cross-section of the small and miniature vase paintings of the second and third quarters of the sixth century. A good foil for our alabastron is the little lekythos in the collection of the late Mr. M. P. Vlasto published in Miss Haspels' plate 7, 2. It is by "Elbows Out," a mannerist painter who was a contemporary of the Amasis painter. Although both painters are mannerists, and the subject on the lekythos is the same as that on the front of the alabastron, the two pictures are stylistically very different.

²⁵ III, H, e, plate 84, 1-5; museum number CA 2918. In the text of the *Corpus* Plautine says that the vase "recalls Amasis." He writes me, however, that he soon afterward decided that it was actually by the Amasis painter, but that there was no longer time to change the text. The illustration here, Fig. 11, is from a new photograph kindly supplied by the authorities of the Louvre.

²⁶ Detail plate 84, 5. It is stated in the text that all the figures are beardless, but this figure seems quite clearly to have a little beard rendered by short incised strokes, a favorite form with the Amasis painter.

²⁷ Called "Section Ψ, well at 19: NB" in the excavation records. For the location of Section Psi see the plan, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 312, fig. 1. The well lies just to the left of the number 2 on this plan.

12.70 m. deep and about 1.15 m. in diameter. It was circular in section, its walls were quite neatly trimmed, and at irregular intervals on the north and south sides were roughly cut footholds. For its entire depth it was cut through the soft, clayey, greenish schist which underlies most of the Agora area. A modern foundation, the south wall of the deep cellar of house 641/1, passed directly across the mouth of the well and cut away some of its upper part. There is a moderate flow of water in the well.

At the bottom of the well there were somewhat more than two metres of fill without a single sherd; below, a layer of blackened, broken-up bedrock (schist); above, a layer of fine, greyish-green clay.²⁸ The metre or so above this, where the fill consisted of dark grey mud and stones, was the only layer in the well which produced any more or less whole vases or any great amount of pottery. It must represent a brief period of use of the well. From this layer came the following objects (Nos. 1-9).²⁹

1. Black-figured alabastron by the Amasis painter. Figs. 1-7 above.
2. Black-figured oinochoe: siren. Fig. 12.

Inv. No. P 12627. Height 0.247 m., diameter, 0.177 m.

Mended from many pieces. The handle and fragments of the neck and body are missing. The handle was probably round in section, as the mark of attachment on the body suggests.

In a reserved panel on the front of the vase is a siren with outspread wings. The panel is bordered by a single line of thinned glaze, and across its top is a line of black tongues.

White, which has disappeared except for traces, was used for the face and breast of the siren. Her fillet, a broad stripe on each wing, and the middle section of her tail are red. Red is also used on the edge of the mouth, on the raised ring around the neck, for a pair of lines around the vase below the panel, and for a line on the foot. The glaze is rather thinly applied in places.



Fig. 12. Black-figured Oinochoe (No. 2) Found with the Alabastron

²⁸ This clay is fine and clean, and may be waste from a potter's or coroplast's shop. A tinful has been kept as a sample.

²⁹ Besides these catalogued objects there were two or three tins of pottery fragments consisting

For the wing of another siren, compare below, No. 15. For a vase of similar shape with two sirens in the panel, compare *C.V.A.*, Oxford (2), III, H, pl. XIII, 3.

3. Round-mouthed oinochoe with reserved body. Fig. 13.

Inv. No. P 14045. Height to mouth, as restored, 0.20 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Mended from a number of pieces. The base, much of the body, and a fragment of the mouth are missing. They have been restored in plaster. The outer face of the handle is concave. There is good black glaze on the mouth and handle and for the line around the body. The reserved parts are covered with a thin, transparent glaze wash ("lasur"), much of which has worn off.

On oinochoai of this class, see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 386, no. 18. The present example has an unusually wide mouth.



Fig. 13. Vases Found with the Alabastron

4. Black-glazed oinochoe. Fig. 13.

Inv. No. P 14046. Height to lip, 0.145 m.; diameter, 0.125 m.

Mended from many fragments. Some of the mouth, body, and base are missing, but have been restored in plaster. The mouth is trefoil, the handle flat. The base is only slightly set off from the body. The bottom is almost flat. The glaze is dull black to brownish in color and has flaked badly. The clay is soft, and brownish buff in color.

The shape approximates that of Beazley's oinochoe shape III. The vase is probably not Attic.

5. Unglazed hydria. Fig. 13.

Inv. No. P 14047. Height, 0.32 m.; diameter, 0.29 m.

Mended from many pieces. Fragments of the body are missing but have been restored in plaster. It has a round mouth, a flaring lip which is flat on top, a spherical body, and a low ring

chiefly of pieces of unglazed water jars of various shapes (cf. Nos. 5 and 6). I note also a small fragment of a horse-head amphora, and the lower part of a skyphos with a red band just above the foot (cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 401, no. 37).

foot. There are three handles, a vertical one on the shoulder at the back, and a horizontal one on either side of the body about half way up. The clay is light brown and full of mica and grit. The slip on the surface is badly worn. The walls of the vase are very thin and the inside is roughly finished by hand.

Fragments of other pots of similar fabric were found at the same depth in the well; see next item, and compare also No. 24 below.

6. Unglazed oinochoe. Fig. 13.

Inv. No. P 14282. Height, 0.28 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.

Mended from many fragments. Much of the body is missing, but has been restored in plaster. The vase has a broad trefoil mouth, a single vertical handle, a roundish body, and a low ring foot. The buff slip on the surface, inside and out, has almost entirely worn off, exposing the rather coarse reddish brown clay. Many of the tiny stones in the clay have fallen out leaving pock marks.

7. Fragment of a semi-glazed krater. Fig. 14.

Inv. No. P 14048. Preserved height, 0.13 m.; estimated diameter, 0.43 m.

A single fragment preserves about a quarter of the rim with the adjacent upper part of the body and about half of one handle. The handle rises and is attached to the rim. On the interior and on the top of the rim there is dull black glaze. The exterior is reserved except for a black line which runs around the vase just below the handle.

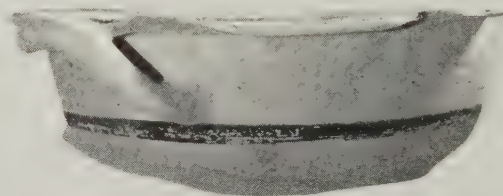


Fig. 14. Krater (No. 7) Found with the Alabastron

8. Pyramidal loom weight. Fig. 18.

Inv. No. MC 479. Height, 0.057 m.; width, 0.04 m. to 0.043 m.

Intact save minor chips. Rather pointed toward the top and not very symmetrically made. The clay is buff and there is a lighter buff slip.

9. Tile fragment with graffito. Fig. 15.

Inv. No. P 12629. Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.107 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

The fragment is from the edge of a heavy, flat, unglazed tile. The clay is dark buff and contains a considerable amount of foreign matter. The inscription was incised on the smoother of the two faces after the tile had been broken and the fragment had assumed its present shape. It reads: **HEPMΕΙ | ΜΑΛΛΑ | ΜΑ** (*Ἑρμῆ εἰμ' ἀγαλμα*), that is, "I am Hermes' statue."

The reading is Schweigert's.

Above this there was another layer of the fine, greyish green clay over a metre deep, which contained no sherds; then alternate layers of broken up bedrock (green schist), gravel, and sand, which contained only small, isolated, and for the most part rather battered fragments of pottery with rarely any joins. These layers extended

up to the top of the well and evidently were made up of earth brought from elsewhere and used to fill up the well after it had been abandoned. The latest sherds from these upper layers were of the third quarter of the sixth century, but there were also a good many earlier fragments, as is to be expected in fill of this sort: proto-Attic, geometric (cf. No. 21), protogeometric, late Mycenaean, and even a few Helladic.³⁰ Characteristic objects from this fill are the following (Nos. 10-31).



Fig. 15. Graffito (No. 9) Found with the Alabastron

10. Black-figured fragments: warrior. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 12495. Preserved height: *a*, 0.05 m.; *b*, 0.015 m.

Two non-joining fragments preserve part of the figured panel of an oinochoe, shape III. On the larger fragment (*a*) are the head and shoulders of a warrior with his right arm raised, about to thrust with his spear. Behind him is a part of the staff of a spectator; a tiny bit of the hand holding the staff is preserved at the top. In the field above and in front of his head is part of a nonsense inscription painted in glaze, $\square\text{KN}\Sigma$. At the top of the fragment is part of a frieze of upright lotus buds.

Red is used for the helmet and for a short cross stroke at the bottom of the lotus buds. White is used for the front edge of the crest of the helmet. The warrior's beard is rendered by three diagonal lines lightly incised below the lower edge of his helmet.

Fragment *b* preserves part of the warrior's legs.

For subject and shape compare the oinochoe *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 385, no. 16.

³⁰ There was very little non-Attic pottery in the well: I note a few scattered bits of Corinthian (cf. No. 20), and a few tiny fragments of amphorae like H. Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, p. 228, fig. 425, c (= p. 63, fig. 218), and p. 229; a few fragments of amphorae of this kind have also been found in other parts of the excavation. The oinochoe, No. 4 above, is probably not Attic.

11. Black-figured fragment: komasts. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 14053. Width, 0.035 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a kylix belonging to Beazley's Cassel group, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 271, and LII, 1932, pp. 191-2. Below, in the handle zone, are dancers; above, on the slightly out-turned lip, are tongues, alternately red and black. The man's hair is red. There is black glaze on the interior.



Fig. 16. Figured Sherds From the Upper Fill of the Well

12. Black-figured fragment: horse. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 14052. Height, 0.035 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves a bit of the interior medallion of a kylix with part of a horse's head. The mane was white and decorated with lightly incised diagonal lines; its outline is marked by a heavier incised line. There is black glaze on the outside of the fragment.

13. Black-figured fragment: Athena. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 14049. Maximum dimension, 0.063 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves some of the upper part of the wall and the start of the neck of a closed pot, unglazed inside. Part of a figure of Athena is preserved: her face and neck, and parts of her shoulder, helmet, and shield. Her face and neck were once white. Her eye is almond shaped and very fat, and traces of a round dot for the pupil can be made out. A short, straight stroke indicates her mouth, and a straight line her necklace. There are two white dots toward the lower preserved part of her garment, and the shield device, a dolphin, was also white. Added red is preserved on her helmet, her garment, and as dots on the rim of her shield.

14. Black-figured fragment: man. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 12450. Maximum dimension, 0.04 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a large closed pot, unglazed inside. The neck and the upper part of the body of a man facing left are preserved. His long hair, which falls down his back, is tied at its lower end. His neck and the cloak over his left shoulder are red. The nipple is rendered by incision: a small circle, around which is a larger circle of dots. In the field at the left edge of the fragment is part of a letter (?) painted in glaze, perhaps a nu or a sigma.

15. Black-figured fragment: siren's wing. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 14283. Maximum dimension, 0.071 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a closed pot, unglazed inside. Part of the body and an outspread wing of a siren are preserved; compare No. 2 above. White is used for the breast and one of the stripes on the wing. Part of a red stripe just above the white one is preserved. The scale of the wing and the curve of the fragment are somewhat larger than on No. 2; hence the fragment is perhaps from an amphora rather than an oinochoe.

16. Black-figured fragment: horse and rider. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 14050. Maximum dimension, 0.048 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a sizeable closed pot, unglazed inside, probably an amphora. Part of the neck of the horse, and one hand and part of the spear of the rider are preserved. There is no trace of added color.

17. Black-figured fragment: horse and rider. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 12496. Maximum dimension, 0.09 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves some of the upper part of the body of an amphora. The head of a rider and part of the mane and neck of his horse are preserved. A short diagonal scratch obscures the drawing of the man's eye. At the left edge of the fragment is part of a rosette with incision.

Red is used for the horse's neck and for a pair of lines across the top of the picture. Above the upper red line the black glaze of the neck begins. On the interior at the top of the fragment some of the glaze inside the neck is preserved; below this there is no glaze.

18. Black-figured fragment: siren and man. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 14051. Maximum dimension, 0.06 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a sizeable pot, unglazed

inside. At the left of the fragment are the head and breast of a siren, at the right part of a man's body. Added red is used for the siren's face, neck, and wing, and for the man's body.

The man may be Hermes: cf. *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 256, no. 8.

19. Black-figured fragment: animal friezes. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 14054. Maximum dimension, 0.06 m.

Two joining fragments, broken all around, preserve part of the wall of a sizeable open pot or lid with dull, rather thin black glaze on the interior. Parts of the two zones are preserved. In the upper are the paw of an animal and a blob rosette; in the lower, part of a siren with outspread wings, and an incised blob rosette. The glaze on the exterior has fired red. The clay is rather light buff in color.

20. Corinthian fragment: animal frieze. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 12503. Maximum dimension, 0.057 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of a plate. On the upper side is part of a zone of animals: the hindquarters of one animal, and the foreparts of another. There is no incision. The field is crowded with small dots. Above, between two black lines, is a line in added red. On the under side are parts of three black and two red concentric circles, and at the outer edge of the fragment is the start of the foot.

Middle Corinthian: compare H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 313, nos. 1033-1039.

21. Geometric fragment. Fig. 16.

Inv. No. P 12499. Preserved height, 0.075 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the neck of a good sized pot with an outward flare toward the top for the lip. At the right of the fragment is a man standing with his head turned to the left and his arms extended on either side from the elbows. His legs below the thighs are missing. To the left are parts of uncertain objects.

22. Pithos mouth. Fig. 17.

Inv. No. P 12497. Preserved height, 0.16 m.; estimated diameter, 0.70 m.

Two joining fragments preserve a little less than half the rim, the full height of the neck with a raised ring at its bottom, and the start of the body. The projecting rim is flat on top and about 0.075 m. wide. There is no glaze. The clay, which is rather coarse and micaceous, is grey at the core and reddish to brownish at the surface inside and out.

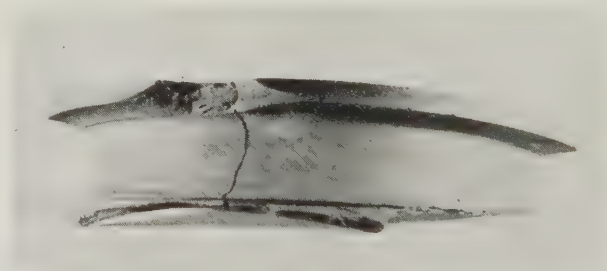


Fig. 17. Pithos Mouth (No. 22) From the Upper Fill of the Well

23. Fragment of pithos with incised decoration. Fig. 18.

Inv. No. P 14284. Maximum dimension, 0.142 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a large pithos. On the exterior is a slightly raised band with rather coarse incised decoration: a zigzag between horizontal lines. The clay is reddish brown in color and rather coarse. On the outer surface it is dark buff.

On the sixth-century pithoi with incised and stamped decoration see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938,

p. 221, no. 43, and p. 402, no. 42. With these compare also the decoration on the pithos in which Eurystheus hides on the black-figured amphora in the British Museum, B 162, *C.V.A.*, British Museum (3), III, H, e, pl. 28, 2 c.

24. Pot fragment with sieve bottom. Fig. 18.

Inv. No. P 14044. Diameter of foot, *ca.* 0.085 m.

A single fragment preserves somewhat less than half of the low ring-foot and the adjacent parts of the body and bottom. In the bottom, within the circle of the foot, are some very neatly made holes about 0.006 m. in diameter. Two are completely preserved, two partially. There were probably originally seven, a central one and a circle of six around it. The fabric is exactly that of the unglazed water jars; compare No. 5 above.

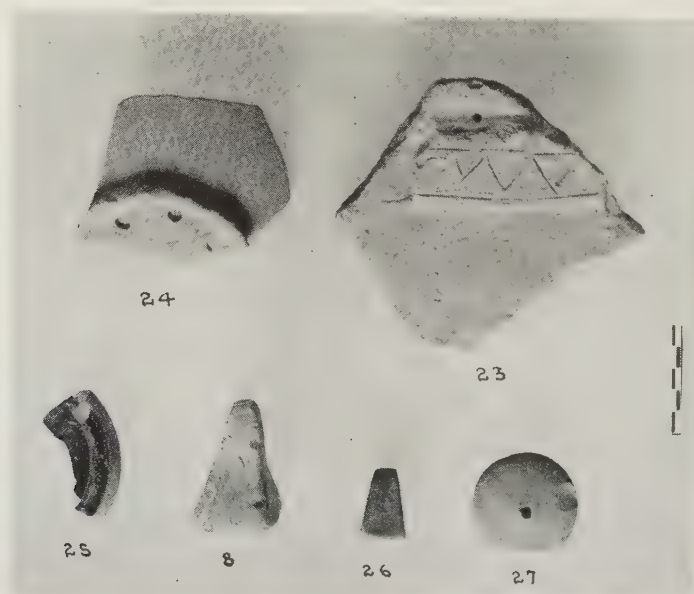


Fig. 18. Miscellaneous Objects From the Upper Fill of the Well (Except No. 8)

25. Lamp fragment. Fig. 18.

Inv. No. L 3616. Height, 0.027 m.; estimated diameter, 0.10 m.

Two joining fragments preserve the profile of the body. There is glaze on the interior and on the top of the rim, elsewhere none. The clay is dark buff.

The lamp is a variety of Broneer's type I (*Corinth*, Vol. IV, Part II, pp. 31 ff.), and its profile approximates that shown in his fig. 14, no. 7.

26. Small pyramidal loom weight. Fig. 18.

Inv. No. MC 475. Height, 0.034 m.

The piece is unbroken. The shape is symmetrical. There is no glaze. The clay and slip are dark buff.

27. Spindle whorl. Fig. 18.

Inv. No. MC 534. Diameter, 0.048 m.; thickness, 0.023 m.

One large and several smaller chips are broken off. Both faces are convex, one more so than the other. The clay is dark buff at the surface, reddish toward the core. There is no glaze.

28. Fragment of a mould for a terracotta figurine. Fig. 19.

Inv. No. T 1702. Preserved height, 0.055 m.

A single fragment preserves the lower left portion of one side of a mould for an archaic seated female figure of the ordinary type, as, for example, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 201, fig. 35, no. A. F. 577. The clay is pinkish buff and there are traces of a light buff slip on the interior.

29. Terracotta figurine of primitive type. Fig. 19.

Inv. No. T 1911. Preserved height, 0.048 m.

The lower part of the body and a chip of the right arm are missing. The upper part of the head is pinched flat and the face is pinched at right angles to it. The torso is flat, and the straight, stubby arms are extended horizontally. Part of the columnar stem is also preserved. The clay is buff and there are traces of white paint on the surface.

On figurines of this type see Morgan's article, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 193-5.

30. Fragment of a terracotta figurine: arm. Fig. 19.

Inv. No. T 1912. Maximum dimension, 0.065 m.

A single fragment preserves part of an arm bent at the elbow. The fingers are missing. The clay is brownish and rather soft. There are traces of white paint on the surface.

The back of the upper arm is flattened as if for attachment to the figure. The forearm appears to have been held out horizontally from the waist.

31. Terracotta figurine: animal. Fig. 19.

Inv. No. T 1913. Preserved height, 0.033 m.; preserved length, 0.051 m.

A single fragment preserves the torso and the stubs of the neck, legs, and tail of an animal. The clay is brownish and there are ample traces of white paint preserved on the under side of the body.



Fig. 19. Figurine Fragments From the Upper Fill of the Well

FRAGMENTS OF AN AMPHORA BY THE AMASIS PAINTER AT THE AGORA

It seems appropriate to present here a brief note on some fragments by the Amasis painter from another part of the Agora excavations. They are five in number and were found in a well of the late sixth century before Christ in Section HH (well at 40: Λ). Although they received two inventory numbers it is probable that they all come from the same pot, a small amphora of type B (cf. Beazley, *A.B.S.*, p. 32, nos. 3 ff.), and that we have parts of the pictures on both sides. The vase represented by these fragments belongs to the painter's late period. The attribution has been confirmed by Professor Beazley and by Mrs. Karouzou.

Side A. Inv. No. P 7223. Maximum dimensions: *a*, 0.097 m.; *b*, 0.08 m. Fig. 20.

Two non-joining fragments preserve part of the wall of a medium sized closed pot, unglazed inside. The subject is a revel; at the right edge of the figured panel is a maenad, and in front of her is part of a man carrying an ivy branch. Added red is used as follows: for the upper part of the maenad's peplos and for the middle stripe of its lower part; for the man's hair and for the borders of his garments; for large dots on the garments of both man and maenad; and for a line which encircled the vase at the lower edge of the panel. White is used for the maenad's flesh; and there are circles of small white dots around some of the red dots on the garments.

Compare the Amasis painter's oinochoe in the Spencer-Churchill collection, *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 261 ff., FF. The red dots, sometimes surrounded by a circle of small white ones and sometimes not, are found frequently on vases by the Amasis painter, as the illustrations in *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 256 ff., and *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI, 1931, pp. 98 ff., amply show.



Fig. 20. Fragments of an Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Side A

Side B. Inv. No. P 7227. Maximum dimensions: *a*, 0.035 m.; *b*, 0.041 m.; *c*, 0.038 m. Fig. 21.

Three non-joining fragments preserve part of the wall of a medium sized closed pot, unglazed inside. Fragment *a*, which is from the right edge of the figured panel, preserves part of the head and body of a bearded man facing left. He wears a chiton which was once white and decorated with finely incised vertical lines. Over his shoulder is a cloak, his sleeve is red, and he holds a staff in his hand.

Fragment *b*, which is from the lower edge of the panel, preserves part of a foot and part of a long garment. Faint traces of white are preserved on the foot, showing that the figure was a woman. The central vertical stripe and the broad horizontal stripe on the garment are red; the narrow stripe above the latter was decorated with small white dots. Part of the red line below the panel is preserved.

Fragment *c* preserves part of the upper left corner of the panel with a bit of an uncertain object.

With the head on fragment *a* compare for example the heads on the Amasis painter's lekythos in the Villa Giulia (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, p. 265, fig. 9) and the heads on his olpe in the British Museum (B 52; *Rev. arch.*, XVIII, 1891, p. 367, fig. 2; *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI, 1931, Beilage LII; P. Cloché, *Les classes, les métiers, le trafic*, pl. 15, 1). With the garment on fragment *b* compare for example the oinochoe in Berlin (F 1731, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI, 1931, Beilage LIV, 2), the oinochoe in the Spencer-Churchill collection (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VIII, 3), and the cup fragment in the Vatican (*ibid.*, pl. X a), all by the Amasis painter.

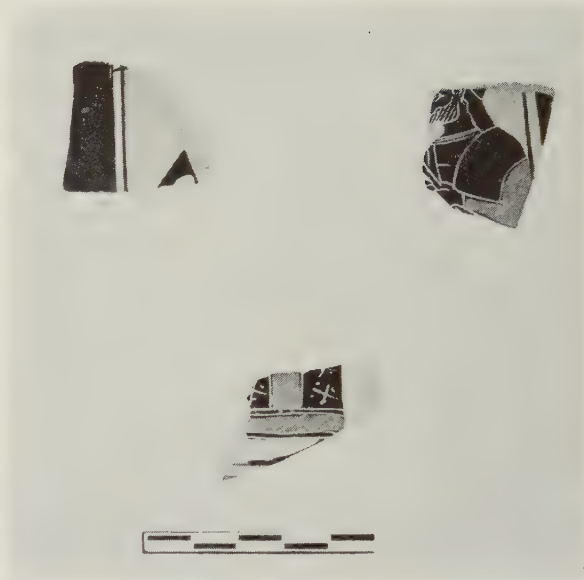


Fig. 21. Fragments of an Amphora by the Amasis Painter. Side B

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

KOURIMOS PARTHENOS

The fragments of an oinochoe ¹ illustrated here preserve for us the earliest known representation in any medium of the dress and the masks worn by actors in Attic tragedy.² The style of the vase suggests a date in the neighborhood of 470:³ a time, that is, when both Aischylos and Sophokles ⁴ were active in the theatre. Thus, even though our fragments may not shed much new light on the "dark history of the

¹ Inv. No. P 11810. Three fragments, mended from five. Height: *a*, 0.073 m.; *b*, 0.046 m.; *c*, 0.065 m. From a round-bodied oinochoe, Beazley Shape III; fairly thin fabric, excellent glaze; relief contour except for the mask; sketch lines on the boy's body. The use of added color is described below, p. 269. For the lower border, a running spiral, with small loops between the spirals. Inside, dull black to brown glaze wash. The fragments were found just outside the Agora Excavations, near the bottom of a modern sewer trench along the south side of the Theseion Square, some 200 m. to the south of the temple, at a depth of about 3 m. below the street level.

² For the fifth century, certainly, relevant comparative material has been limited to three pieces: the relief from the Peiraeus, now in the National Museum, Athens (N. M. 1500; Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, pl. 82), which shows three actors, two of them carrying masks, approaching a reclining Dionysos; the Pronomos vase in Naples (Furtwängler-Reichhold, pls. 143-145), with its elaborate preparations for a satyr-play; and the pelike in Boston, by the Phiale painter (*Att. V.*, p. 383, 29; Furtwängler-Reichhold, III, p. 135), where two members of a chorus are seen dressing. Of these three, the first two belong to the years around 400, or shortly after, the third to the thirties of the fifth century. To the later group may now be added the fragments in Curtius' possession, published by Bulle (*Corolla Curtius*, pls. 54-57, pp. 157-160). The scene has much in common with the Pronomos vase, and probably commemorates the victory of a tragedy; four identical women's masks remain, each with short hair flying: Bulle suggests a chorus of waiting maidens. He also republishes (*ibid.*, pl. 57) the fragmentary pelike in Barcelona, where the scene more probably reflects the victory of a lyric chorus. A female figure, perhaps Tragoedia, holds up a woman's mask with unbound locks streaming to the nape. We should perhaps also consider a relief in Munich (Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, p. 135, fig. 72), an Attic original of the fourth century, which shows a standing woman carrying a mask.

The most recent discussion of the problems involved is in M. Bieber's *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, with full references to her earlier *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, and to the other literature. On masks, see especially her "Herkunft des tragischen Kostums," *Jahrbuch*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 61 ff., and the article "Maske" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIV, pp. 2070 ff.

³ Beazley in a letter of May 25, 1939, kindly confirms the suggested dating, and points out that the style is perhaps nearer to Hermonax than to that of some other painters of the period. Such an association might explain the use of the rare border pattern, the running spiral, which brings an echo of the Berlin painter (cf. *J.H.S.*, XXXI, 1911, p. 279, 15, and Beazley, *Berliner Maler*, pls. 1-2). We might compare with our standing attendant the slender Erotes of Hermonax's Munich stamnos (*Att. V.*, p. 299, 3; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1878, pl. 12 = Hoppin, *Handbook*, II, p. 23, and *Att. V.*, p. 300, 4; Hoppin, *Handbook*, II, p. 21). The mask of our vase has a fuller, rounder face than have the women of these scenes, but the style is much the same, and in particular the drawing of the nose is closely paralleled on the new piece. For a different scheme compare the dying Niobid on the Louvre krater (*Att. V.*, p. 338, 9; Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 5).

⁴ We may recall that Aischylos won his first victory at the Dionysia of 484, though the earliest extant play of which the date is known is the *Persians*, of 472. He was defeated by Sophokles in 468, but of Sophokles' plays the earliest which has survived is the *Antigone* of 441 (or 442).



Fig. 1. Fragments of an Oinochoe: Inv. No. P 11810 (Actual Size)

classical mask,"⁵ they merit close attention as a unique document from the great days of the Attic theatre.

Parts of at least four figures remain; the lettering of the fragments (Fig. 1) indicates so far as can be determined their probable order from left to right around the pot. On fragment *a* is a standing figure wearing chiton, himation, and shoes; on *b* is part of a laced shoe; above, on *c* is an end of drapery, scarf or folded cloak, hanging, we may suppose, from an extended or upraised arm possibly belonging to the figure whose shoe appears on *b*. Then comes a nude boy, standing facing; a bit of drapery falls at his side and he holds a large mask in his right hand. At the right is a second figure in woman's dress, walking away.

There is nothing particularly remarkable about the figures. The boy, rather smaller in scale than the others, is perhaps an attendant.⁶ The laced cothurn suggests those often worn by travellers of some importance, such as Hermes or Boreas; it



Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1
(Enlarged to Three Times Actual Size)

would serve well for herald or messenger. The clothes and soft shoes might have come from the wardrobe of any Athenian lady. Were it not for the boy's burden, we should have small reason to identify his companions as actors making ready for a tragic performance. The mask (Fig. 2) is, however, painted with great care. On the area reserved for it the mouth and eyes were first laid on in black; the white for the flesh was added, and nose, eyebrows, and lips were drawn over in black. The hair, cropped short to the ears, is rendered by brush strokes; the ends of the locks are clearly distinguishable. Tied low about the brows is a broad thick purple fillet; a few short ends, now faded, which project from it over the black ground at the wearer's right, indicate the strings which fastened the band in place. On either side of the face hang two strings, also faded; they are the ends of the cords which, passing through three openings in the top of the head, provide a means of carrying the mask, and also of tying it securely to the wearer's

head.⁷ The thick added color used for the eyeballs has disappeared from one eye; on

⁵ Bulle, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Compare the "tragoedum et puerum" of the painting by Aristeides the Theban (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 99). Mr. Beazley, to whom I owe this reference, suggests that that picture no doubt represented an actor with a boy attendant, a *παῖς* like the groups of athlete and *παῖς* on the calyx-krater by Euphronios in Berlin (*Att. V.*, p. 61) or of warrior and *παῖς* on the Brygos cup in the Vatican (*Att. V.*, p. 177, 17), rather than an actor teaching a boy his part (Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, p. 135, note 10).

⁷ The same arrangement as on the Pronomos vase.

the other it is damaged, but something of the paint, now a matt brown, remains, with a trace of the indication of the iris.

The mask is that of a young woman whose hair is cut short in mourning. Pollux⁸ has described her for us, the ninth in his catalogue of the types of women's masks used in Attic tragedy: ἡ δὲ κούριμος παρθένος ἀντὶ ὄγκου ἔχει τριχῶν κατεψηγμένων διάκρισιν, καὶ βραχέα ἐν κύκλῳ περικέκασται, ὑπώχρος δὲ τὴν χροιάν. The cropped-haired maiden without an onkos,⁹ her hair parted and cut off right round, her face pale, looks out at us in the image of Pollux's words. She is grief-stricken, perhaps, but she is calm and serene; we may contrast her tousle-haired sister, who comes next in the catalogue: ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα κούριμος παρθένος τὰλλα ὁμοία πλὴν τῆς διακρίσεως καὶ τῶν κύκλῳ βοστρύχων, ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ δυστυχούσα.

In archaic and early classical vase-painting variations not only of age but also of character and of emotion are often intensified if not created by simple variations in hair-dressing.¹⁰ Even in studying the masks of the New Comedy, Robert¹¹ found that the most important item for the identification of various character types was the hair, its arrangement and its color. We may therefore take Pollux at his word when he says that the second cropped-haired maiden was in all respects like the first, save for her flying hair. In other words, we should not expect to find her misfortunes reflected in her features, which might be as tranquil as those of the mask on our vase. Nothing else, indeed, would suit the artistic conventions of the time, for, as Miss Bieber has pointed out, in a passage which might have been written with the

⁸ *Onomasticon*, IV, 140. For a descriptive analysis of Pollux's catalogue, which probably goes back to a Hellenistic original, cf. Bieber in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIV, s. v. Maske, pp. 2077 ff.

⁹ This construction, which our maiden's youth has spared her, is described as an imitation of archaic hairdressing (Bieber, *History*, p. 36). For female characters with long flowing locks it was sometimes a sort of peaked frame over which the hair was combed; this effect is well seen on the mask at the left on the inscribed relief from Constantinople (Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, pl. 46, and pp. 82 f., 184). Much evidence exists for the use of the onkos in Hellenistic and later times, from terracottas and mosaics as well as from reliefs; see for instance Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, pls. 61, 62, and 65, and pp. 114-116. It is as well, however, to remember that for an earlier time the monuments give very slight hint of anything of the sort. The male mask on the relief from the Peiraeus does indeed wear a pointed beard of an archaizing sort, and perhaps his hair was dressed in the archaic mode, but there is no evidence of any construction, or of anything which in Aischylos's day would have been an innovation. The author of the anonymous *Life of Aischylos* ascribed to him the invention of the onkos, along with that of the high-soled boot, but the reliability of the *Life* has often been questioned: at very least its writer seems to wish to credit the poet with every theatrical innovation ever heard of. In the period which concerns us, however, some devices for heightening the actor's figure may well have been used; note the "Phrygian" caps worn by Hesione on the Pronomos vase, and by several of the characters on the Andromeda krater in Berlin (Bethe, *Jahrbuch*, IX, 1896, pl. 2, and Bieber, *History*, figs. 61, 64, pp. 51-54).

¹⁰ The classic illustration is the Kleophrades painter's Iliupersis (*Att. V.*, p. 74, 50; Beazley, *Kleophrades-Maler*, pl. 27), where a majority of the characters could be assigned to Pollux's categories.

¹¹ C. Robert, "Die Masken der Neueren Attischen Komödie," 25 *Hall. Winckelmannsprogramm*, p. 3.

new fragment in mind,¹² the mask-maker's art follows that of the sculptor. It is hazardous to seek sculptural parallels for our mask, which after all reaches us only at second hand, but some comparisons with the sculptures from Olympia must be ventured. Beside the heads of the Lapith maidens from the west pediment,¹³ or the head of Athena from the metope of the Stymphalian birds,¹⁴ the mask seems passionless and immobile, but the proportions of the features, the faint smile that survives distress, and even the gentle curves of the hair across the brows, all express a similar tradition. Exactly contemporary with our vase and providing perhaps an even better parallel is the Delphi charioteer;¹⁵ the slender oval of the face is thickened for the woman's mask, but otherwise the approach is the same, and here the preservation of the eyes may perhaps help us to understand the mask-maker's procedure.¹⁶

It is of some interest to examine the broad fillet or taenia worn straight around the head, which forms so striking a feature of our mask, and one for which Pollux gives us no help. It is a plain band, wrapped twice round and tied at one side with string ends. So far as we know this sort of taenia did not form a usual part of women's dress under ordinary circumstances. In vase-painting, the women who wear it seem for the most part to be maenads,¹⁷ and this usage corresponds well with its general associations as a symbol of consecration.¹⁸ It is even more familiar from representations on the one hand of victory, on the other of mourning. The latter connection is perhaps sufficient to explain its presence on the head of a tragic heroine already marked as sorrowing by her short hair. Since, however, it is worn by maenads, it is possible that its use on a mask has some formal connection with the worship of Dionysos as celebrated in the theatre.¹⁹ In any case we are entitled to

¹² *R.E.*, loc. cit., p. 2074: "Man kann also annehmen, dass in der archaischen Zeit bei Aischylos als einzige Seelenregung ein leises Lächeln als Ausdruck der Lebendigkeit vorkam, und dass in der frühklassischen Zeit bis gegen Mitte des 5 Jhdt. geringe Versuche gemacht wurden, Schmerz oder Leidenschaft --- zu geben ---. Für die klassische Zeit des 5 Jhdts., also für Sophokles und Euripides, müssen wir ungetrübte Ruhe und ideale Schönheit voraussetzen."

¹³ Treu, *Olympia*, III, pl. 24, and pls. 30-31; details in Hege-Rodenwaldt, *Olympia*, pls. 60-61.

¹⁴ Treu, *op. cit.*, pls. 36-7; detail giving front view, Hege-Rodenwaldt, pl. 70.

¹⁵ Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pls. 49-50; details in Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 162, and Homolle, *op. cit.*, pls. 51-53.

¹⁶ It is an odd commentary on our vase-painter's interest in his subject that, whereas on an actual mask the iris or at least the pupil of the eye must have been left open (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIV, p. 2073), here the artist has apparently painted all in, as if to give as much as possible the effect of a mask actually on the wearer's head. For the gently parted lips compare the Boston pelike; mask mouths from the end of the century (p. 267, note 2, above) incline much more to gape.

¹⁷ See for instance the Achilles painter's maenad, one of the pair in the famous group on the amphora in the Cabinet de Médailles (*Att. V.*, p. 371, 2; Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 77).

¹⁸ Dow, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLI, 1930, p. 68.

¹⁹ It is worth noting that on three of the bronze Dancers from Herculaneum (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, no. 295), whose originals belonged to about the time of our vase, we again find the straight plain fillet, worn low.

believe that this fillet, bound around the brows, was part of the regular equipment of the younger heroines of tragedy at least until the end of the fifth century, for exactly such a fillet, so worn, appears on the second of the two masks on the relief from the Peiraeus;²⁰ the character represented there seems to have been a cropped-haired maiden very like our own.

Suidas²¹ ascribes the invention of linen masks to Thespis, to Choirilos some improvements in their manufacture, to Phrynichos the use of distinguishing colors for men's and women's masks, but he reserves for Aischylos the distinction of having been the first to devise carefully painted, impressive and life-like creations. Our mask provides no information as to the material of its original, but there is no reason to doubt that it was of linen, stuccoed over, and painted.²² Our fragment proves how carefully made and painted were the masks of Aischylos's time, and we may well imagine that the poet supervised in person the creation of masks for his productions. We have tried, however, to relieve him of the invention of the onkos (p. 270, note 9, above), and we may at least limit his responsibility in the matter of the high-soled boot.²³ We must further note that, so far as our small fragments enable us to judge, the elaborate theatrical costume familiar from vases of the ornate style²⁴ was at all events not the rule in the earlier day. One at least of the plays of Aischylos's time was presented in modern dress.

When we come to consider which, if any, of the extant plays might have provided the occasion for the painting of our oinochoe, we are on melancholy and

²⁰ P. 267, note 2 above. Dr. Bieber (*Theaterwesen*, pp. 104-105) has defended the belief, controversial because of the extremely worn state of the marble, that this is a woman's mask, and thinks that the hair was parted, a further similarity with our piece.

²¹ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIV, pp. 2072-2073.

²² Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIV, p. 2073. K. G. Kachler, in *Die Antike*, XV, 1939, pp. 89-93, describes and illustrates the process of making masks, according to the ancient specifications, for a modern performance of the *Acharnians*. A clay model was made, and a mould taken from it; into the mould was pressed a sheet of linen, soaked in plaster. When the plaster had hardened, the mould was taken off, the mask was sewed to a cap which fitted the wearer's head, a wig was added, and the face was painted. The method produced masks at once practical and extremely effective. Ancient authority and practical considerations unite to dispose (Bieber, *Jahrbuch*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 71 ff.) of the idea that the large terracotta masks offered as votives were ever worn on the stage. We might further note that the terracotta masks are never anything but false fronts, whereas masks intended for use (compare the Boston pelike and the Pronomos vase) are always represented as providing a complete covering for the head.

²³ Cf. Kendall Smith, "Use of the High-Soled Shoe or Buskin in the Greek Tragedy of the Fifth and Fourth Century B.C.," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XVI, 1905, pp. 123 ff. Séchan's argument (*Études sur la Tragédie grecque*, pp. 553-4) that vase-painters in their representations of scenes from the theatre suppressed masks, high-soled boots, and the like for artistic reasons may apply to the prettifications of tragedy seen on South Italian vases, but it cannot apply to any of the Attic fifth-century documents in the case. Here the concern is not with a dramatic moment but rather precisely with the paraphernalia of the theatre, and the decorative effects which it, as such, provides.

²⁴ Compare the Pronomos and the Curtius kraters.

uncertain ground.²⁵ The date of our vase, in the neighborhood of 470, limits the possibilities to three, namely the *Suppliants*, the *Persians*, and the *Seven Against Thebes*. With the first two there can be no association: our heroine is not a dark-skinned daughter of Danaus, nor is she the aged Persian queen. With the *Seven* a connection is just possible; the mask is the sort which the ancients considered suitable for such a character as Antigone, and our fragments would provide for Ismene and the herald as well. But the date of the play's production (467) might well be considered late for the style of the pot, and certainty of any sort is impossible. We are left to address to the boy on our vase the question which the passer-by, in the epigram of Dioscurides,²⁶ asked of the statue which stood guard over the tomb of Sophokles:

ἡ δ' ἐνὶ χερσὶ
κούριμος, ἐκ ποίης ἦδε διδασκαλίας;

and the answer which we receive will be much the same as his:

Εἴτε σοι Ἀντιγόνην εἰπεῖν φίλον, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις,
εἴτε καὶ Ἥλέκτραν· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ἄκρον.

LUCY TALCOTT

²⁵ Cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 401 ff., and Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, p. 18, notes 32 and 33.

²⁶ *Anth. Graeca*, VII, 37, 7-10; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIV, p. 2075.

AN ATHENIAN CLEPSYDRA

The pot appearing here in Figure 1 illustrates for the first time a well-known but little-understood feature of Athenian legal procedure.¹ It is a substantial pail-



Fig. 1. An Athenian Clepsydra

shaped vessel² with heavy flat bottom, high slightly flaring sides, and simple thickened rim. The horizontal handles are missing, but the attachment of one is preserved, well

¹ The identification was first suggested by Lucy Talcott, who turned over to me her notes on the subject. I am further indebted for advice and suggestions to all the members of the Agora staff, but in particular to H. A. Thompson for criticism on the legal aspects of the problem.

² Inv. No. P 2084. Height, 0.232 m.; diameter of base, 0.117 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.28 m.; length of bronze tube, *ca.* 0.026 m.; diameter of tube at inside, 0.006-0.008 m.; at outside, *ca.* 0.004 m.; diameter of overflow-hole, 0.009 m. The walls are fragmentary and have been restored in plaster, but the profile is complete, and the base, with its clay spout and carefully-fitted inner tube, is intact. The interior shows pronounced wheel-ridges.

below the rim. The fabric is that of the ordinary Athenian household mixing-bowls³ of the fifth century. Like them it is waterproofed by means of a dull glaze wash inside and on the rim; a thinner wash of the same sort has been rather carelessly applied to the exterior as well. Two inscriptions are painted in bold glaze letters on the wall: above, ANTIO + ---, below, XX. Close to the bottom of the pot is a carefully made clay spout, fitted with a small bronze inner tube. Centered above the spout, just below the rim, is a hole which would permit the pot to be filled to the same level each time.

These arrangements correspond to the specifications which literature provides for the clepsydra, the "water-clock" commonly used in the Athenian law courts from the end of the fifth century until at least the end of the fourth. The essential elements are the spout, which makes possible an easily controlled outflow of the pot's contents, and the overflow hole above, which supplies a visual check on accurate filling. The context in which this pot was found, an undisturbed well-deposit of about 400 B.C.,⁴ suggests that it belongs to a time not long after the first introduction of such devices. The identification will become apparent, it is hoped, as we consider the literary evidence for the use and character of the clepsydra. We must also inquire under what circumstances one so made and so inscribed could have been used.

Happily, there is no dearth of literary testimony to the use of the clepsydra as a time measurer in the law courts, nor indeed do we lack descriptions of the object itself.⁵ This ingenious and dramatic device held an immediate appeal for the ancients, as a long series of references dating from the fifth century before Christ to the time of the latest grammarians indicates.⁶

³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 512, fig. 25.

⁴ The well lies some two metres to the southeast of the Tholos precinct wall. Our pot comes from the lower filling, along with a heavy deposit of ordinary water pitchers, some plain, some glazed, and two red-figured, from the period of the well's use. The latest material in this filling suggests that this well was abandoned in the last years of the fifth century or the opening years of the fourth; the dumped-in filling found in the upper part of the well is not later than the first quarter of the fourth century.

⁵ For the clepsydra used in the dicasteria, as distinct from the earlier siphon or sprinkler variety represented by literary evidence and extant vases, see Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *Klepsydra* (2), pp. 807 f. The name of our type, "water-thief," was apparently carried over from the siphon type, which by its controlled flow of water may have inspired the notion of using such a device for measuring a fixed period of time. (*Κλεψύδρα* as the name both of the well-known spring on the Acropolis and that in Messene apparently has a different history.) We must also distinguish here our simple contrivance from the complicated mechanisms, which sometimes went by the same name, developed in a more scientific age and described by Athenaeus (IV, 174 c) and others.

⁶ Most of the ancient lore is quoted by M. Schmidt, *Die Entstehung der Antiken Wasseruhr*, pp. 91 ff. The more casual references in the Orators to the *ὕδωρ* as limiting the length of their pleas are cited by B. Keil in *Anonymus Argentinensis*, Beilage II, Zum Ath. Gerichtswesen, *passim*. For the sake of completeness, we may add here two scholia on Aeschines (*Schol. in Aesch.*, II, 133, ed. Dindorf, pp. 65-66); Alcidas, II, 11; Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 69, 2; Pollux, viii, 16; Aristophanes, *Vesp.*, 857-8; and schol. in Aristoph. *Eccl.*, 1089 (ed. Dübner) = Müller, *F.H.G.*, II,

Our earliest authority for the clepsydra is Aristophanes. One of his chorus of old Acharnians, a Marathonian hero, grumbles that it is hardly fitting that youngsters should shame an old man's grey hairs by dragging him into litigation "to destroy him at the clepsydra."⁷ In a slightly later play he teases a jury-court veteran (his chief "Wasp") who never sleeps a wink "or if he doze off the least bit his mind goes fluttering in the night about the clepsydra."⁸ In the early fourth century, Lysias refers to the ὕδωρ five times in a single plea,⁹ and in Isocrates we find a fine burst of invective when he points out that to recount the devices of his opponent, the conspiracies, the accusations, the private and public suits he has started, "not even if there were twice as much water would it be enough."¹⁰ Plato seems to agree with the latter: orators and lawyers, he says, are persuaders rather than mentors, for instead of teaching the truth, they try to obtain a favorable verdict, "or do you suppose that there are any teachers so clever that they can satisfactorily teach the judges the truth --- in the short time allowed by the water ---?"¹¹ A little later, Demosthenes, to show his good faith and fair-mindedness in a dispute, calls upon Aeschines to claim the credit for whatever benefit he has ever done the state within the time limit of his own speech (ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι).¹² Aeschines, in his turn, was able to use the "water" to oratorical advantage; in the speech against Ctesiphon, he describes to the court the legally divided day: "--- the first water is for the accuser, the laws and the democracy, the second for the defendant, --- and the third water is poured in for the penalty and the extent of your wrath."¹³

Our earliest description of the object which held this legal ὕδωρ comes from Aristotle: "and there are clepsydras which have small tubes for the outflow; into these they pour the water by which the lawsuits must be conducted."¹⁴ The αὐλίσκος ἔκρους is the clay spout of our clepsydra, with its small tube of bronze. The position

p. 619, 5 a (Craterus). For a general account of the legal clepsydra and its use see Hommel, *Philologus*, Supplbd. XIX, Heft II, pp. 86 ff., 104 ff., and the more technical report in W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der Antiken Zeitrechnung*, pp. 203 ff.; also Lipsius-Meier-Schömann, *Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, pp. 910 ff.

⁷ This is his first reference (*Ach.*, 693) in 425/4 B.C.; after this date the mention of the clepsydra is frequent. Meton, "the best of the astronomers," is said to have placed a sundial on the wall of the Pnyx in 433/2 (Philochorus, frag. 99, Müller, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 400; schol. in Aristoph. *Aves*, 997); the introduction of the clepsydra in this period may be a result of the same apparently increasing consciousness of time. A more immediate cause might be found in the constant enlargement of the jury-pay, which may have suggested to the State the curtailment of the length of cases (the final raise to three obols was engineered by Cleon in 425; Lipsius-Meier-Schömann, *op. cit.*, p. 38; *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, V, p. 102).

⁸ *Vesp.*, 93 f. (422 B.C.).

¹⁰ XVIII, 51.

⁹ Lysias, XXIII, 4, 8, 11, 14, 15.

¹¹ *Theaetetus*, 201 b.

¹² XVIII, 139. This is a common rhetorical tag, and we meet it as early as Andocides, I, 26, 35, 55; cf. Demosthenes, LVII, 61, *et al.*

¹³ III, 197.

¹⁴ Εἰσὶ δὲ κλεψύδραι αὐλίσκους ἔχουσαι ἔκρους εἰς ἃς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνέχουσι πρὸς ὃ δὲ λέγειν τὰς δίκας (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 67, 2; *ed. Blass*).

of the spout suits the further explanation of a scholiast to Aristophanes who says: "the clepsydra is a vessel with a very small hole near the base; full of water, it was placed in the court."¹⁵ That the clepsydra was an open container, like the newly identified pot,¹⁶ follows from the scheme recommended by Aeneas Tacticus for dividing the night watches equally throughout the year; he says that the interior of the clepsydra should be smeared with wax, to be removed gradually as the nights grow longer, and that, conversely, layers of wax should be added as the nights grow shorter, "in order that the capacity should be less."¹⁷ How practical this expedient was is unknown, but the suggestion would have been impossible had the clepsydra been a closed pot. Aeneas adds that the orifice through which the water flows out should be made with exactness;¹⁸ our neat projecting spout would suit his requirement nicely. We know from Aristotle and the orators that the water was stopped during cases for the reading of laws and the introduction of witnesses,¹⁹ and a hypothetical clepsydra has been constructed with a stopcock and faucet.²⁰ Not only does the testimony of Herondas, who in a mock case tells the secretary to "plug the hole" in the clepsydra, contradict this,²¹ but the construction of the tube in the actual clepsydra has no provision for anything but a simple stopper, probably with a broad head—the disputed "nail" (ἡλος or ἡλίσκος) mentioned by Aristophanes.²²

There is no mention in the ancient sources of the overflow hole below the rim, preserved in our clepsydra, to ensure that the pot was filled to the appointed level. There was, however, provision for an official ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ elected by lot before each day's legal proceedings (at the same time as the four men who were to count the votes) "in order that no mischief be done" (μηδὲ γίγνηται περὶ ταῦτα κακούργημα μηδέν).²³ And that the filling of the clepsydra must have been carefully watched is attested by the existence of the προχοῖδιον as a piece of specifically legal equipment for pouring in the water.²⁴ How the orators knew when the water was running low and time was fast going²⁵ has always been a difficulty in the reconstruction of the hypothetical clepsydra, but it is now clear that there is no necessity for a "schwimmende Mass-

¹⁵ ἡ γὰρ κλεψύδρα ἀγγεῖον ἐστὶν ἔχον μικροτάτην ὀπήν περὶ τὸν πυθμένα, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ μεστὸν ὕδατος ἐτίθετο — — — (schol. in Aristoph. *Ach.*, 694).

¹⁶ Although one scholiast speaks of it as both an "amphora" and a "hydria" (schol. in Lucian, *Pisc.*, 28), instead of mentioning it cautiously as a "vessel" (ἀγγεῖον) or "some sort of contraption" (κατασκευασμά τι).

¹⁷ *Πολιορκήτικά*, 22, 25 (mid-fourth century before Christ).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, frag. XLVIII.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 67, 3; Lysias, XXIII, 4; Isaeus, II, 34, *et al.*

²⁰ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 43, fig. 22.

²¹ Κ]αῖτοι λαβὼν μοι, γραμματεῦ, τῆς αἰκείης | τὸν νόμον ἄνειπε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ὀπήν βύσον | τῆς κλεψύδρης, βέλτιστε, μέχρις οὗ εἶπη — — — (Herondas, *Mimes*, II, 41 ff., third century before Christ; cf. also schol. in Lucian, *loc. cit.*).

²² Aristotle, *ap.* Pollux, X, 61 = Aristoph., frag. 314 (Kock).

²³ Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 66, 2.

²⁴ Pollux, X, 61.

²⁵ E. g. Isocrates, XV, 320.

stabe.”²⁶ Experiment with the Agora clepsydra shows that, although the flow of water is at first full and swift, the stream diminishes perceptibly as the pressure lessens and the level nears the bottom. The approaching end of the time limit would have been apparent not only to the orator but to his hearers.²⁷

The sketch in Figure 2 shows the clepsydra in action. In view of the fact that a pair of clepsydres could conveniently be used for any multiple of the time measure provided by one of them, we have installed a second—plugged up—“water-clock” to catch the flow from the first. The water may, of course, have been allowed to run off onto the ground, though such lavishness seems as unlikely as it does disorderly. Practical experiment demonstrates that if a receptacle was used it must have been an open pot or basin, no smaller in diameter than the clepsydra itself; the curve of the stream which spouts out to some distance when the plug is first removed falls nearer and nearer the base of the vessel as the force of the flow diminishes. The practical speaker could thus gauge the time remaining to him no less by the curve of the water than by the volume of the flow.

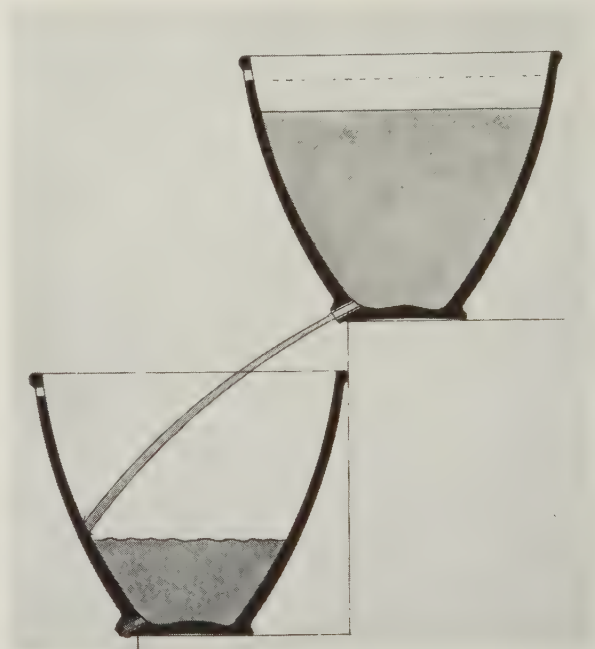


Fig. 2. The Clepsydra in Action

A word now about the two large letters, XX, centered approximately over the spout of our clepsydra. Since we know that the water used in the clepsydres was regulated by measure, and that the unit was the *χοῦς*,²⁸ we do not need to look far

²⁶ Suggested by Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 35, and Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 218.

²⁷ The simplicity of our clepsydra in contrast to the restorations made in the past (see especially Schmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 22) finds an analogy in the device quoted in an early third century inscription from Iasos, which describes an equally official vessel. The promptness of the citizen body at the assembly was to be ensured by starting a clepsydra at sunrise and withholding the assembly pay from all those who arrived after the water had run out. The specifications for the construction of this clepsydra are given: it was to be a clay pot holding a *metretes*; it was to have a hole *κναμιαῖον* (the size of a bean?); finally, it was to be stationed seven (?) feet above the ground, so that all could see it (Hicks, *J.H.S.*, VIII, 1887, p. 103; Michel, *Rec. Inscr. Grecques*, no. 466).

²⁸ Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 67, 2 f.: “Ten choes are given for cases over five thousand drachmas, and three choes for the second speech,” etc. Compare also Pollux, who tells us that the *ἐπιμελητὴς ἐφ’ ὕδωρ* supervised the *ισότης* of the clepsydres (VIII, 113).

for the explanation of this inscription. To expand XX to $\text{X}(\text{o}\upsilon\varsigma)$ $\text{X}(\text{o}\upsilon\varsigma)$ seems reasonable. That the doubling of the initial letter indicates two choes is perhaps obvious without citing parallels from the Attic numerical system familiar from inscriptions. We may, however, note the Eleusinian treasure-list of 329/8 B.C., where MMMM is to be interpreted as four medimnoi.²⁹

The Agora clepsydra, filled to the overflow-hole, proves to have a capacity of 6.4 litres,³⁰ giving the measure of a single chous as 3.2 litres. This figure is not far from the 3.283 litres quoted by Hultsch for the Attic chous.³¹ As Mr. Broneer has already pointed out,³² a gratifying correspondence is provided by the fifth-century

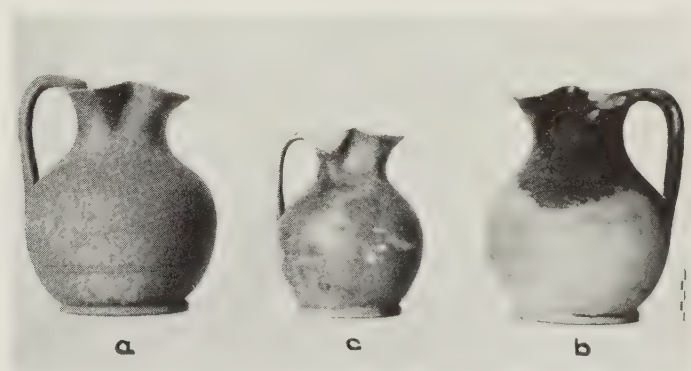


Fig. 3. Household Jugs from the Clepsydra Well

official measure found recently in the excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis: our clepsydra holds exactly twice its contents. If our official container, then, holds two choes, the public measure will be equivalent to a chous, or, since it is a dry measure, to three choenices.³³ If it seems unusual that a standard should represent three units, we may point out that the three-choenix measure was much used in contemporary practice.³⁴

Further support for the interpretation of XX as two choes is supplied by the ordinary standard-size oinochoes of which a number were found in the same well as the clepsydra (Fig. 3). Filled to the brim, one (*a*) measures 3.310 litres, the other (*b*) 3.060 litres. The smaller jug (*c*) contains 1.550 litres, and perhaps represents a

²⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1672 b, col. II, line 258.

³⁰ All comparative measurements were made with rice; on the method and its reliability, see O. Broneer, in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 223. Measured with water, the clepsydra holds 6.44 litres.

³¹ Hultsch, *Griechische u. Römische Metrologie*², pp. 107 ff., 703.

³² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 222 ff., and fig. 57.

³³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 224.

³⁴ See *I.G.*, I², 838, line 7; 839, lines 14 f. Aristophanes (*ap.* Athenaeus, II, 478 f. = Kock, frag. 465) suggests that three choenices were a quantity commonly purchased. Cf. also Aristophanes, *Vesp.*, 481.

ἡμίχοον.³⁵ Although it is in no way suggested that these ordinary shapes served as measures, it would no doubt be considerably more convenient to have them in approximately standard sizes, especially if one brought one's own container to the purchase of the cheaper commodities.³⁶

Although the chous of *ca.* 3.2 litres agree^s well enough with the system established by Hultsch, it differs markedly from the latest estimate of Viedebantt and the older system of Dumont, based on much the same evidence.³⁷ The widely varying results obtained by these scholars suggest the difficulties inherent in a theoretical approach to a problem essentially practical. A close correspondence, on the other hand, such as that between the public measure from the North Slope and the Agora clepsydra, the only unquestionably Attic measures of the fifth century now available,³⁸ indicates that a solution of the problems concerning Attic standards of measure may not be far away.³⁹

The dichous is recorded by Aristotle in his list of the private suits which were

³⁵ *a*: Inv. No. P 2086. Height, 0.23 m.; diameter, 0.186 m. Intact except for chips; dull red glaze. *b*: Inv. No. P 2075. Height, 0.223 m.; diameter, 0.182 m. Intact except for chips. Dull black glaze, much worn. *c*: Inv. No. P 2077. Height, 0.18 m.; diameter, 0.144 m. Part of the mouth missing; restored in plaster. Dull dark red glaze, somewhat worn.

³⁶ Cf. Aristophanes, *Eccl.*, 819 f., where the barley-buyer holds out his basket.

³⁷ Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 703; Viedebantt, *Festschrift für Oxé* (1938), pp. 135 ff.; Dumont, *Rev. Arch.*, XXIV, 1872, pp. 20 ff. The final authority for all these investigations in the past has been the "Tabula de mensuris ac ponderibus vetustissima," dated by internal evidence in the first century after Christ (*Scriptores metrologici*, ed. Hultsch, I, frag. 29, p. 208), and the even later medical writers. The accuracy of these accounts may be seriously questioned. It is also difficult to see the justification for Viedebantt's use of the late second century inscription *I.G.*, II², 1013 (Viedebantt, *op. cit.*, p. 136) as testimony for the earlier Attic standard; this document has always been considered to represent the later adjustment to the increasing internationalism in trade (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 429 f., and the bibliography there cited).

³⁸ The much-quoted "hemikotylion" in the British Museum (F 595; Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, p. 135, fig. 14) is very probably non-Attic, and appears to represent a considerably larger, probably Peloponnesian, standard. Roberts (*Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 262, no. 262) places the inscription among the Laconian and dates it *ca.* 464 or later (p. 270). Mr. Martin Robertson, who kindly examined the pot for us, reminds us of its provenience, Cythera. It is unnecessary to suppose, as Greifenhagen suggests (*C.V.A.*, Deutschland, I, Bonn, pp. 24 and 47), that the scratched inscription has anything to do with the shape of the pot. The British Museum mug was incidentally pressed into service as a measure by its ancient owner in the same way as a late fourth-century jug of which a fragment was found in the Agora (Inv. No. P 12,702; wide round mouth and the neck to the shoulder preserved; firm black glaze). Scratched around the base of the neck is the inscription: ΚΟΤΥ: ΠΙΤ (i. e., seven and a quarter cotyles).

³⁹ The apparent absence of correspondence of the Agora dichous and the North Slope measure with the fourth century series of measures illustrated by the example in the National Museum, Athens (Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 20), and by its larger counterparts in the Agora (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 297; and IV, 1935, p. 346, fig. 5) is possibly to be explained by a difference in standard corresponding to a difference in date (cf. e. g. Andocides, I, 83: νόμοις δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος, καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς). Many additional fragments of both series, but none of them as yet measurable, have come from the Agora.

regulated by the clepsydra (the technical term was *πρὸς ὕδωρ*). Two choes were poured for the second speech or rebuttal in suits involving sums from one thousand to five thousand drachmas, where the main argument received seven choes, and in suits within one thousand drachmas, where the first speech was allowed five choes.⁴⁰ On the basis of Aristotle's account and other scattered references,⁴¹ a whole literature has grown up on the subject of the duration of the chous and the number of amphoras in the legal day.⁴² By actual test, the Agora clepsydra of two choes capacity, filled with water to the over-flow hole, discharges its contents in a mean of six minutes. This yields a result of three minutes to a chous—somewhat less than Keil's estimates of the time value of that measure (four minutes, thirty-four and two-sevenths seconds for the period before *ca.* 370 B.C., four minutes for the period after that date).⁴³

For whom the dichous was poured into our clepsydra, and upon what occasion, is not immediately apparent. The inscription ANTIO + --- can be restored in several ways. The personal names *Ἀντιοχίδης* and *Ἀντίοχος* are both well attested for the fifth century,⁴⁴ but the contemporary references to the clepsydra as a legal time-measurer,⁴⁵ while the sundial⁴⁶ seems to have been used for private reckoning,⁴⁷ point irresistibly to the conclusion that this fifth-century clepsydra was public property. In support of this is its provenience, so close to the Bouleuterion and Tholos,⁴⁸ and

⁴⁰ *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 67, 2 ff. (Hommel, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f., emends the $\bar{\alpha}$ or $\bar{\chi}$, for one thousand drachmas, in the current text, to β , for two thousand drachmas, in the second case).

⁴¹ The most important are: Aeschines, II, 126, in a public suit (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) limited to the "measured day," where the measure of water for the whole day is given as eleven amphoras (the days taken as standard were those in the month of Poseideon—December/January—which are the shortest in the year, varying in Athens from nine hours, twenty-eight minutes, to nine hours, thirty-four minutes; see Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 67, 4 f. and Harpocration, *s. v.* *διαμετρημένη ἡμέρα*); Demosthenes, XLIII, 8 ff. (*ca.* 361 B.C.), where in a case of *διαδικασία* the five disputants received an amphora for the main argument and three choes for the rebuttal; the allowance for the *διαδικασία* here is entirely different from the six choes recorded for this type of suit by Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 67, 2 ff.: --- *ἐξάρχους δὲ ταῖς διαδικασίαις, καὶ ὕστερον λόγος οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς*), and, as Keil has shown (*op. cit.*, pp. 239 ff.), must imply a sweeping change in the regulations between *ca.* 361 B.C. and 330-20 B.C.

⁴² Photiades, *Ἀθηνά*, XVI, pp. 4 ff.; B. Keil, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 ff.; Kenyon, *Class. Rev.*, XVIII, 1904, p. 338; Maltezos, *Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 8, 1933, pp. 311 ff. There is a good résumé of the literature in Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens* (London, 1912), pp. 257 ff.

⁴³ Cf. Sandys, *loc. cit.*, particularly his commentary on *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 67, 4. In measuring the rate of flow from the Agora clepsydra I have ignored the possibility of variation in the rate of flow occasioned by a variation of the temperature of the water in the clepsydra.

⁴⁴ E. g., *P.A.*, 1149, 1150, 1153.

⁴⁵ Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1694; *Vesp.*, 93, 557-8; *Ach.*, 693 (and in the early fourth century, Alcidas, II, 11).

⁴⁶ In any case, the clepsydra was in no sense a clock for telling the time of day; it indicated only when a fixed period had elapsed. The ordinary translation into English, "water-clock," is deceptive.

⁴⁷ Aristophanes, *Eccl.*, 652; frag. 675 (Kock). Meton's *heliotropion* on the Pnyx was perhaps intended for public (or official ?) use.

⁴⁸ The fact that the well from which it comes is outside their precinct walls, however, might

the very official appearance of the bold inscription.⁴⁹ The only choice left is the tribe, and we may restore 'Αντιοχ[ίδος] with a fair degree of assurance; this yields in addition a symmetrical arrangement of the letters in relation to the handles and the XX below (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. The Clepsydra with Handles and Inscription Restored.
From a Water Color by Piet de Jong

The fact that it is inscribed with the name of a tribe might suggest that the clepsydra was used in connection with the Boule and that it was a prytanizing tribe which thus labelled its property. Against the view that it was an ancient precaution

serve to connect it with the area not fully excavated to the south. In the following discussion of the possible purpose and use of the Agora clepsydra, it must be remembered that the remains of the law courts may lie in this neighborhood, and that further excavation there may solve the problem conclusively.

⁴⁹ Compare the inscription on the public measure illustrated in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 346, fig. 5, and the inscriptions on Panathenaic amphoras, with the ordinary καλός-names and artists' signatures painted on vases, and the scratched legends indicating ownership.

to eliminate filibustering from the sessions of the Council may be urged the complete absence of literary testimony to its use in the Bouleuterion, and, conversely, the unanimous agreement of the ancient sources in referring it to the law courts.⁵⁰

A possibility is offered us if we remember that in the fifth century the legal power of the Boule as the highest governing body of the state over public offenders was very much more extensive than in the fourth century and that it decided many issues involving even the life and limbs of the citizens by summary investigation and swift execution of sentence.⁵¹ Important cases were sometimes referred from the Council to the courts, but where the interests of the People were affected most nearly, the criminal was handed over to the Demos, and the Assembly had the power of trial and punishment. Indeed, the transference of such issues to the law courts was so rare that Aristophanes could write: "and if ever the Boule and the Demos are at a loss about an important case, they pass a decree for the wrong-doers to be handed over to the jurymen."⁵²

In these juristic duties of the prytaneis, we might suppose that the organization of a case involving accusation only before the Boule was swift and simple enough to obviate a time limit.⁵³ The prytaneis, however, also introduced public cases to the Assembly and presided over their conduct; we may well imagine that in the stirring times at the end of the fifth century, there were several offenders whom the Demos clamored to judge in the Ecclesia. The procedure in these cases is little understood; it was apparently not fixed until well into the fourth century, but everything we know of them suggests that they were conducted with due legal formality.⁵⁴ The objection

⁵⁰ "Clepsydra" is used as a synonym for law court in all but one of the Aristophanes references; even the scholiasts are agreed that the dicasteria were meant. A further objection might be raised: it would seem unjustifiably extravagant for each tribe to own a complete set of clepsydra for use in the same building.

⁵¹ For the legal jurisdiction of the Boule in the fifth century, see Lipsius-Meier-Schömann, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 176 ff.; cf. Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 45, 1.

⁵² *Vesp.*, 590 ff.

⁵³ See Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 929 ff., where the prytaneis come to execute sentence on the criminal without his having been present at the trial, which certainly does not suggest the use of a time limit—for the defendant's speech at least.

⁵⁴ If we should wish to be so rash as to attempt to identify a trial in which our clepsydra might have been used, a tempting possibility lies close at hand. The *εἰσαγγελία* of the eight generals to the Demos for their failure to pick up the dead and dying after the sea battle of Arginusae (406 B.C.) is familiar from Xenophon's detailed account (*Hell.*, I, 7, 1 ff.; cf. also *Mem.*, IV, 4, 2; Plato, *Apology*, 32 B). The refusal of the prytaneis to consent, except under duress, to the condemnation of the generals without trial, the long speech of Euryptolemus, where he attempts to persuade the Assembly to try the generals according to the "three parts of the day" (i. e., by the clepsydra; schol. Aristoph. *Eccl.*, 1089), and the near consent of the people to his proposals suggest that the prytanizing tribe may have planned to conduct the case by the clepsydra (there had been plenty of time for plans, inasmuch as an interval of at least six days had elapsed since the first introduction of the case). Socrates who won fame by his final refusal, alone of the prytaneis, to consent to the illegal procedure, was cast by lot to preside over his tribe that day; coincidentally enough, his tribe was Antiochis.

to the use of our clepsydra in such an event is that one would suppose the emphasis in such a public trial to have been rather on the national and legal aspect of the affair than on the tribe of the prytaneis who happened to be officiating.

Since many of the dicasteria were certainly in the neighborhood of the marketplace,⁵⁵ the most natural attribution of the Agora clepsydra would be to one of these nearby buildings. But in this case, the fact that it is inscribed with the name of a tribe presents a very real difficulty. The report of Aristotle on the elaborate method of re-allotting the tribal groups of jurors into their dicastic sections makes it clear that in the fourth century the object of legal sortition was the division of the tribes into a fair representation in each court. In the latter part of the fifth century the situation was certainly the same, except that the jurors were allotted to their sections yearly instead of daily.⁵⁶

The only juristic bodies arranged by tribes⁵⁷ were the *Τριάκοντα* and the public *diaitetai*. It is dubious whether the *diaitetai* existed before 403/2 B.C.,⁵⁸ and the abundant evidence for their later activities shows that proceedings in this sort of public arbitration were lengthy (sometimes lasting weeks) and informal, so that the use of a clepsydra seems improbable. The conduct of cases by the Thirty is little known, but the unimportance of the issues under their jurisdiction, at any rate in the fourth century, and the fact that they seem to have been more of an investigating body than a formal court would lend little support to the use of a legal time-limit among them. Their tribal organization, however, makes them a strong candidate for the ownership of the clepsydra, and our knowledge of their scope and duties in the fifth century is exceedingly fragmentary.

With the evidence now available, it would be over-bold to attempt to choose between the alternatives: our clepsydra could conceivably have belonged to the Thirty and served in the course of their ordinary legal duties, but other more unusual occasions—trials before the Council or the Assembly—would also provide us with an explanation for its tribal inscription. It is to be hoped that the discovery of further débris from the law courts may point out more conclusively the one set of circumstances in which such a clepsydra could have been used, and who the officials were who set it up and thus ἐκέλευον τοὺς ῥήτορας λέγειν.

SUZANNE YOUNG

⁵⁵ Lysias, XIX, 55; Isocrates, VII, 54; cf. Busolt-Swoboda³, p. 1155 and note 4.

⁵⁶ Aristophanes, *Vesp.*, 400 f.; cf. Lipsius-Meier-Schömann, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 f.

⁵⁷ That the so-called "tribal courts" are a myth and derive from misunderstood passages in Lysias (XXIII, 2) and Isaeus (*ap. Harpocration*, s. v. ὅτι πρὸς τὴν φυλὴν — — — = Isaeus, frag. 1) has been proved by Lipsius (*op. cit.*, p. 82 and note 115). Οἱ τῇ Ἰπποθωντίδι δικάζοντες are shown to be the members of the board of Thirty (at this time raised to Forty) who represented the tribe of the defendant and decided civil suits under ten drachmas; more important suits they investigated and, if they found that they warranted further legal procedure, referred to the *diaitetai*. In any case, a clepsydra belonging to the tribe itself and used in the tribal headquarters would doubtless be kept there, and the provenience of the fourth-century decrees of Antiochis (*S.E.G.*, III, 115-117) shows that the headquarters of this tribe were far from the Agora.

⁵⁸ Cf. Harrell, *Public Arbitration in Athenian Law*, Univ. of Missouri Studies, XI, 1, 1936, p. 23.

MATER CAELATURAE

IMPRESSIONS FROM ANCIENT METALWORK

Plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit. "Modelling," said Pasiteles, "is the mother of metal-chasing, of making statues, and of carving stone."¹ Not only did the artist make studies and preliminary models in clay and wax, but throughout all his activities, he reverted to the softer media for testing his work. This modelling obviously differs considerably from the routine modelling and mould-making by the coroplast engaged in making figurines of commercial character.



Fig. 1. Head of Herakles

Thus when the excavations produced from the débris of metalworking establishments moulds for bronze-casting and moulds and trial pieces taken from metal originals, they were easily recognized.² Though made of common clay, they retain with startling freshness the imprint of lost masterpieces of ancient casting.

Of the clay impressions taken from metal originals only one is archaic. True to its age, it is a brilliant bit of modelling, a head not easy to forget, broken from a thin terracotta plaque (Fig. 1).³ It was found in a miscellaneous filling that offered no information as to its date. A better preserved example from the Acropolis shows that the scene was the struggle of Herakles with the Nemean lion (Fig. 2).⁴ The two pieces obviously derive from one original, though details, like the shape of the head, show that they come not only from different moulds but from different patrices. On the Agora piece traces of the paw of the lion clawing at the

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 156.

This paper has profited much by the interest of friends, especially Miss Talcott and Miss C. Olmstead. My husband's knowledge of ancient metalwork has corrected and illuminated many points for me. Most of the photographs of the objects owe their clarity to the skill of Miss Alison Frantz. As an experiment, the casts have been taken in Attic clay, the medium in which the original impressions would have been made; with the modern casts the shrinkage is less than with the ancient, which were baked.

² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 82 ff.

³ Agora Inventory T 563. Found in 1934 in a miscellaneous filling. Height, 0.048 m.; width, 0.04 m. From a plaque; back flat, with traces of the board on which the clay was laid. Striations indicate that the head was bent forward at right angles to the vertical. Fine buff Attic clay. No traces of paint. Previously noted in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 370, fig. 26.

⁴ D. Brooke, *Acrop. Cat.*, II, no. 1323; E. Reisch, "Heraklesrelief von Lamptrae," *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, pl. III, pp. 118 f.; C. Hutton, *J.H.S.*, XVII, 1897, pp. 317 f., fig. 10.

front of the head indicate that the position of the beast was identical on the two plaques.

The type of unbearded Herakles, unusual in Attica at this time, is, according to Furtwängler,⁵ not a later development of the bearded type, but is synchronous with



Fig. 2. Acropolis Plaque

it and appears chiefly in Ionia. It occurs early, for instance, on the Assos frieze. The scheme of the group on our plaque is also peculiar. It belongs not to the standing scheme that was popular in black-figured vases, but to the stooping formula that appears first in late black-figure and in early red-figure.⁶ Nor is it canonical even in this class. The usual type shows Herakles bending over the lion, which bites him

⁵ Roscher, *s. v.* Herakles, col. 2151.

⁶ S. B. Luce, *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, pp. 441 f. and pp. 460 ff.

as it lifts a hind-paw to push away the hero's head. The plaques appear to show Herakles as kneeling, having swung the beast over his head to lie upon its back on the ground.⁷ Its hind-paws claw desperately at the youth's head, and its right fore-paw is bent back of its mane in an endeavor to dislodge Herakles' arm. The lion's head is shown from above, like an Ionian panther's.⁸ The locks of the mane were probably added in paint.

The closest parallel is that first indicated by Reisch⁹ on a marble relief from Attica, but on that the bearded Herakles and the pose of the lion follow closely the conventional types. In the absence of information, we can only surmise that the source was Ionian. The later development of the scheme may be seen on a gem of about one hundred years later, showing Herakles from the back.¹⁰ The formula, though tortuous, is an ingenious variation on a hackneyed theme.

The style of the Agora plaque is that of the last decade of the sixth century. In sculpture it may be compared with the two famous statue bases from Athens.¹¹ The head on our plaque, however, is a little more pointed, the chin sharper, the eye narrower and more curved, and the hair arranged in a different scheme.¹² The Theseus from the Eretrian pediment is also close, especially in the treatment of the hair.¹³ The vases of Euthymides and of Phintias¹⁴ also offer good parallels, though again the painted heads are less pointed; but the profile, particularly at the lips, is remarkably like.

But in its essence, this head is not carved or painted; it is as though struck from a die in the wet clay. The sharp detail, the tiny pellets for curls around the face, the tense modelling of the parted lips, of the square jawbone and lean neck, belong to another medium. The wavy locks of hair simply could not have been made by a graver in clay without leaving a soft edge; they must have been cut with a drill in metal. The pellet-curls were made by striking metal from inside with a punch. A plasticine impression of this head shows the technique as clearly as if the artist himself were describing it. Our plaque has been taken from a metal original, but it looks as though the original itself were a mould—in the negative. In such a negative, the coils of the ear reveal themselves not to have been added but to have been pressed outward from within.¹⁵ Strange as this procedure may seem, the existence of just such a bronze mould in Olympia supports our hypothesis.¹⁶ It is of course not impossible that the procedure was more complicated and that despite

⁷ Roscher, *loc. cit.*, col. 2197.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 118 ff., pl. III.

⁸ Reisch, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁰ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. XII, 26.

¹¹ A. Della Seta, *Dedalo*, III, 1922-23, pp. 207 ff. and pp. 409 ff.

¹² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 212 and 219.

¹³ *Antike Denkmäler*, III, pls. 27, 28.

¹⁴ Cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, figs. 366, 367, 369.

¹⁵ In all technical questions I have consulted Yanni Bakouli, the Agora mender, whose acquaintance with such matters can be relied upon.

¹⁶ *Olympia*, IV, pl. VII, no. 88. The depth of the mould must preclude the explanation that lead was hammered into it. It seems itself to have been cast from a clay matrix and somewhat reworked.



Fig. 3. Etruscan Mirror of Herakles and Malaché

appearances our head was taken from a clay mould, itself formed by pressing damp clay against a repoussé relief. If so, the relief is unbelievably crisp.

The head, then, should bear close comparison with coins. In an excellent series from Syracuse, in fact,¹⁷ the treatment of the hair in a series of wavy locks over the head and a roll spattered with pellet-curls over the forehead becomes very popular about the year 510 B.C. Closer at home, on Attic coins, we find the same coiffure, the same profile with its sharp lips and jutting chin.¹⁸ Though the eyebrow of Herakles is a typical thin relief line, the eye differs markedly from those of the coins. It is not heavily lidded, but treated simply as though lids and pupil were to be added in paint, as on the Melian reliefs.¹⁹ This point, taken in consideration with the duller Acropolis impression, suggests that the same man worked in clay and in metal, using now one, now the other medium to suit his convenience. Probably at this time the crafts were not sharply differentiated.

The only surviving metal relief that can hint at the appearance of the original is the Etruscan mirror of Heracles and Malaché (Fig. 3).²⁰ The clumsier modelling of the head and neck of the hero serves as a foil to reveal the mastery of the Athenian piece. Yet the scheme of the two might well derive from one source. Inasmuch as both scenes show the unbearded Herakles in a similar position, it looks as though the type had originated in Ionia, whence it had travelled to Attica and to Etruria.

The date of the Agora fragment must be close to 510 B.C., as previously suggested by Payne.²¹ The Acropolis and Agora plaques must also be related to a similar series of plaques showing Athena mounting a chariot.²² The best of these too might have been taken from a metal original. They are rare pieces and we must regret that we have no more of the work of those coroplasts whose relations with the metalworker were closer than with the vase-painter.

We must now pass over nearly one hundred years to consider another group of clay impressions from metal. The one complete mould gives us an excerpt from what was probably a full-length figure in the original (Fig. 4).²³ The mould-maker

¹⁷ E. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), pl. 3, no. 52 (cf. p. 15).

¹⁸ C. Seltman, *Athens: its history and coinage* (Cambridge, 1924), pl. XII for numerous instances of pellet-curls (527-510 B.C.), but pl. XIV, A 197 (514 B.C.) is closer in style.

¹⁹ P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, pl. 8, no. 14; cf. no. 15, fig. 2.

²⁰ H. B. Walters, *Cat. Bronzes in the Brit. Mus.*, pl. XVIII, no. 542. I owe the new photograph to the kindness of Mr. Martin Robertson. The scene occurs, with minor variations, also on later mirrors; cf. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, IV, pl. CCCXLIV (cf. II, pls. CLIX, CLX).

²¹ *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 186. Payne first referred me to the Acropolis plaque and generously discussed the subject with me.

²² Brooke, *Acrop. Cat.*, II, pp. 414 ff. The finish of these plaques varies markedly.

²³ Inv. No. T 1931. Found in 1939 in the débris of a metalworking establishment north of the electric railroad. The context was of the mid-fourth century before Christ. Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. The mould is complete, carefully rounded behind, but cut off clean on its left side. Slight chips and scars, particularly at the tip of the spear and on the arm.

selected the head and torso for his mysterious purposes. The positive, retaken from the ancient mould, shown by its delicately engraved details to have been in metal, represents a warrior equipped for battle.²⁴ His long-plumed Attic helmet, its cheek-guard lifted to show a palmette tendril design engraved beneath it, is set upon heavy, short locks. Our warrior wears a peculiar costume—a cuirass modelled like a nude torso, but without the leather flaps that usually hang below it to protect the body below the waist.²⁵ Instead the curling edge of the overfold of his chiton shows beneath the cuirass. The short sleeve of this chiton shows on his arm. Over his right shoulder (see Fig. 4, Cast from the Mould) runs the strap of his sword



Fig. 4. Mould of Warrior Relief (Left) and Cast from the Mould (Right)

belt. On his left arm he firmly holds his spear and shield. The rim of the shield is exquisitely decorated with a running tendril design. From the warrior's left shoulder a chlamys blows out behind, curving vigorously though its wearer is at rest. He stands quiet and expressionless, though he raises his right hand, with full-spread fingers, in what appears to be surprise. It is an unusual gesture among the Greeks of this period, yet it scarcely seems enough ground on which to base a theory of identification. Our warrior must remain nameless.

This piece probably belongs to the class of reliefs that covered the expensive armor fashionable during the Peloponnesian War. No border encloses the scene

²⁴ Suggestions have been made that this figure represents Athena, but the cuirass, the sword belt, and the chlamys have never, to my knowledge, been worn by that goddess.

²⁵ A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung*, I, *Der Metallharnisch* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1919), pp. 20 ff.

to indicate its original shape. The size and the curvature are perfectly plausible for those of the cheek-guard of a helmet. But a single figure like this might also come from the lappet that locked the shoulder of the cuirass to its body.²⁶ On elaborate sets of armor no doubt many small areas were treated. Presumably the original position was conveniently visible, for the artist has outdone himself in minutiae. The tiny engraved motives on the helmet and shield, such as are often shown on vases of the second half of the fifth century,²⁷ and the fastidious attention given to the features and even to the finger-nails have to be seen closely to be appreciated.

The sturdiness of our warrior is an inheritance from the Pheidian school. His heavy arm and hand, raised in solemn gesture, his round head, his emphatic features and round eye, are all comparable with those on grave reliefs that show the influence of the Parthenon.²⁸ The details of the face even are not far removed from those of the copies of the Parthenos.²⁹ For more close comparison we must go to coins. The facial type and the treatment of the hair occur on coins of Thurii, dating 420-400 B.C., and on those of Pharsalos of somewhat later date.³⁰ Kaineus and an Amazon on the Bassae frieze wear their hair in similar thick short locks; their faces also are not dissimilar,³¹ and their cloaks curl backward like that of the warrior, the folds bent back on themselves in weak "fibula" shape.³² In the same spirit is the irregular agitation at the bottom of the overfold, as it is arranged in a pattern of more advanced character than that used on the Parthenon frieze. The movement that animates the scene leaves the figure still staunch. It is a movement of wind from outside, not a movement of the spirit. This is the style of the last decades of the fifth century.

The costume on our mould has rather interesting affiliations. The type of helmet and the shape of the cheek-guard find parallels on the Parthenon frieze.³³ Commonly, however, in the late fifth century, the "muscle-cuirass," which is modelled like a nude torso, has leather flaps and is worn over a sleeveless chiton. The variant worn by our warrior³⁴ does appear on the Parthenon frieze, where it is worn over

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52; the invention of shoulder decoration is assigned to South Italy; on p. 27 cuirasses covered with reliefs are considered not earlier than the first century before Christ.

²⁷ Hagemann, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, figs. 504-507, 510, 576, 595. Examples of decorated armor are now being found at Olympia.

²⁸ H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin, 1931), pl. 17.

²⁹ Cf. H. Schrader, *Phidias* (Frankfurt, 1924), p. 42, figs. 11 f.

³⁰ G. Macdonald, *The Hunterian Collection*, I, pl. VII, 13-15 (Thurii, 420-400 B.C.); pl. VIII, 6 (Velia, 450-420 B.C.); cf. pl. VIII, 8-9 (after 400 B.C.); *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins, Thessaly*, pl. IX, 9 (Pharsalos, fourth century). Mr. E. T. Newell kindly examined a photograph of the mould and mentioned the parallels.

³¹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 88, 90.

³² *Ibid.*, pl. 86; cf. R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 23.

³³ A. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 92, no. 388.

³⁴ Hagemann, *op. cit.*, p. 39, with note 2 (a list of examples).

an overfold identically as on our relief.³⁵ The Perikles figure on the Strangford shield also wears his cuirass over an overfold.³⁶ This version seems to have remained rare in Greece proper. In Italy, on the other hand, it occurs frequently, particularly on Etruscan mirrors.³⁷ There also the chiton is shown with a sleeve sewn down the centre in a narrow band. More curious is the hair that covers the heads on Etruscan mirrors in grotesque looped curls.³⁸ Their prototypes must have looked like the locks of our Agora warrior. All these points are illustrated on the Praeneste bone plaques of the third century that bear a bizarre resemblance to our figure (Fig. 5).³⁹ These examples embody in a stereotyped,

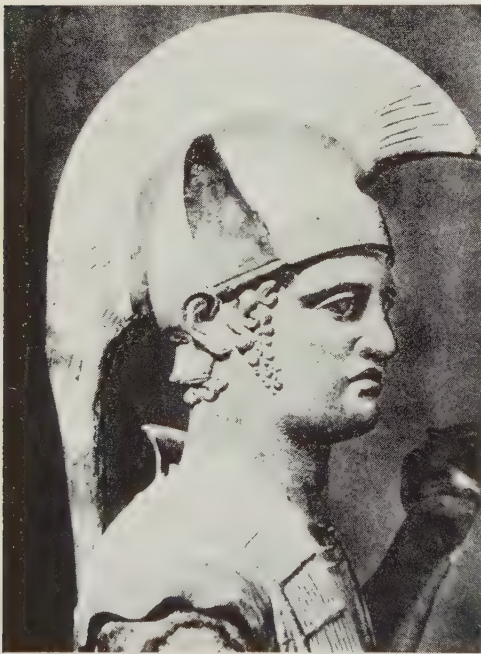


Fig. 6. Mars of Todi (from Giglioli, pl. CCLI)



Fig. 5. Praeneste plaque (from Giglioli, pl. CCCVI)

even a degenerate form, the formula that is alive in the mould before us. To bridge this gulf with some understanding of the relations between these distant cousins, let us consider the bronze Etruscan statue known as the Mars of Todi (Fig. 6).⁴⁰ He stands with his spear in his left hand and his right hand raised, in much the same pose as our figure. The "classic mien" sits gravely upon the heavy features, the open eye, even upon the curls that form loops in restrained fashion. This statue is now dated in the early fourth century before Christ. It is exactly what one might expect of a bronze-worker in Italy who had seen Greek work of the period of our own.

³⁵ Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 63, no. 7.

³⁶ *Corolla Curtius*, pl. 18, 1.

³⁷ Hagemann, *op. cit.*, p. 39, note 7, and pp. 67 ff.

³⁸ Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, II, pl. CCLV B ff.; V, pls. 77 ff.

³⁹ G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca* (Milano, 1935), pl. CCCVI; M. Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, II, pl. VI, 1 (p. 28 dates the plaques in the third century before Christ).

⁴⁰ Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pls. CCL f.; Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 667-668, in which Arndt likens the Mars to mid-fifth century Greek work, but considers it later. Giglioli dates it in the first half of the fourth century before Christ.

The inspiration of our mould was itself probably in metal. Its Pheidian flavor, taken in consideration with the parallels for the unusual costume on the Parthenon frieze and on Athena's shield, suggests that the artist had perhaps in his earlier days himself worked on the shield. That the motives and costumes of this school migrated to Italy on all sorts of copies is apparent from the number of copies there. But hitherto we have not had the originals and this small specimen startles us by its superiority to the echoes.

The character of the next two pieces is clearer. One is a mould; the other is an ancient impression from a mould. Both show unmistakable earmarks of having



Fig. 7. Kadmos Mould (Left) and Clay Impression from the Mould (Right)

been taken from metal originals: rivet-marks, pitting of rocks, and finely engraved details. The shape of the objects is that of the cheek-guard of a helmet. In the mould the shape is Attic; in the impression it follows a hybrid type known as "Chalcidian."⁴¹ The indentation at the top is for the eye. Many variations of cheek-guards exist; perhaps the best known is that shown on copies of the Parthenos, a cheek-guard which is raised; an engraved griffin prances on its inner side.

Our reliefs presumably occupied the outside of the guards. A few comparable

⁴¹ B. Schröder, *Arch. Anz.*, XX, 1905, p. 19, fig. 6; Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV, p. 170.

pieces survive.⁴² So many appear on vases of the fifth century as to suggest that decorated helmets were common (see above, note 27).

The mould was evidently taken from a metal original, itself rather rubbed and worn. The positive (Fig. 7)⁴³ shows a youth, nude save for an edge of the cloak that flies out behind his shoulders, hurrying toward the left up rocky ground. He holds out behind him an hydria, grasped firmly by the neck handle, as though it were full. Though the upper part of the figure is missing, the body is modelled to



Fig. 8. Kadmos Vase in Metropolitan Museum (from Richter, pl. 126)

suggest that he is looking backward at the foe. Around the scene runs a narrow border, finer than those on the Dodona cheek-guards, but very like one on the famous piece showing Helen and Eros (Fig. 17).⁴⁴ Three rivet heads, to bind the thin bronze to a lead lining, appear on the surface.⁴⁵

The youth has evidently been surprised as he went to fill his jar at a spring. This

⁴² C. Carapanos, *Dodone*, pls. XV, LV; *Jahrbuch*, II, 1887, pp. 13 ff., pl. I.

⁴³ Inv. No. T 930. Section T. Cistern of a context of the third quarter of the fourth century before Christ. Found in 1935. Preserved height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.103 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Top broken away; smoothed behind; surface dull. Fairly coarse buff clay with some grit.

⁴⁴ *Jahrbuch*, XLI, 1926, pp. 191 ff.

⁴⁵ *Jahrbuch*, II, 1887, p. 15.

motive occurs on an Italian hydria⁴⁶ dating *ca.* 430 B.C. A maenad, attacked by satyrs, rushes away, holding her jar out behind her just as does our youth. Two vases in the Metropolitan Museum, less exact parallels in pose, yet give the explanation of the scene before us. The krater⁴⁷ shows Kadmos, alarmed at the spring whither he had gone for water, turning to run, but looking back to hurl a stone at the dragon (Fig. 8). It rears up hissing from reeds that grow around a rock on which sits Harmonia, composed, but not without interest. In composition this version holds all the elements of the relief, though in style it is less developed and less vitalized. On the other Metropolitan vase,⁴⁸ the composition is different: Kadmos, carrying spears and hydria, in shape like ours, but drawn in profile, advances somewhat cautiously, stone in hand. The dragon threatens him over the placid head of Harmonia. The feeling of the piece is sober, and the style is not unlike that of the Parthenon. Both these vases are dated *ca.* 440 B.C.

The style of our relief is obviously more animated and the modelling more advanced than those on the vases. The hydria in its proportions and in the position and curve of the handle can be likened to several others dating *ca.* 430 B.C.⁴⁹ Our relief probably does not date long after. It seems to fall between the vases just mentioned and an Apulian krater of the fourth century.⁵⁰ On this Kadmos turns, as on our relief, to hurl a large and stippled stone, as his clumsy amphora slips from his left hand. The onrush of the pose, checked by looking back, the drooping profile, the pitted stone, despite the lifelessness of the whole scene, clearly hark back to an Attic original very like our relief.⁵¹

To reconstruct the pair of cheek-guards, we should place a human figure on the missing piece. It is unlikely that half the scene would have been given to a dragon, however imposing. Harmonia herself is an attractive candidate. Seated as on the Metropolitan vases, she would adapt herself admirably to the space, allowing the dragon to coil itself up over her head into the confined area beside the eye. Her calm, resisting the dragon's insolence, would subtly balance the onrush of Kadmos.

The balance of opposing forces inherent in the composition is characteristic of the style of the last half of the fifth century before Christ. It is continually expressed in works of the Pheidian school and of their followers and appears particularly on copies of the Amazonomachy on the shield of the Parthenos. The prototype for

⁴⁶ W. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias* (Berlin, 1930), pl. 12a.

⁴⁷ G. M. A. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, no. 127, pl. 126.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 132, pl. 131.

⁴⁹ Richter-Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 85; W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. LXXI (compare *a* with *b*); cf. Richter, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 533, fig. 1 for a fine bronze example.

⁵⁰ Gerhard, *Etrus. und Campan. Vasen*, pl. C, 6. For full bibliography, see A. W. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, p. 23, no. 2.

⁵¹ For the pose in contemporary metal, cf. Richter, *Met. Mus. Bronzes*, no. 760.

Kadmos himself may be seen in a copy in Copenhagen⁵² and on the Parthenon frieze itself.⁵³ But a nervous intensity unknown to Pheidias infuses the whole composition; it is the tension of the period of the Peloponnesian War.

Our second example of relief from a cheek-guard is again an excerpt from a battle scene (Fig. 9).⁵⁴ A nude youth, raising a large stone behind his head with both hands, turns toward his foe. Over his left shoulder swings a panther skin, the paws and tail flying out at his right side. These were engraved on the original. The border around the scene is like that on our previous example.

The youth lifts the heavy stone much in the manner of Centaurs and he wears the panther skin beloved of Centaurs and Satyrs. But the beardless youthful face is not that of a Centaur, and a Centaur's body would obviously not fit into the space. Yet no warrior, no hero even, ever uses rocks as weapons in combat. Rocks are the weapons of wild and rough peoples—of Centaurs, of Giants, of Titans:

*πέτρας ἡλιβάτους στιβαρῆς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.*⁵⁵

They were used as missiles only; not until late times did poets develop the legend of the Giants piling Pelion on Ossa.⁵⁶ These Giants wore animal skins as tokens of their wildness.

To call this handsome youth a Giant seems far-fetched. But that he is one of their company, as seen through the civilized eyes of the Athenians, is clear from com-



Fig. 9. Cheek-guard Relief of Giant

⁵² H. Schrader, "Zu den Kopien nach dem Schildrelief der Athena Parthenos," *Corolla Curtius* (Stuttgart, 1937), pp. 81 ff., particularly pl. 18, 2.

⁵³ Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pls. 47, 58.

⁵⁴ Inv. No. T 359. Found in 1933 in the filling of the Middle Stoa, together with a New Style Athenian coin and Hellenistic sherds. Preserved height, 0.09 m.; preserved width, 0.079 m.; thickness, 0.035 m. Lower part broken away. The upper corner has been rounded off as though the original were much rubbed when the impression was taken. Back indented with thumb marks. Coarse clay.

⁵⁵ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 675; cf. 715. In the beginning the rocks were used by Gods against Giants, but vases contemporary with our mould always show the reverse.

⁵⁶ Roscher, *s. v.* Gigant, cols. 1643 ff.

parison with the Naples fragment of a great Gigantomachy vase (Fig. 10).⁵⁷ Here the Giants appear as beardless youths, lifting boulders in defence against the swarming hosts of the Olympians. This conflict is repeated in the same manner on other vases of the period.⁵⁸ Similar figures, symbolizing the forces of law against barbarism, are shown on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion. Scholars have suggested that the vases echo such Pheidian compositions as those indicated by the east metopes of the Parthenon and by the interior of the shield of the Parthenos.⁵⁹

On the shield of the Parthenos itself this very type is foreshadowed. In the Amazonomachy as figured on the outside of the Lenormant copy of the shield, the well-known figure of a man raising a stone shows the pose in all its essentials.⁶⁰ But he is an old man. More significant therefore is that figure which is painted on the interior of the Strangford copy. It is described as the traces of a bearded Giant lifting a stone.⁶¹ This certainly must echo the original from which the vases and our relief derived their inspiration.

In this connection our new piece offers fresh evidence on a still vexed problem: in what medium was the Gigantomachy executed on the shield of Athena? Pliny says (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 18): — — — sed in scuto eius Amazonum proelium caelavit intumescente ambitu, in parmae eiusdem concava parte deorum et Gigantum dimicationes, in soleis vero Lapitharum et Centaurorum. *Caelavit* means chased and is commonly used for metalwork in relief, certainly not for painting. Yet another remark of Pliny's about Pheidias'



Fig. 10. Naples Fragment of Gigantomachy Vase (from F.-R., I, fig. 75)

⁵⁷ Furtwängler-Reichhold, pls. 96-7, and p. 196, fig. 75.

⁵⁸ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, figs. 584-5.

⁵⁹ Cf. C. Praschniker, *Parthenonstudien* (Augsburg-Wien, 1928), pp. 186 ff., particularly fig. 129; Roscher, I, col. 1659 (cf. 1664).

⁶⁰ A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 276 ff.; pl. 15, 1, b.

⁶¹ C. Smith, "A New Copy of the Athena Parthenos," *B.S.A.*, III, 1896-7, p. 137. I am much indebted to Martin Robertson of the British Museum for checking the figures on the Strangford Shield for me.

having painted a shield at Athens has been forced to refer to this shield of the Parthenos by Ulrichs (followed, with flourishes of ingenuity by Furtwängler, Cecil Smith, and many others).⁶² On the face of it, the obvious explanation is that there was one painted shield and the shield of the great Athena, which, being of gold, had no reason whatsoever for being painted inside or out. C. Smith, arguing on the evidence of the painting on the inside of the small Strangford copy, considers that on the original the interior had to be lined with felt or woven material. Yet surely, whatever the lining of an ordinary shield may have been—and wood or hide could easily have been painted—the Parthenos' shield was scarcely primarily a practical weapon in which the roughness of relief might have been inconvenient! All the evidence, particularly including that of the chryselephantine statues recently found at Delphi, points to the shield as having been entirely of gold. Ivory was allotted to the flesh on such statues. To paint the gold is absurd; to line the gold with plaster or woven stuff is also absurd. The goldsmith's practice of the day would solve the problem by working the outside in repoussé relief and then lining the ugly cavities on the interior also with gold—as on the Vaphio cups, for example. This interior lining could itself be treated in relief or engraved. Thus we might well claim that our little relief echoes the original more faithfully than most of our copies.

Actually the Pheidian influence on our relief is not far to seek. The pose occurs frequently on the south metopes of the Parthenon, and on the frieze the youths with jars lift the arm likewise and turn their faces in three-quarter view.⁶³ Yet the style of our piece is not purely Pheidian. It is the development in younger hands of a type created by the master. The slenderness of the body and the curl of the panther-skin are post-Pheidian. The skin is lightly engraved apart from the body in the manner of the Bassae frieze.⁶⁴ Again it is to the decade or so after the Parthenon that we must attribute the execution of the cheek-guard itself. The impression, to judge from the worn appearance and the context of the piece, must have been taken some time afterward, in the fourth century.

In South Italy the history of the motive continues. The best metal version is a bronze relief of Athena attacking a snake-legged Giant; it may date as early as the late fourth century.⁶⁵ Even more interesting is an Italian relief sherd of about the same date that gives another version of the theme (Fig. 11).⁶⁶ In this case it is not

⁶² Smith, *loc. cit.*; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 44 f.

⁶³ A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 42, nos. 17-18.

⁶⁴ Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 90.

⁶⁵ A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.*, IV, 1883, p. 90, dates the bronze as Hellenistic, related to the Pergamon frieze rather than to its prototypes, but Kuhnert, Roscher, *s. v.* Gigant, col. 1665, points out with good ground that it probably dates no later than the early third century. Compare the clay versions, H. Heydemann, *Hall. Winckelmannsprog.*, I, pp. 11 f., and J. Sieveking, *Münch. Jahrb.*, XII, 1921-2, pp. 124 ff., fig. 6. Sieveking considers the bronze Tarentine.

⁶⁶ *Arch. Anz.*, LI, 1936, col. 483 and fig. 17.

the Athena of the bronze, but Herakles who is resisting the attack of a Giant armed with a deflated boulder. The Giant also wears a panther skin tied beneath his chin. His legs, to judge from the picture rather than from the description, are human, for the snake head that seizes him on the thigh is surely an enemy rather than his own foot forgetting itself in the excitement. The bearing of this scene on the Italian development of the snake-legged Giants might bear investigation. It is not impossible that the figure on our missing cheek-guard was Herakles. The widely spaced, frontal composition reflects an original more like ours than does the crowded and twisted



Fig. 11. Italian Relief Sherd
(from *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, fig. 17)

version of the bronze relief. The motive of a figure rushing forward, but looking back at his opponent, is, as we have seen, the formula on which late fifth-century artists played a number of variations. It is interesting to note that it is in relief and not on vases, in South Italy and not in Attica that the theme survived.

The next relief gives a more stereotyped rendering of the subject, a warrior pulling an enemy from horseback (Fig. 12). Like that of Herakles and the Lion, it is a conventionalized conception. For, despite the small size of Attic ponies and the unevenness of Attic ground, such an assault could not have been easy even on the most propitious hillside. The relief, which is made of the soft and finely washed fabric

commonly used for the better terracottas, is complete in itself.⁶⁷ The assailant, using neither the spear, sword, nor shield with which he is armed, drags the youth from his horse's back by the hair of his head. The nude and unarmed victim, abandoning the reins and any attempt at self-defence, has rather thrown himself on the assailant's mercy by the supplicating gesture of touching his foe's chin with his left hand. The conflict is in its essence uneven—an assault by a strong, armed man upon a pusillanimous lad who makes nothing of the advantage of being mounted. The type is derived from that used in earlier times for the story of Troilos. Achilles, it will be remem-



Fig. 12. Troilos Relief

bered, lay in ambush waiting for Troilos to accompany his sister, Polyxena, to the fountain. The earlier versions show Achilles in hiding; then, in archaic times, chasing after Troilos and his two horses and the terrified Polyxena.⁶⁸ Later, the Brygos Painter conceives of Achilles as still running after the horses, but catching up with them and seizing Troilos by the hair (Fig. 13).⁶⁹ The boy, in spite of his two spears, allows himself to be pulled from his horse. This, then, is probably the subject here given.

From the artistic point of view, however, our relief differs fundamentally from

⁶⁷ Inv. No. T 265. Found in 1932 in Section ΣΤ behind a stone drain probably early Hellenistic in date. Height, 0.077 m.; width, 0.012 m.; thickness, 0.011 m. Edges preserved, though roughly finished and chipped. Traces of white slip on back and a little on front. Curvature of the piece has an approximate diameter of 0.28 m. Previously mentioned *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 390, fig. 9; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 471, fig. 20; E. Bielefeld, *Ein attisches Tonrelief* (see note 70), fig. 2.

⁶⁸ Roscher, *s. v.* Troilos, cols. 1228 ff.

⁶⁹ *Mon. Piot*, XVI, 1909, pl. XV, A.

the vase-paintings. The composition is a more mature conception. The opposing forces are expressed in diagonals; the figures that fly apart are yet held in equilibrium by the centripetal glances of the opponents. For the original of this motive we must turn to the creations of the later fifth century.

A study of the history of this motive has recently been printed.⁷⁰ Herr Bielefeld publishes a guttus that represents a relief in its elements identical with ours, save that the figure on the horse is a draped Amazon. Twenty-one specimens, including our Agora piece, are listed as reproducing this scene in all its important details. On only



Fig. 13. Sherd by the Brygos Painter (from *Mon. Piot*, 1909, pl. XV, A)

two others of these, a South Italian mirror of the late fourth century before Christ and an Etruscan urn of the second century before Christ, is the figure on horseback a youth; in the other cases he is converted into an Amazon. Bielefeld, by analysing the principles of the composition, derives the spirit from the paintings of Amazonomachies of the mid-fifth century. Its immediate inspiration he attributes to Pheidias. He points out how frequently Pheidias used the principle of opposing diagonals, of which many metopes and both the pedimental compositions of the Parthenon are instances. Looking for a specific source, he notes that combats with Amazons were

⁷⁰ E. Bielefeld, *Ein attisches Tonrelief* (Würzburg, Buchdruckerei Konrad Triltsch, 1937 [privately printed]).

shown both on the shield of the Parthenos and on the throne of the Olympian Zeus. Surviving copies of the shield show no mounted Amazons, but the recently found reliefs now in the Peiraeus offer basically similar compositions, even to the motives of seizure by the hair and of youths hurrying up rocky inclines.⁷¹ Since information about the throne of Zeus is vague, Bielefeld finds an opening there on which to place, among the balance and opposition of its subjects, the original of our motive.

It might well be objected that our piece, one of the earliest examples extant, and another not far from it in date, show not an Amazon but a youth. No record exists, however, of a well-known representation of the Troilos story at this period. The original of our motive must, to judge from the number of its copies during all

the ages, have been famous and visible throughout antiquity. In addition, Bielefeld points out with good ground that the interchange of sexes and identities of subjects in a fixed artistic scheme is unimportant. Greek art abounds in instances of the sort. Considering the popularity of the Amazonomachy as a subject at this period, the weight of evidence supports Bielefeld's interpretation.

His ascription of the source to a Pheidon inspiration should be a little more closely analysed in connection with our piece. We have shown how the types of figures occur on the Peiraeus reliefs. The frontality, the simple musculature, the drooping profiles on our piece retain something of the quality of the Parthenon frieze, especially its sobriety, which stands in marked contrast to the violence of the rendering on the Frankfurt guttus. It is interesting to note that one figure on the frieze (Fig. 14)⁷² actually foreshadows our Achilles in the



Fig. 14. Figure from Parthenon Frieze
(from Smith, *Sculptures*, pl. 70)

pose. But the Parthenon version is more frontal and the turning of the right leg in profile betrays an earlier hand. Other touches on our relief are also later: the horse, small and stiff, does not come from the stable of "Urpferde" but rather from the

⁷¹ H. Schrader, *Corolla Curtius*, pl. 17, 1; *Sitzungsber. Berlin Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1931 pp. 185 ff.

⁷² A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 70, 27.

stud that produced the animals which prance in rocking-horse stride around the frieze of the Nike temple. On this frieze also the ends of drapery curl irrationally over arms and shoulders, filling out spaces that on the Parthenon frieze were left empty and tranquil. The same earmarks appear on the Bassae frieze, together with the first instance preserved of our very motive.⁷³ But, because the Agora piece holds nothing of the violence of these friezes, we may assign it to a slightly older original, though it was rendered with stylistic touches prevalent at the later period.

Stylistically, the closest parallel in metal, for the pose, the type of face, and the flat curly locks, if not for the proportions, is the figure of Perseus on the pail in Berlin.⁷⁴ The degree and character of this relief show that the original of ours must have been rendered likewise in metal. Gold and silver objects from the tomb at Solokha in South Russia⁷⁵ explain certain points on our relief as deriving from a metal original. The engraving of details (much worn or lost on our piece), the rendering of the reins in relief, which are commonly painted on marble and terracotta, the shallowness of modelling that gains its strength from being worked in silver, all these the bowl and the plaque have in common. It seems altogether probable that the original of our relief was in one of the softer metals.

Bielefeld, who had not seen our plaque, calls it a *patrix*, or original from which the matrix, or mould, was taken. But it is not, as an original *patrix* must be, hand-made. Nor is it a trial piece, for not only was the original from which it was taken somewhat worn, but traces of a white slip show that it has lived an independent existence. It seems more probable that the impression was made to be used on a vase. Two *lekythoi* of the earlier fourth century offer parallels.⁷⁶ The scene raised in gilded relief shows a warrior holding his shield much in the fashion of our Achilles; the other gives us the same sort of horse cantering to the left, bearing an Amazon—horse and rider might well be cousins of the Agora examples. The height of the figures is very close to that of our piece. The curvature is, of course, much sharper on the *lekythoi*. On these the figures seem to have been cut out of clay reliefs and applied to the body of the vases. These *lekythoi* were evidently cheap versions of vases in precious metals.

It would be interesting to know both the original of this plaque of ours and its final form. The size and curvature suggest that it might have come from a large vase, like a pail or a *hydria*, possibly even from a helmet. In the absence of contemporary metal originals, it would be rash to guess further. That the clay version decorated a

⁷³ Cf. Schrader, *Phidias*, p. 365, fig. 325; von Stackelberg, *Apollontempel zu Bassae*, pl. XIII (cf. pls. XVI, XXVI).

⁷⁴ B. Schröder, *Berliner Winckelmannspr.*, LXXIV, 1914, pl. II.

⁷⁵ "Explications des trésors de la tombe royale de Solokha," *Journ. int. arch. num.*, XVII, 1915, pp. 3 ff.; S. Polovtsoff, "Une tombe de roi de Scythe," *Rev. arch.*, XXIII, 1914, pp. 164 ff., pls. 3 ff.; *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX, 1914, cols. 260 ff.; dated by Schefold, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1931, p. 121, note 1, and p. 127, note 1, as *ca.* 430 B.C.

⁷⁶ *Delphes*, V, pl. XXVI, 2, 5; p. 166.

vase seems likely, though again, we cannot cite a close parallel. In size and type of relief, however, a curious "gourd" in the National Museum,⁷⁷ bearing scenes from combats with Amazons, of somewhat later date, offers a suggestion of the type of vase possible.

The reiteration of this scene, substantially unchanged, throughout later times, in marble, bronze, clay, and finally on sarcophagi of the second and third centuries after Christ need not occupy us here. This history can easily be traced with the aid



Fig. 15. Mould of Female Head (Left) and Clay Impression from Mould (Right)

of Bielefeld's list. It is enough for us to note that most of the examples occur in Italy. The fame of the original must have been great.

Two moulds of different character were found in a well which was filled in the very earliest years of the fourth century before Christ. Most of its contents belonged to the fifth century, including sherds by the Altamura Painter and by the Achilles Painter. Two other terracotta fragments were found: a bit of relief plaque in late archaic style and a figure of the mid-fifth century of the "Cassandra type."⁷⁸ Since

⁷⁷ G. Nicole, *Cat. vases d'Athènes*, no. 1269; cf. Willeumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, p. 115.

⁷⁸ Agora Inv. Nos. T 863 and T 830. The well was in the southwest corner of Section Γ on the southerly slopes of Kolonos Agoraios. For the type of T 830 cf. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, p. 69, 6.

all these objects were found at a depth of only 0.50 m., it is impossible to consider the evidence for dating them by provenience as incontrovertible. But the weight of evidence indicates a *terminus ante quem* in the early fourth century.

The first mould seems at first glance to be utterly unrelated to the material thus far examined. The repellant female head stares grotesquely (Fig. 15)⁷⁹ at us like a barbarian among the gentlemanly company with which we introduce her. Yet the mould itself, on purely technical considerations, is the equal of any that we have hitherto studied. It is carefully made, neatly rounded behind, and retouched inside. The zealous retoucher even extended the locks of hair beyond their proper line up into one of the disks of the headdress and accented the eyes so that they glare fiercely. The sharp rills of the hair, the heavy eyelids, and the incised eyeballs and pupils indicate that the original was in metal. The relief is shallow in the manner of repoussé; the most protruding portions seem to have been somewhat rubbed in the original.

This bizarre head refuses to yield itself graciously to analysis. Three elements emerge as the most significant for understanding. The first is the eccentric head-gear of three disks that stand stiffly above the stiff face. The second is the peculiar shape and character of the face. The third is the nudity of the bust which is, just where the break intrudes, beginning to define the curve of the breasts. These elements combine to create a fantastic type, not a human woman nor even a humanized deity.

This head immediately brings to mind the flamboyant sphinxes that, in the form of plastic vases, appear in the tombs of South Russia.⁸⁰ These are nude, with fully modelled breasts; they are richly decked out with necklaces; high headdresses bespattered with rosettes rise from their curly hair that zigzags down in long locks upon their shoulders. Such vases also occur in the form of Sirens and of Aphrodite, and those of the sphinx type evidently emphasize the fertility power which is one side of her manifold character.⁸¹

All three types wear rosettes profusely attached not only to their *stephanai* but to their bodies and to the vase itself. Sometimes these rosettes are modelled leaf for leaf; often, however, the heart alone is modelled and the leaves painted. That in these cases they resemble *phialai* may not be without significance.⁸² The rosette, be it noted, appears suddenly upon Attic grave stelai both in the simple form and in more elaborate varieties. Despite many ingenious hypotheses, says Möbius, the true explanation for

⁷⁹ Inv. No. T 829. Found in 1935. Preserved height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.077 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Rounded neatly behind, broken off at the bottom; left side somewhat damaged.

⁸⁰ G. Treu, "Griechische Tongefässe in Statuetten-und-Büstenform," *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, XXXV, 1875, pl. I. Cf. *C.R.*, 1870-71, pl. I.

⁸¹ Roscher, *s. v.* Sphinx, col. 1383.

⁸² H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen* (Berlin, 1929), p. 26, repudiates Bulle's suggestion that the type might represent symbolic *phialai* (compare those on the Erechtheion and on the Tholos at Epidauros), *Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 160. The "*phialai*" type is not uncommon on headdresses, as, for example, on the Olynthos mould of Kybele, *Olynthus*, IV, pls. 51 ff., no. 410.

the sudden predilection at this time among the Athenians for this ornament is not yet found. The similar outbreak of rosettes upon the plastic lekythoi that abruptly supersede the painted lekythoi at just this period can scarcely be fortuitous.⁸³ Since all the lekythoi of the Parthenon period show merely plain stelai tied with fillets,⁸⁴ we can argue that this new impulse, possibly from a new cult, comes in just after 430 B.C. It is perhaps significant that at this time the Athenians were taking great interest in the oriental cults of Cybele and of the Oriental Aphrodite. It is further illuminating to note also that goddesses, variously called Artemis, Aphrodite, and Demeter, wear headdresses covered with disks in the sixth century in Boeotia,⁸⁵ in the fifth century in Cyprus,⁸⁶ and somewhat later in Kyrene, South Italy, and Etruria.⁸⁷ In Attica, the form of headdress of this class begins on the plastic lekythoi of the last quarter of the fifth century⁸⁸ and does not, to my knowledge, continue at all after the second quarter of the fourth. On this ground alone, our mould must be dated somewhere in that period.

The sphinx type, being fantastic, does not fall readily into stylistic categories. Thus we must try to separate the fantastic elements from those telling for chronology.

The head finds no parallel among plastic lekythoi or terracotta masks. The face is distinctly peculiar in type. It is strikingly elongated; the proportions, in which the distance between the root of the nose and the chin greatly exceeds the height of the forehead, are like those in vogue in the second quarter of the fifth century. The eyes, though markedly slanting, are not exactly archaic. The nostrils are broad and heavy, but the mouth is neither large enough nor the lips full enough to accompany the heavy eyes and nose. Its corners do not meet sharply and its contours are given curve and countercurve in a manner far from archaic. The mouth itself would set the face well down into the second half of the fifth century.

The hair is dressed in a fashion more common before than after 450 B.C. The locks around the face are gathered into four strands and looped up under the *stephane* that supports the disks. The rendering of these strands certainly resembles work in

⁸³ P. Knoblauch, in the most recent discussion of the class, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 342 ff., emphasizes the sepulchral character of the fourth-century lekythoi. Cf. R. Pagenstecher, *Exped. Ernst von Sieglin*, II, I A, p. 53, who points out that the white-ground Hadra vases were, like the perishable Proto-attic and most of the Attic white-ground classes, dedicated in the grave. A forthcoming article on the group from the Pnyx will cover an interesting series from Athens itself.

⁸⁴ E. Buschor, *Attische Lekythen der Parthenonzeit* (1925), *passim*.

⁸⁵ P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 58, fig. 8; Winter, *Typenkatalog*, I, p. 8, 6-7.

⁸⁶ H. B. Walters, *Cat. Brit. Mus. Terracottas*, A 275 ff.; *Typenkatalog*, I, p. 90, 4, and p. 91.

⁸⁷ *Typenkatalog*, I, p. 93, 4; p. 116, 4; p. 123, 6; p. 128, 5; II, p. 203, 1-3; and P. Marconi, *Agrigento arcaica* (Roma, 1933), pl. X, 2, and p. 64; Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca*, pl. CCCXXVIII.

⁸⁸ The best evidence for dating the beginning of this class of lekythoi is the style of two fine examples, one in the National Museum (Athens, no. 2076), the other in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux, *Les Terres cuites grecques* [Paris, 1936], pl. 41; *Typenkatalog*, I, p. 79, 1).

metal, such as the bronze Apollo from Pompeii.⁸⁹ That the mode continued in human use after 450 B.C. seems, on the evidence of the vases, to be unlikely, but goddesses like the Parthenos and the Eirene of Kephisodotos are given this coiffure; no doubt, as the pompadour to us, it savored of the dignity of dowagers. It even occurs on certain coins of the fourth century.⁹⁰

The date of execution of this head, then, despite its archaisms can also on this evidence be placed in the last quarter of the fifth century. Such cases of archaism are not rare even at this period. Sphinxes invariably are given an old-world touch. An interesting example of a bronze parallel comes from a Macedonian tomb of the fourth century.⁹¹ The face is fuller than ours, yet retains an oval; the eyes slant; the mouth, however, is small, like a softened version of our sphinx's. The hair is a clever adaptation of the older coiffure to contemporary taste. The Medusa head is clearly later than the sphinx head.

The question of the provenience of the original of our mould is also puzzling. In this connection a curious cast coin of Olbia⁹² may throw light. It shows a woman's head with the hair arranged in much the same way, large accented eyes, wide nose, small mouth, and projecting chin. The flavor of crude archaism is not unlike that of the Agora piece. Is it significant that the coin comes from a Hellenized town of South Russia? It is after all chiefly in South Russia that the sphinx vases have been found. How many of these were made in Attica, how many by barbarian imitators or by barbarized Greeks must remain unsettled. A piece of metal work from South Russia might have made its way into Athens, there to be recorded, perhaps for an order, by an Attic metalworker. The vicissitudes of such histories cannot even be surmised.

The use may perhaps be guessed. A repellant head would presumably occupy a prominent position as an *apotropaion* on a metal object. It is too small for a shield. It might, however, fit comfortably on a helmet. The ambitious figures of sphinxes in the round on the Parthenos' helmet and on other fifth-century examples⁹³ show the popularity of the type as a protection against the enemy. Helmets of Hellenistic and Roman times survive with sphinx heads just over the forehead.⁹⁴ The size and relief of our head would suit such a position admirably. No contemporary specimen has been preserved to support our suggestion, which must be regarded as tentative.

⁸⁹ Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 301-303; M. Bieber, *Ant. Skulpt. und Bronz. in Cassel* (1915), pp. 4 ff.; Schrader, *Phidias*, pp. 82 f.

⁹⁰ B. V. Head, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks* (London, 1932), pls. 22, 23, 26. That the new full-face types of the late fifth century follow contemporary fashion suggests that the rare occurrences are a conscious archaism.

⁹¹ *Jahrbuch*, XXVI, 1911, p. 205, fig. 17.

⁹² Head, *Guide to the Principal Coins*, pl. 21, 3; cf. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pl. II.

⁹³ Compare the Varvarkeion Athena and Kul-Oba medallions, *Ath. Mitt.*, VIII, 1883, pl. XV; and on vases, particularly Furtwängler-Reichhold, I, fig. p. 128, in which the sphinx has obligingly wheeled round on her mistress' helmet to frighten her enemy.

⁹⁴ *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, figs. 10 and 17.

The second mould is a small fragment so delicate in execution as to be unquestionably from a repoussé relief in silver or in gold. The clay slipped as the mould was being taken from the original, blurring the egg-and-dart border that runs along the top. The scene was crowded with figures (Fig. 16).⁹⁵ On the right side of the relief is preserved the head and bosom of a woman; she is moving to the left with dignity, holding two torches upright before her. She wears a chiton and a himation thrown back around her shoulders. From her ear hangs a tiny pyramidal earring. Although she turns her head backward to look at her following companion, the thick flames of the torches stream ahead as though to carry the eye on to the next figure. Of the



Fig. 16. Mould (Left) and Clay Impression (Right) of Maenad Relief

latter we see only the left arm with its fine chiton slipped down from the shoulder.⁹⁶ Behind her swings a great arc of drapery curled upward violently from the bottom. The hint of dignified movement alternating with whirling dance places the scene. It can scarcely come from a procession or Eleusinian rite. Rather it is more at home among the orgies that abound on vases from the time of the Painter of the Berlin Dinos to the opening years of the fourth century.⁹⁷ In these scenes, the Maenads, usually carrying two torches, turn and twist in dance in just the same fashion.

These vases also offer excellent parallels in style. The maidens of Meidias, whose curls and elaborate dresses delighted the war generation, are indeed sisters of the

⁹⁵ Inv. No. T 831. Preserved height, 0.042 m.; width, 0.045 m.; thickness, 0.008 m. The top is original; the right side has been cut off while the clay was damp. The rest is broken away. The clay is extremely fine and well-washed. No curvature visible.

⁹⁶ That this is the chiton and not a bracelet is proved by a glance at the vases of the period on which the ladies always wear a single bracelet on each wrist.

⁹⁷ Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pls. 1 f.; cf. G. E. Rizzo, *Thiasos*, figs. 4, 6 b, 15 a.

Maenads. Their hair ripples back from their faces in minute waves. They often turn full or three-quarter faces to the spectator. They whirl in their dances so that their drapery curves into arcs and the ends twist upward. These mannerisms can be found likewise on plastic work of the period—on the Bassae frieze, on the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, and on a bronze cheek-guard from Dodona.⁹⁸ The sober mien of the woman *en face* appears on minor Attic reliefs of the last decades of the fifth century.⁹⁹ For the happy union of delicacy and vigor in the drapery, the Nike balustrade presents the best parallels.¹⁰⁰ Although the marble, by virtue of its more rigid



Fig. 17. Cast from Mould of Cheek-guard
(from *Jahrbuch*, 1926, Beilage 5)

character, retains longer the formality in the structure of the folds, the essential quality of brittle delicacy is common to both types of relief. It is significant that the name of a metalworker, Kallimachos, who made a golden lamp for the Erechtheion, has been associated with the Nike balustrade reliefs.¹⁰¹ For it is undoubtedly more correct to speak of the influence of metalwork on the marble slabs than to say that the marble-cutters taught the silversmiths the drapery style that exploited richly the brilliant incisiveness peculiar to their medium. The tendency to work the surfaces of the sensitive precious metals toward over-refinement is visible also on another mould from the metalwork of this period (Fig. 17).¹⁰² This splendid example shows the same restless drapery that, in silver, causes the light to flicker as though with a life of its own.

Coins give a hint of the appearance in silver of the original of the Agora mould. The same type of head with low forehead and round cheeks occurs on the full-face types that become popular at the end of the fifth century. Sicilian and Macedonian

⁹⁸ Carapanos, *Dodone*, pl. XV.

⁹⁹ J. Svoronos, *Tò ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, pl. XXVIII; G. Rodenwaldt, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, pls. 84, 86 (cf. 89 for the torches).

¹⁰⁰ R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, pls. III, VI, VII.

¹⁰¹ Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Richter, *Sculpture*, pp. 240 ff.

¹⁰² G. Rodenwaldt, "Ein toreutisches Meisterwerk," *Jahrbuch*, XLI, 1926, pp. 191 ff., Beilage 5 (cf. particularly fig. 2, a silver reproduction).

examples are the best parallels.¹⁰³ On a larger scale, the splendid faces appear on mirrors; especially close are the famous pair in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁰⁴ This scrap of terracotta, then, tiny though it be, can be said to express the spirit of that terrible decade, 410-400 B.C., as movingly as any of the vases epitomized by Beazley as showing "Hetärenhimmel," or as any of the-reliefs likened by Carpenter to flowers "just in blossom and not yet too full-blown."¹⁰⁵

It is not possible to identify with certainty the object from which our mould was taken. Since no curvature is visible, the relief was presumably on a rectangular toilet



Fig. 18. *Gorytos* from South Russia (from *Rev. arch.*, 1896, pl. XIV)

box, or possibly on the base of a silver or gold statuette. Quiver-cases, or *gorytoi*, from South Russia may give us a notion of the type of decoration. Three examples exist, apparently beaten against one die, showing two main zones crammed with figures and bordered by mouldings not unlike our own (Fig. 18).¹⁰⁶ The disposition of the figures in the space, the heads extending beyond the frame, as often on vases of the last quarter of the fifth century,¹⁰⁷ the style of the seated figures, the flaring

¹⁰³ K. Regling, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk*, pl. XXVIII, 589-590, and pl. XXXIV, 701. The earring is of the type worn by the nymphs of Euainetos and the hair more like their simple locks than like the complicated curls on the heads by Kimon.

¹⁰⁴ G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Bronzes*, nos. 758-9.

¹⁰⁵ Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 459; Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁶ T. Reinach, *Rev. arch.*, XXIX, 1896, pp. 145 ff., pl. XIV; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 164, 284 ff.; Malmberg, *Materials Touching the Archaeology of Russia* (in Russian), III, 1894, pp. 122 ff., pl. IX; *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII, 1903, pp. 83 f.

¹⁰⁷ Compare the Penthesilea Master's vase, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 501, the earlier solution, with figs. 559, 575, 583, that of the last quarter of the century.

drapery of the rushing girl—all echo, by whatever devious channels, Attic work of our period. Though the technique is clumsy and the composition a foolish pastiche, the scenes are to our original as a Roman copy to a Greek statue. It is good to have at last a scrap of the real thing.

The Agora mould is significant also in this very question of Roman copies. For a long time scholars have spoken of "metal influence" on Neo-Attic vases like those found at Madhia.¹⁰⁸ Fragments of bronze plaques showing versions of these kraters were actually found on board the wreck.¹⁰⁹ But for the metallic inspiration of the Campana reliefs, we have hitherto had to assume Attic originals of the late fifth century.¹¹⁰ On the fairly convincing evidence of a signed copy of an archaistic relief, Kallimachos has been called upon to father this progeny.¹¹¹ In the Augustan age, monuments from the size of the *Ara Pacis* to the tiny appliqué stamped reliefs on Arretine vases¹¹² were covered with twisting figures and whirling drapery in the manner of the late fifth century. We can now compare them with an original more like them than any hitherto preserved. Certain differences instantly strike us: the Augustan version reduces to patter what was once genuine lyric. Even in the late fifth century the Maenads still live; they dance like real women crowded together so that their figures nearly overlap and their heads push up to cut the frame, as though to burst the bonds of pictorial space. On Roman echoes,¹¹³ they abide within their allotted area with the docility of a ballet. Exquisite as the Attic detail may be, it never lapses into mere pattern. Perhaps the difference is most tellingly expressed in the egg-and-dart border, shallow, fastidious, perfectly akey with the scene, even yielding place to it when necessary. Compared with the Erechtheion mouldings, it bears the test, both in the contour and in the character of the modelling. Compared with the bloated eggs that stretch themselves like a police cordon above the Roman scenes,¹¹⁴ it is as a Greek to a barbarian. The more severely we scrutinize the Agora relief, the more it yields us in understanding of its period, both for what it symbolizes itself and for what it meant to less gifted generations.

Dare we give this masterpiece a master? The post-Pheidian flavor of Rodenwaldt's relief (Fig. 17) and its beauty naturally aroused him to invoke a famous name for its creator. He suggested the metalworker who worked with Pheidias, Mys,

¹⁰⁸ F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, pp. 121 ff.

¹⁰⁹ A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *Cratères et candélabres de marbre trouvés en mer près de Madhia* (Paris, 1930), p. 139.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 438; Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹¹¹ Richter, *Sculpture*, p. 241.

¹¹² E. g., H. Dragendorff, "Terra Sigillata," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XCVI-VII, 1895, pp. 56 ff.

¹¹³ G. H. Chase, *Cat. Arretine Pottery*, *Mus. of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1916, pl. V, 1; XVI, XXIII, 13-14; XXIX, 64.

¹¹⁴ H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische röm. Terrakotten der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin-Stuttgart, 1911), *passim*; Dragendorff, *op. cit.*, pls. IV-V; Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate*, pl. X, and pl. XI, 74.

who did the shield of Athena Promachos.¹¹⁵ Likewise the Agora mould tempts us to consult Pliny's record of famous silversmiths. Is it chance that we find a noted metalist, Akragas, who made famous cups. "Extant --- opera --- Acragantis," says Pliny,¹¹⁶ "in templo Liberi patris in ipsa Rhodo Centauros Bacchasque caelati scyphi ---. Acragantis et venatio in scyphis magnam famam habuit." No positive evidence exists for his date. Perhaps it is merely coincidence that has preserved such excellent candidates of the same period as the Solokha bowl¹¹⁷ and the Agora relief to cover both his favorite themes. But even if the master of our fragment must remain nameless, the piece will stand as a marvel of exquisite modelling. Its technical perfection has probably seldom been rivalled throughout history; its beauty is of the genius of the period that created it.

The purpose for which these moulds and casts were taken is not at first apparent. A few others survive elsewhere, rare, and equally tantalizing. The cheek-guard of Helen and Eros (Fig. 17), the Aphrodite (?) from the West Slope,¹¹⁸ an early fourth-century cheek-guard of Herakles and the Lion from the Pnyx,¹¹⁹ and the bridal scene from Philopappos¹²⁰ are other clay records of metalwork that have been found in Athens itself. To understand them, we must consider the technique of contemporary metalwork.

Wax or clay studies were, of course, made previous to the transformation of the design into metal. But our moulds are not handmade "patrices" or studies; they have clearly been made by pressing damp clay against the outside of a finished—sometimes even a worn—repoussé relief. They could never have been themselves used for the casting of metal. First, they have neither the weight nor character of moulds used for casting bronze.¹²¹ Secondly, they could not have been used for the casting of silver, owing to their being too light and too much undercut.¹²² Moreover, it was the Romans and not the Greeks who made a practice of casting silver vessels from wax models.¹²³

¹¹⁵ *Jahrbuch*, XLI, 1926, pp. 200 ff. Cf. *Münch. Jahrb.*, III, 1926, pp. 131 ff., a bronze vase related by Sieveking to the school of Mys.

¹¹⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIII, 155; cf. T. Reinach, "Akragas ou le Pirée pris pour un homme," *Rev. arch.*, XXIV, 1894, pp. 178 ff., reasonably refuted by Jex-Blake, Sellers, *Pliny*, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ Cf. A. Klügmann, "Coppa inargentata et smaltata di Villanova," *Annali*, 1871, pp. 195 ff., pl. Q; cf. Jex-Blake, Sellers, *Pliny*, p. 4, note 5, who suggest that the hunting-scenes on silvered Italian vases may echo Akragas' work.

¹¹⁸ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, p. 52, no. 5.

¹¹⁹ To be published in *Hesperia* in a forthcoming report on the Pnyx excavations. Two fine examples recently found in Corinth will be discussed later in connection with other impressions from metalwork.

¹²⁰ H. Brückner, *Berliner Winckelmannspr.*, LXIV, p. 12.

¹²¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 82 ff.

¹²² Mavromati, the well-known Athenian dealer, who was a silversmith in his youth and made many repoussé cups, generously gave me much time in discussing technical detail and took me to a modern establishment where I observed the stages in different types of work.

¹²³ Lamb, *Bronzes*, p. 174; Richter, *Met. Mus. Bronzes*, pp. xxi f.; Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate*, p. xviii.

Greek reliefs of this type were wrought in repoussé even when in much higher relief than that of our specimens. Nor were they used as blocks or dies into which the silver could have been hammered—a mechanical method applied to the South Russian *gorytoi* but not to the best Greek work. For repoussé was done then, as now, by hammering on a sheet of metal set on a bed of hot pitch. The artist might follow a pricked outline, he might keep his eye on a model before him, but he would fill out the details freely by an eye and hand trained to thinking in the reverse of intaglio. He would often turn the metal over in order to engrave or rework minutiae on the front. His work therefore would partake of the nature of gem- or die-cutting rather than of the character of sculpture. To use moulds or piece moulds would be unnatural.

Our moulds, then, must have been taken in order to make permanent casts in altogether another medium. A wax cast might be an aid in altering the composition before attempting to change the metal itself. Plaster, much in favor for piece moulds at a later date in Egypt and in Rome, has not, to my knowledge, been found in Greece proper.¹²⁴ Those of us who resent its frigidity, but find it by far the most convenient and sensitive medium for modern casts must admit that it was recommended by the ancients.¹²⁵ Its usage by οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα is attested by Theophrastos (*de Lapid.*, 67), who praises it for its γλισχρότης and λειότης.

A clay cast, such as we must assume and such as we found, could be for two purposes: either to preserve the design permanently or to reproduce in a cheaper medium the type of the original. In the cases where only an excerpt from a scene was selected, as on the Maenad relief, the cheek-guards, and the warrior mould, the purpose would be purely technical. Züchner's observation, based on his study of many mirrors, explains this usage of our type of moulds and casts: ¹²⁶ "verschiedene Handwerker mehrfach die gleichen Bildtypen verwendet haben, sei es unter Benützung eines gemeinsamen Vorbildes, oder dass sich der eine ein Modell von der Arbeit des anderen verschafft hat." The Agora, then, has produced these hypothetical models whereby the craftsman followed fashion, yet permitted his originality to have a little play in the creation of variation on the set scheme. In other cases, however, the relief thus obtained in clay, as in the example of the Troilos scene, might be applied to decorate vases imitating metal. Athens was a centre of manufacture for gilded plastic lekythoi of this class.

It is possible that we now underestimate the amount of decorative metalwork. During the last half of the fifth century, as Courby points out,¹²⁷ the Athenians were using precious metals freely, even in private life. To judge from the repeated paint-

¹²⁴ For the use of plaster piece moulds, cf. Pernice, *Jahreshefte*, VII, 1904, pp. 154 ff.; C. C. Edgar, *ibid.*, IX, 1906, pp. 32 ff., and *Greek Moulds, Cat. gén. des ant. égypt. du musée du Caire* (Le Caire, 1903).

¹²⁵ S. Reinach, "Le moulage de statues," *Rev. arch.*, XLI, 1902, pp. 5 ff.

¹²⁶ *Arch. Anz.*, L, 1935, cols. 365 ff.

¹²⁷ *Vases grecs à reliefs*, pp. 158 ff.

ings of decorative armor on vases,¹²⁸ the richer knights vied with one another in expensive helmets and shields. The Parthenon treasure-lists bristle like Alcman's armory. The types may be summarized as follows.¹²⁹

ἀσπίδες: ἐπίχρυσοι, ἐπίχαλκοι, ἐπίσημοι.

Note a few imported specimens (e. g. ἀσπίς ἐγ Λέσβου ἐπίσημος χρυσή) and, among other equipment, a helmet we should much like to see:

κρανίδιον μικρὸν τὰς μὲν παρειὰς χρυσᾶς ἔχον,
τὸν δὲ λόφον ἐλεφάντινον.
θώραξ πάγχρυσος ἐντελής.
πέλτη ἐπίχρυσος ἐντελής.
κνημίδες χαλκαί.

Karo has found, however, that greaves were practically out of fashion by the late fifth century¹³⁰ and probably should not be considered among the candidates for our reliefs. Shields manufactured in the Peiraeus factory of Lysias' father must have borne reliefs of Attic design, which may well have been exported to South Italy as well as carried thither by the Sicilian army. Socrates is reported by Xenophon as reproving the extravagant taste that preferred armor decorated with silver and gold reliefs to that which fitted the body properly (*Mem.* III, 10, 14). "Ἐνιοὶ μέντοι τοὺς ποικίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχρυσούς θώρακας μᾶλλον ὠνοῦνται. Ἀλλὰ μήν, ἔφη [*sc.* Σωκράτης], εἶγε διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀρμόττοντας ὠνοῦνται, κακὸν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι ποικίλον τε καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ὠνεῖσθαι. This ornate armor is well illustrated to us by the famous pieces from Siris in South Italy, now in the British Museum.¹³¹

It seems probable that much of the finest metalwork of the period was lavished on this armor. Presumably such work would be undertaken by well-known artists or their schools. Thus we have noted Pheidian inspiration on several of our specimens, most probably because he employed the best metalists of his day on those masterpieces of toreutic virtuosity, the chryselephantine statues of Athena and of Zeus. As Rodenwaldt has indicated, the craftsmen employed by Mys would naturally make part of their repertory motives and mannerisms learned from their masters, which would in turn become the tradition bequeathed the younger generation.

Armor was not, however, the only field for the activity of these energetic metalworkers. The Parthenon treasure-lists mention numerous silver *phialai*, solid and plated ritual vessels, lamps, furniture, lyres, jewelry, statuettes, and even ambitious statues of gold, weighing as much as two talents apiece. Alcibiades covered his tables

¹²⁸ See above, p. 291.

¹²⁹ Lists conveniently arranged in Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 295 ff.

¹³⁰ Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* Ocrea (Karo), pp. 145 ff.

¹³¹ Lamb, *Bronzes*, pl. LXVII b; better photographs, Willeumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente*, pls. XV f.

with gold and silver drinking cups.¹³² It was from gold and silver that the libations for the Sicilian Expedition were poured.¹³³ Even at the end of the century Lysias' strong-box yielded four silver *phialai* to looters.¹³⁴ Well-to-do Athenians of the period must have had considerable wealth reserved in these works of art.

Presumably most of this material was of Attic manufacture, but it is possible that a certain amount was imported. We know that Athens imported vases, armor, furniture from Argos, from Rhodes, from Lesbos, even from Etruria.¹³⁵ Ποικίλαι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ παρὰ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ἐργασίαι. A warrior is described as wearing an Attic cuirass and a Boeotian helmet, carrying an Argive shield, and riding a horse from Epidauros.¹³⁶ In such a state of free trade and internationalism, it becomes clear that the fact that our casts and moulds are of Attic clay does not necessarily mean that they are from Attic originals. In the case of the Kadmos, Giant, and Troilos reliefs and of the Maenad fragment, we have been able to find many Attic parallels. But the Herakles head appears to be more Ionic than Attic, the Warrior resembles South Italian coins rather than Athenian, the Sphinx has South Russian cousins. Likewise the Herakles relief from the Pnyx will be shown to have the closest resemblance to coins of Heraclea and to be itself copied on silvered Italian pottery. The very process of taking moulds from metal originals renders extremely easy the transmission of influences hither and thither.¹³⁷ Therefore, at the moment we are in no position to discuss schools.¹³⁸

The later influence of this metalwork was probably greater than we realize. In the course of this study we have indicated various instances where we are able for the first time to show source of motives that continued to be popular well into Roman times. In other cases, we have suggested that the influence was by revival. We must remember that the Roman conquerors of Greece looted house and temple in their search for precious metals, much of which was in the form of works of art, as we call them. Though much of this must have been melted down since the fifth century, a certain amount survived, for which collectors paid gigantic sums. A pair of relief cups, for instance, brought 1,200,000 sesterces (over \$55,000).¹³⁹ Cups by the famous Kalamis, sculptor and metalist, were proudly copied and sold for a good price.¹⁴⁰ An Arretine potter, Libertus, took from silver vases moulds which he signed.¹⁴¹ Even

¹³² Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 4.

¹³³ Thucydides, VI, 32.

¹³⁴ *Against Eratosthenes*, 11.

¹³⁵ Athenaeus, I, 28 bc; XV, 700 c; cf. Richter, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 194.

¹³⁶ Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, III, 24.

¹³⁷ The new Corinthian examples throw light on the methods of transmitting influence.

¹³⁸ I regret not being able to await the publication of W. Züchner on bronze mirrors; cf. *Arch. Anz.*, L, 1935, cols. 365 ff. For Athenian influence on Italy at this period compare Hagemann, *Gr. Panzerung*, pp. 66 ff.

¹³⁹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIII, 156.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 47.

¹⁴¹ J. Déchelette, *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (1904), I, pp. 229 ff. Libertus copied contemporary originals.

plaster casts were valued, and the fact that certain famous cups by Pytheas were too delicate to admit of taking casts was considered praiseworthy by Pliny.¹⁴² Pliny laughs at the passion for worn antiques¹⁴³ and Tiberius felt forced to issue an edict to limit the greed of collectors by prohibiting the use of gold vessels save in ritual.¹⁴⁴ Thus it is only natural that Roman vases, plaques, and even sculpture should feel the influence of these lost masterpieces in precious metals. Our ignorance of the quantity and quality of such objects has perhaps warped our judgment as to their position in the history of artistic tradition. Now the chryselephantine statues just found at Delphi, and even these small clay impressions, open our eyes to this almost unknown realm of ancient art. For we see at last face to face the technical and spiritual perfection that the Greek metalist attained.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

¹⁴² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIII, 157.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* Emblema, cols. 2488 f.

A MYCENAEAN FOUNTAIN ON THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS

INTRODUCTION

One of the most difficult problems confronting the military engineers of ancient times was to provide the fortified cities with a sufficient supply of drinkable water, which could not be cut off or contaminated by the enemy in time of siege. History records many instances of capitulation due to a shortage of water,¹ and Greek literature abounds in references to the high value placed upon water by the ancients.² In this, as in so many other ways, the Mycenaean builders showed their foresight and inventive skill. Not many strongholds of the late Bronze Age have been sufficiently excavated to elucidate this fact, but these show clearly that the problem of water supply was seriously considered.

Mycenae offers one of the best examples of the engineers' ingenuity in meeting this problem. The spring from which the city received its supply was at some distance from the acropolis and separated from it by a ravine. In the earlier period, while the lords of Mycenae felt secure in the knowledge of their military strength, it was sufficient to pipe the water within convenient reach from the citadel and to provide communications through a small postern gate in the wall opposite the open fountain. But such an arrangement would be of no use in a time of siege, nor could water be stored in sufficient quantities for the needs of the population housed within the walls. This would include not only the royal household with its entourage of retainers and guards; but the whole population of the city, with no other effective protection than the walls of the citadel, would doubtless take refuge at such times within the acropolis. The engineers who built the last extension to the fortress of Mycenae made provisions for just such an emergency as this, for it was at that time that the underground stairway was built connecting the fountain directly with the citadel.³

¹ In Thucydides alone there are numerous references to cases in which both the besiegers and the besieged suffered great distress from lack of water: Thucyd. i, 126; iv, 26, 31, 98; vi, 100; vii, 4, 78, 84, 87. Sure access to water was, of course, one of the main factors to be considered in the planning of any military operation; see Kromayer, *Ant. Schlachtfelder*, III, pp. 517 ff.

² The most quoted passage is Pindar's *Olym.* I, 1: "Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, and the same idea is repeated in *Olym.* III, 42: ἀπιστεύει μὲν ὕδωρ. See also Christ's commentary on the former passage, *Pindari Carmina*, p. 3. Utterances like these may appear as absurd exaggerations to people living in countries where water is more plentiful, but not so in Greece. In Greek country districts today a good spring is commonly presented as the chief attraction of a given village and as a special inducement for strangers to visit the place.

³ See Karo, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 123 ff.; Müller, *Tiryns*, III, p. 61; Tsountas, *Jahrbuch*, X, 1895, p. 143.



Fig. 1. North Slope of the Acropolis, Situation Plan

At Tiryns the water supply was probably in the plain at some little distance from the acropolis, and the inhabitants of the city would have been at the mercy of an enemy who could get near enough to take possession of the fountain. When the last extension to the fortification was made a barbican was constructed protecting the approach to the water supply, which thus became included within the fortified area of the acropolis.⁴ Yet, both at Tiryns and Mycenae the sources of water, being outside the fortification wall, were not entirely free from the danger of falling into the hands of the enemy.

In Athens the remains of the Mycenaean citadel are comparatively meager, and hitherto nothing has been known about the water supply of that period. But in the 1937 and 1938 campaigns of excavation⁵ on the North Slope of the Acropolis the unexpected discovery of a stairway leading down to an underground fountain enabled us to determine how the wall builders of Mycenaean times provided the citadel with water. Favored by the physical features of the Acropolis rock, and undeterred by the mechanical difficulties involved, they secured for the residents of the Acropolis a supply of water of sufficient quantity for as large a population as the citadel could house. This supply was probably approached only from the Acropolis, and thus safe from hostile attacks.

The slopes of the Acropolis, especially on the north side, have undergone frequent changes, due to the forces of nature as well as to the intervention of man. The hard limestone rests on a comparatively soft layer of clayey rock which disintegrates easily and washes down the slope, leaving the harder rock to overhang round the edges. As a result of this erosion cracks are formed in the limestone, and large pieces break away from time to time. The largest of these cracks is on the north side, a little to the west of the Erechtheion (Fig. 1 and Plate XI). It extends from east to west for a distance of some 35 m., and the width varies between 1 and 3 m. At an early date, probably before the Acropolis became inhabited, the outer piece of rock broke away and slid down the slope a little, but at the top it rests

⁴ Kurt Müller, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 49, 177; Karo, *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

⁵ The excavation in the underground passage was financed by appropriations from the excavation funds of the American School, and in the spring of 1938 an additional donation was made by Mr. Willard V. King for the completion of the work.

The exploratory work in the spring of 1937 was supervised by Miss Dorothy Schierer, and in the campaign of 1938 Mr. Nathan Dane II was in charge. The other members of the excavation staff in 1938 were Carl Roebuck, who supervised the work on the slope; and Miss Margaret Hill and Mrs. R. Howland, who kept the inventories of finds. The plans and sections were made by Mr. H. Johannes and completed by Mr. Wulf Schäfer. The drawings for Figures 6, 16, 25, 90, 97, and 99 are by Mr. Schäfer, that for Figure 10 by Miss Elizabeth Wadhams, and those for Figures 20 and 98 by G. V. Peschke. Most of the photographs were made by Messrs. Hermann Wagner and Saul Weinberg, but a few were made by different members of the excavation staff. I am indebted to Miss Dorothy A. Schierer and Mrs. Broneer for valuable help in the preparation of the manuscript and to Professor J. P. Harland for many helpful suggestions.

against the main mass of the Acropolis rock. For this reason the fissure is practically closed at the top, and the Acropolis wall is built partly over it. Only at one point does the whole width of the wall rest on the smaller piece of rock, leaving an opening into the cleft inside the fortification. There are at present two other entrances halfway down the slope, one from the east (Fig. 2 X) and one from the west, and at the beginning of our excavation it was possible with some difficulty to pass from one end to the other.

The passage was investigated and partly cleared by Kavvadias and the results published in 1897.⁶ Before that time the whole underground passage was almost unknown. The mouth of the cave at the eastern entrance was closed by a wall of modern construction, demolished in the excavations of 1896-7. A Turkish inscription, built into the wall, showed that the cave was closed up at a late period, probably during the Greek War of Independence. The western end of the passage was filled with earth to the top, and the only approach seems to have been from the Acropolis, where the descent could be made by means of some late steps still in place. These Kavvadias dated in Frankish or Turkish times. He describes a flight of nine steps, the lowest of which was partly of wood. Two wooden beams and five of the steps are still in place. But Kavvadias found a second flight of five steps at a lower level, built like the upper flight and probably dating from the same late period. Between the lowest step of the upper flight and the highest step of the lower flight there was a sheer drop of 6.50 m., where a moveable ladder may have been used and pulled up after each ascent.

In the outer wall, closing the east entrance, Kavvadias found some insignificant fragments of sculpture and inscriptions. Although he does not describe the excavation of the passage in detail, it is evident that he also removed the lower flight of steps. When our excavations began we found, *ca.* 6 m. west of the east entrance, the rubble foundations of this stairway with what seems to have been the lowest of the five steps (Fig. 3).⁷ Built into this construction were several fragments of inscriptions,⁸ some pieces of sculpture, including part of a metope from the Parthenon,⁹ and a few architectural fragments.

In 1933-34, when the supporting walls were built which now conceal much of the rock on the North Slope, the entrance to the cave was narrowed, the fill at the east end of the passage was removed to a considerable depth, and the resulting

⁶ 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1897, pp. 26-32; Πρακτικά, 1896, pp. 17 ff.; 1897, pp. 10 ff.; Kavvadias and Kawerau, 'Ανασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, pp. 45 ff.; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, pp. 301 ff.; Jane Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, p. 72, fig. 22.

⁷ The photograph for Figure 3 was taken in 1934 before the construction of the supporting walls. The foundation appears in another photograph taken in 1934 and published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 131, fig. 15.

⁸ See Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 264-310, nos. 14, 16, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27.

⁹ *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 161.

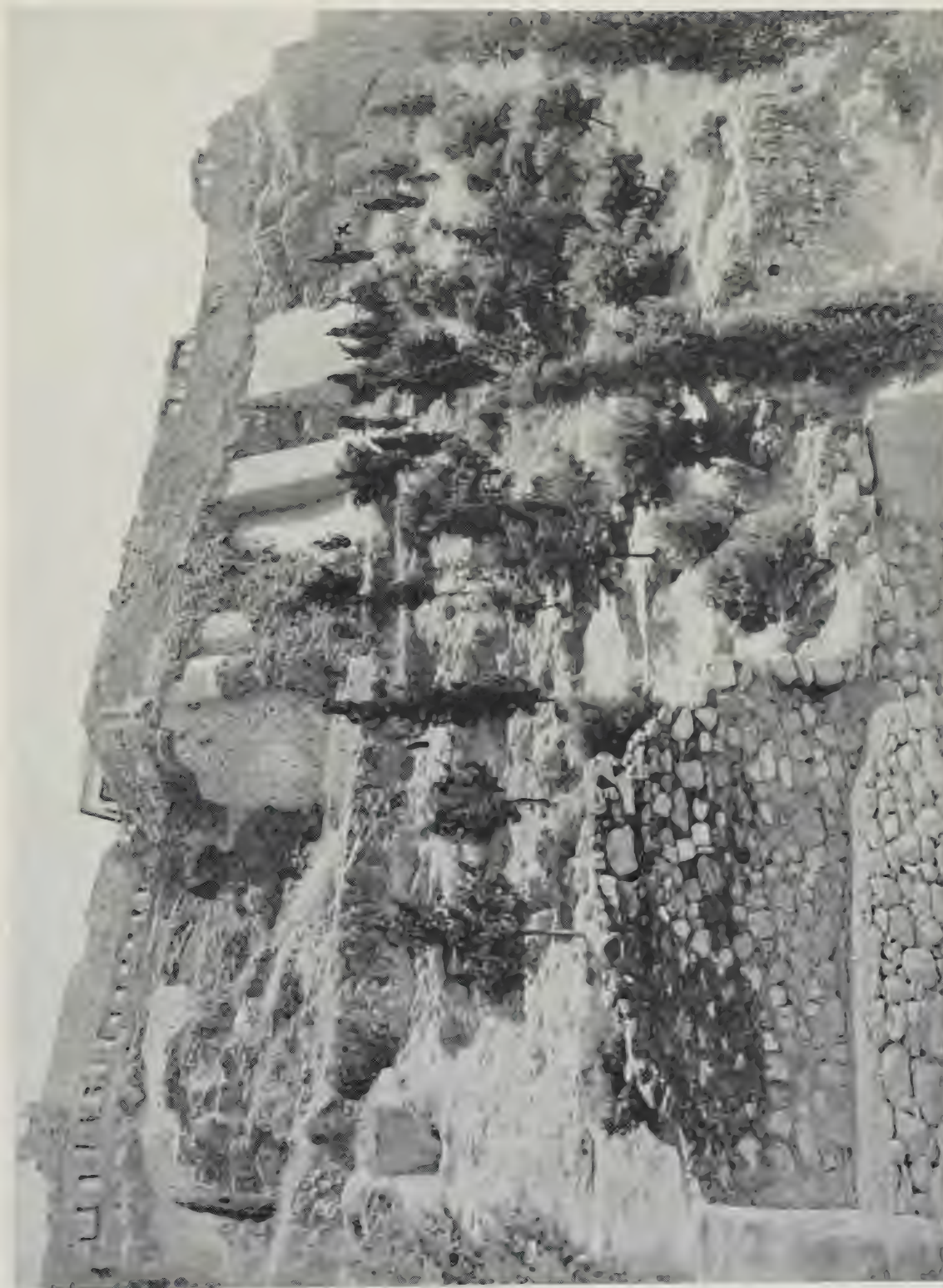


Fig. 2. View of North Slope, Showing Area Cleared in 1938 and Entrance to Mycenaean Fountain

hollow filled with stones. In this condition the underground passage remained until the beginning of our excavation.

The reason for undertaking a new investigation in this place was twofold. The discovery of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite in 1931 and its identification with the early cult place of Aphrodite in the Gardens had added new weight to the suggestion that the underground passage with its primitive descent from the Acropolis was used by the Arrephoroi on their nightly mission to the Peribolos of Aphrodite.¹⁰ On the chance that some undisturbed fill containing votive objects might be left at the bottom of the passage, it seemed worth while to examine the nature of this fill, which might throw some further light on the rites connected with the Arrephoria. In this respect our expectations were not fulfilled. Scattered bits of terracotta figurines of different periods were found in the upper layer, but nothing that could be connected with any particular cult. Probably all the fragments had come down with the fill from the Acropolis.¹¹ A secondary reason for clearing the passage was the probability of discovering fragments of inscriptions and sculpture from the Acropolis, and from this point of view the undertaking was well worth the effort. But the most important result of the excavation was wholly unexpected, the discovery of a Mycenaean stairway leading from the Acropolis through the cleft in the rock to a copious underground water supply at a depth of *ca.* 40 m. below the Acropolis level.

THE EXCAVATION

Our excavation was begun in April, 1937. At first a pit was dug, directly west of the late foundation for the stairway (Fig. 3) referred to above (the following spring the remaining part of this foundation was removed). Below a mixed deposit of late date at the top the Mycenaean fill was reached, mixed to a slight degree with Geometric and later sherds. A large number of stones and flat slabs were found in the fill. At a depth of *ca.* 7.50 m. (+ 125.65¹² m.) the stones became so numerous and so large that it was impossible to proceed further in this narrow pit. Consequently a new pit of larger dimensions was begun a little farther to the west, and at the same time the west end of the passage was investigated. At the close of the season the second pit had reached a depth of *ca.* 7.50 m. (+ 125.65 m.), but the work continued with a few men during the summer until a depth of *ca.* 17 m. (+ 116.15 m.) had

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 52. The suggestion was first made by Kavvadias, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1897, p. 31, but in an earlier article he had suggested that the more western descent on the North Slope was used for this purpose, Πρακτικά, 1896, p. 19.

¹¹ Kavvadias also reported the discovery of some objects of a similar nature, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1897, p. 32.

¹² Depths are calculated from the level at which our excavations began, which is 133.15 m. above sea level. The numbers preceded by a plus sign denote heights above sea level, based on the levels indicated on the plans in Kavvadias and Kawerau, 'Ανασκαφή τῆς 'Ακροπόλεως.



Fig. 3 East Entrance to Cave before Construction of Supporting Walls in 1934

been attained (Fig. 4). The first recognizable steps appeared at a depth of *ca.* 11 m. (+ 122.15 m.) in the second pit. These were the slanting lower steps of flight V (see below, p. 335). Not until the better preserved flights VI and VII came into view was it possible to conjecture what purpose the underground passage had served.



Fig 4. Deep Pit Dug in 1937

At the point where the first steps of the stairway appeared the pottery from the fill was no longer mixed with sherds of later periods. Single sherds of Geometric ware and even later pieces were discovered to a depth of 7 m., but these are too few to have any bearing on the date of the fill. They had probably been washed down by water, which pours down from the Acropolis during heavy rains.

It became evident that the bottom of the ancient shaft could not be reached from the narrow pit in which we were operating in the summer of 1937, and the work was suspended for the season. The clearing of the western extension of the passage revealed that the fill here had a depth of only 1 to 2.50 m., becoming gradually deeper toward the east as the shaft with the stairway was approached.

The work was resumed on March 18, 1938.¹³ The whole extent from the east entrance as far as the deep pit of the preceding season was then excavated. When the level of the first pit was reached, it became clear that the stones, which the year before had impeded our progress at this point, were part of the collapsed upper flights of steps. In addition to the stones from the stairway large boulders, rolled down from above, and pieces of rock, broken off from the sides of the chasm, made excavating in this section both difficult and hazardous. The two largest of these, weighing several tons, which completely blocked the passage at one point, had to be broken up with sledge-hammers and removed in small pieces. When the campaign closed on June 15, 1938, the water level had been reached at a depth of 21 m. (+ 112.15 m.), and no further progress was possible without the removal of the water, which seemed to fill up faster than it could be taken out. But during four weeks in June and July, while no work was being done, the water level sank *ca.* 15 cm.

An attempt to lower the level of the water by pumping proved futile, for the flow was greater than the capacity of the pumps.¹⁴ Five barrels, each with a capacity of 0.227 c. m., were then placed at the bottom of the cistern, and these were quickly filled by bailing. In this way it was possible to remove all the water at once, so that digging could proceed for a few minutes until the hole was again filled with water. The barrels were then emptied by pumping and the process repeated. Somewhat to our own surprise we discovered that, although the hole in the middle of the shaft filled up very fast, after a day's bailing and digging there was a net gain in the lowering of the water level of from 5 to 15 cm. This made it possible to continue, at a slow pace, to dig the remaining fill, and at the end of August, 1938, the absolute bottom was reached. The water continued to flow with increased force from a hole at the bottom of the shaft until it reached a certain level, but the total lowering of the water level amounted to over 2 m. At the beginning of the rainy season the water rose again, until in March, 1939, it was considerably higher than the original level of the previous season.

¹³ During the winter of 1937-38 a great deal of water washed down from above, partly filling our pit with mud and stones, and a large marble block was at one time hurled down from the Acropolis. The steps of flight VII were slightly injured by this block, but fortunately no serious damage was done. The opening from the Acropolis was later covered with timbers to prevent the recurrence of similar acts.

¹⁴ Because of the great depth and the tortuous line of the descent three pumps were installed at different levels. Only hand pumps were used, for the limited space at the bottom would hardly have permitted the installation of an engine while the digging continued.

THE STAIRWAY

The descent from the Acropolis into the underground passage begins at the northwest corner of the heavy foundation for a small square building, which by some scholars has been identified as the House of the Arrephoroi¹⁵ (Plate XI and Fig. 1). A stairway of modern construction (Plates XI and XII, A) descends toward the east to the opening into the cleft, and at the lower level are the remains of a stairway (Plates XII, XIII, B, and Fig. 5) with a westward descent, dated by Kavvadias in Frankish or Turkish times. The masonry is a hard rubble, made with lime mortar,



Fig. 5. Cuttings for Mycenaean Stair, Flight I, and Later Steps Below

and the steps are mostly re-used marble blocks. Only five steps are preserved. The rubble foundation on which they rest has no support from below, but is held in place by being wedged in between the two sides of the chasm. Underneath are two wooden beams, still in good condition, which were probably placed there as support for the masonry while the stairs were being constructed. To the east of the descent from the Acropolis the chasm is closed, partly by masonry of mediaeval and modern date, and partly by a huge piece of rock. Above the stairs is a vault (Plate XII, C), built of rubble like the foundation for the steps and probably of the same date.

¹⁵ A description and identification of the building is given by Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 445, fig. 1, 21, and pp. 489 ff. Cf. also Picard, *L'Acropole, Le Plateau Supérieur*, etc., pp. 16 ff., who points out that the plan of the square building is suitable for a small temple or treasury.

The traces of the ancient stairway begin *ca.* 1 m. above the highest preserved step of the mediaeval stair. On the south side of the cleft a row of cuttings for steps (Plate XIII, D-E) is comparatively well preserved. They are shallow depressions of rather irregular shape, descending in a gentle slope toward the west.

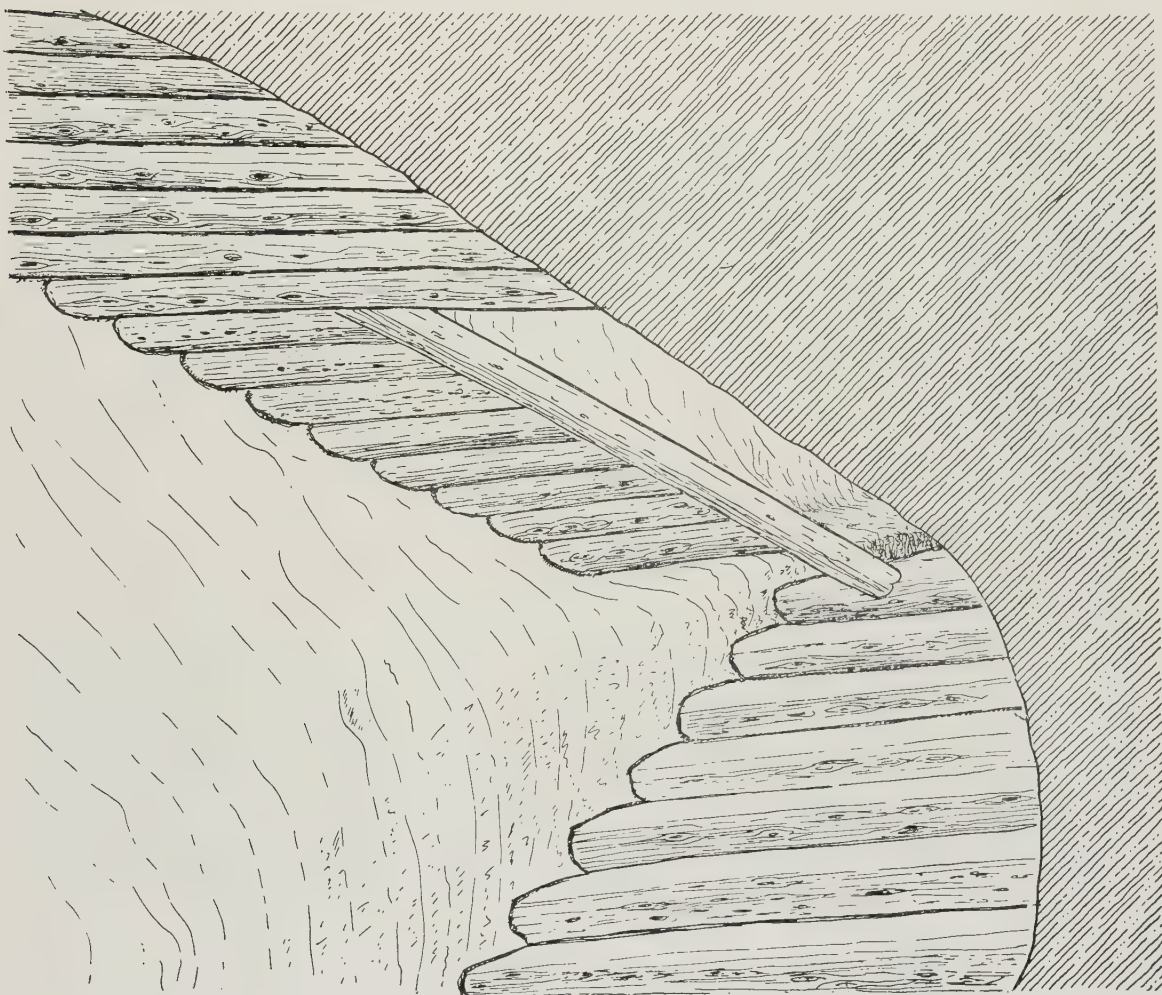


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of Wooden Stairs, Showing Arrangement at First Landing

Although in a few places the face of the rock is so crumbly that the cuttings have almost disappeared, it is possible to determine that there were approximately twenty-five steps in the first flight. The width of the cleft at the top is now 1.35 m., but originally it was somewhat less. On the north side (Fig. 5) the face of the rock was dressed back at some period subsequent to the construction of the Mycenaean stairway, and the cuttings for the three upper steps on that side were then removed. The

cleft widens somewhat below this point but narrows again toward the foot of the first flight. The cuttings for the lowest eight steps are preserved on the south side, but there are no corresponding cuttings on the north side of the cleft. A little below the cuttings on the south side is a natural ledge (Plate XIII, E), which may have been utilized as support for the construction of the stairway at this point. The steps cannot here have extended to the opposite face of the cleft, for this would have blocked the descent from the first to the second flight, and the absence of the cuttings

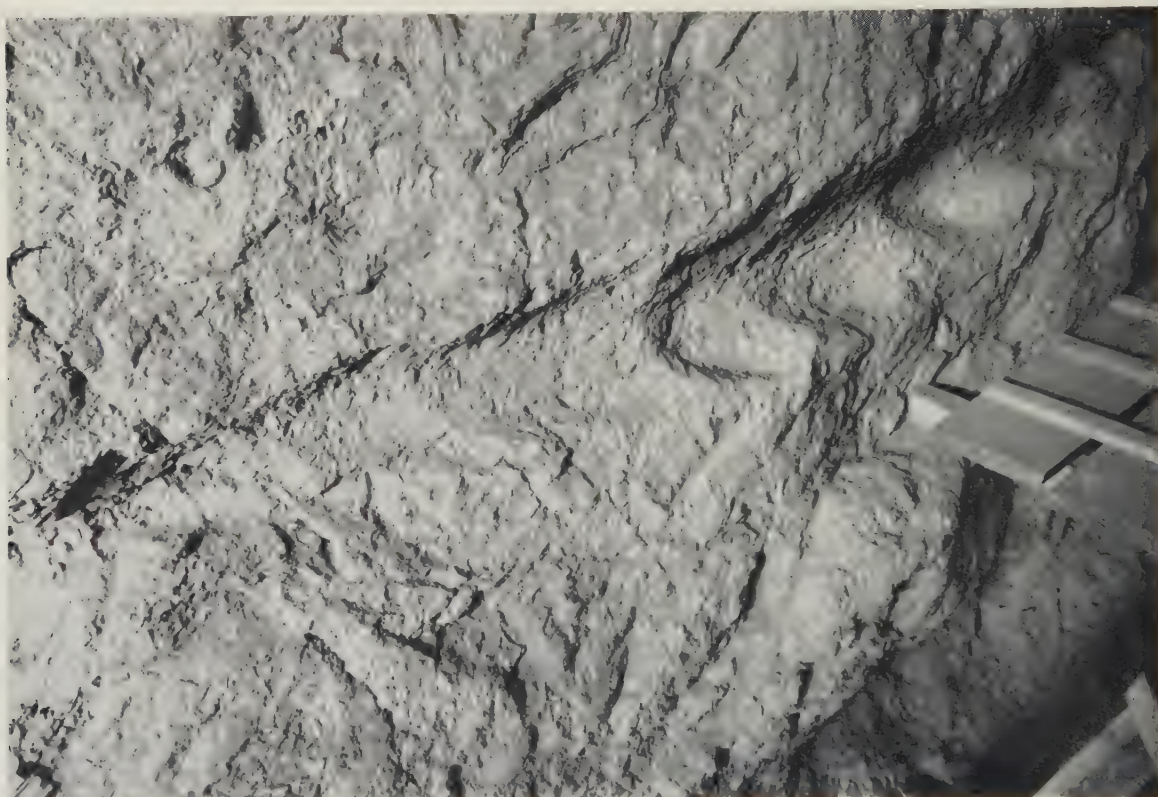


Fig. 7. Cuttings for Steps at the Foot of Flight II, South Side of Cleft

on the north side indicates the presence of a landing at the turn of the stairs (see conjectural restoration of the stairway at this point as shown in Figure 6).

The cuttings for the second flight begin *ca.* 0.30 m. below the ledge on the south side of the cleft and descend with a gentle decline toward the east. The slope is not altogether uniform. The deviations are due to the nature of the rock, which in a few places is too rough and crumbly to give sure support to steps. There were approximately forty steps in the second flight, but for the last ten there are no cuttings preserved on the north side. The width of the chasm is here over two meters. It is possible that some cuttings have disappeared through the weathering of

the rock close to the entrance of the cave, but it is more likely that an artificial support was constructed on the north side, leaving room for the descent to the next flight below. The masonry of the modern supporting wall now partly covers the north side of the passage.

For the construction of the upper two flights there is no other evidence than the shallow, step-like cuttings (Fig. 7) on either side of the chasm. These were evidently intended to serve as anchorage for wooden steps, cut to fit exactly the span between the cuttings and inserted with sufficient force to make further support from below unnecessary¹⁶ (Fig. 6). Until the beginning of our excavation in 1937 it was generally supposed that the two flights described above constituted the whole stairway, the purpose of which was to provide communications between the Acropolis and the cult places on the North Slope. Doubtless this part of the descent remained in use in connection with the cults throughout classical times, but the nature of the cuttings permits us to date them at a much earlier period than was formerly supposed. The cuttings, very shallow and irregular in shape, show no chisel marks or square corners (Figs. 5 and 7), and altogether they convey the impression of having been made by tools of stone¹⁷ rather than of metal. They contrast strongly with the numerous cuttings of classical times along the North Slope and on the Acropolis itself.

The second flight of steps stops abruptly at a depth of *ca.* + 131 m. (Plate XIII, F, and Fig. 7). From the bottom of the mediaeval stair down to this level the sides of the cleft are very nearly vertical (see section, Plate XII) and only about one to one and a half meters apart. This made the type of wooden stairs described above suitable for the upper section of the descent. Moreover, since this part was well above the ground level at the east entrance to the cave and the circulation of air kept the place dry, there was less danger of destruction from the decay of the wood. In such a place, the wood, if of good quality, would last for centuries, as is shown by the beams still in place beneath the mediaeval masonry.

Below the level at the east entrance the opposite conditions prevailed. The rock here inclines toward the north at an angle of *ca.* 35 degrees, to a depth of + 120.50 m., and the average width of the passage is rather more than two meters. Here it is possible in most places to walk along the rough southern side of the cleft without the use of a ladder. It is likely that all this part had to be excavated by the original builders of the stairway, as is shown by the conditions in the western extension of

¹⁶ The practicability of this type of stairs was demonstrated during our investigation of the passage. In order to measure and study the whole descent wooden ramps were constructed along the lines of the ancient cuttings but at a slightly lower level. The ramps were made of planks supported on cross beams (seen in Figure 7, right), which were wedged in between the two faces of the cleft in the manner of the original steps and anchored in natural depressions of the rock.

¹⁷ That stone tools were used for such purposes in Mycenaean times has been pointed out by Kurt Müller, *Tiryns*, III, p. 177, who was able to determine that the large limestone blocks of the fortification were dressed by stone hammers.

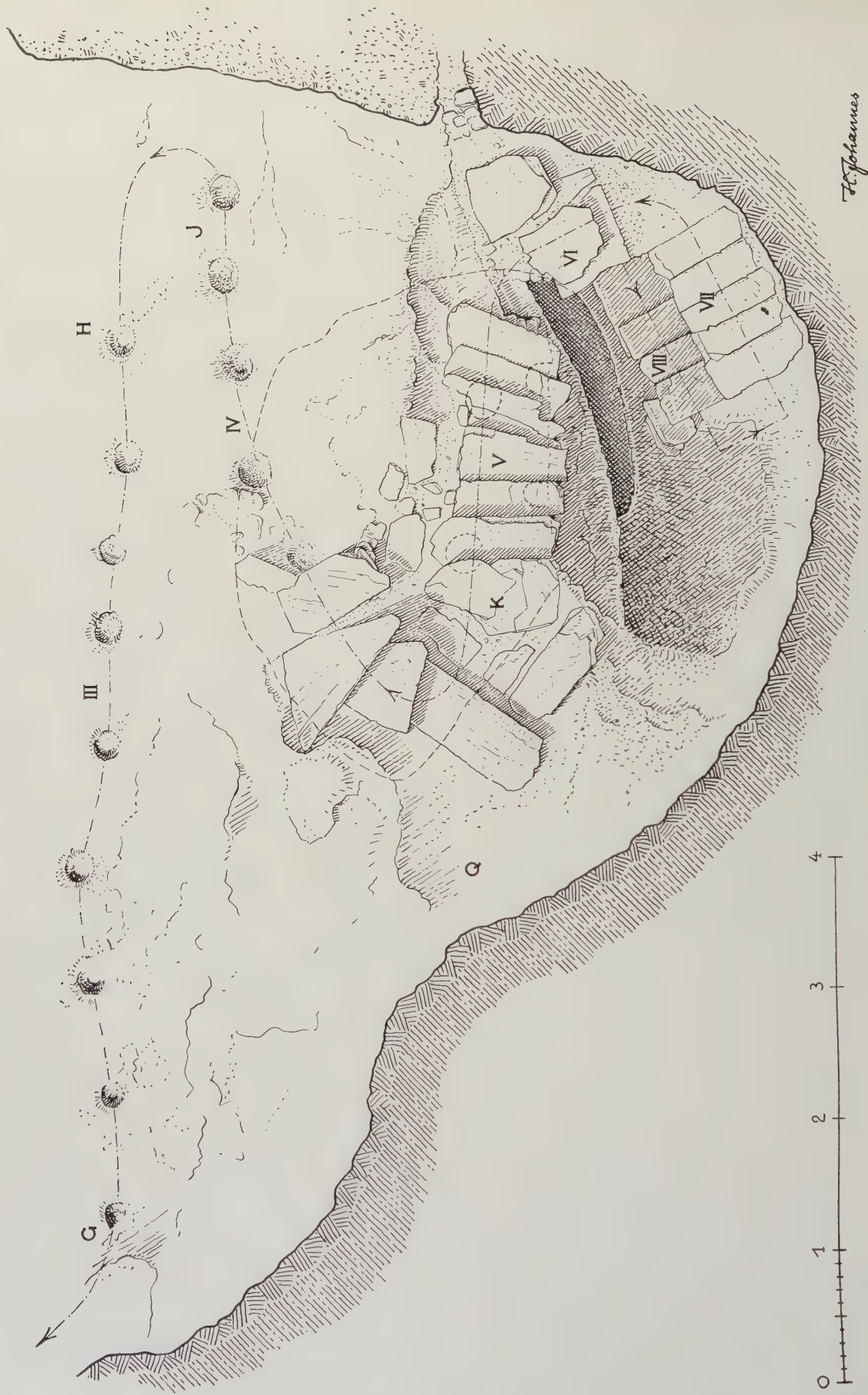


Fig. 8. Plan of Stairway below Level of East Cave

the passage, where undisturbed natural fill was reached at a depth of only 1 to 2.50 m. The same seems to have been the case at the east end. The length of the shaft excavated by the Mycenaean engineers for the purpose of the descent measures *ca.* 10 m. from east to west at the top, decreasing rapidly toward the bottom.

Of the third flight of steps—the first below the level of the cave—the only remaining traces are nine cup-shaped depressions cut in the face of the rock on the



Fig. 9. View of Passage Looking Down, Showing Cuttings for Flight III

south side of the cleft (Plate XIII, G-H, and Figs. 8 and 9). They are *ca.* 0.20 m. in diameter and from 0.02 to 0.10 m. deep. The outer edge is, as a rule, fairly sharp, but in a few cases it is roughly broken away as if by accident. The interaxial distance varies between 0.60 and 1.10 m. They form a slightly curving line with a westward slope, even more gentle than that of the first and second flights. From the bottom of flight II (Plate XIII, F) to the first of the cuttings for flight III (Plate XIII, G) there is a drop of *ca.* 4 m. It is likely that the lowest steps of flight II,

the landing between the two flights, and the upper steps of flight III were supported by masonry resting on the natural fill of the cave itself, where the two faces of the cleft come very close together. No trace of this construction is preserved.

At the west end of the line of cuttings for flight III (Plate XIII, H), there was a third landing. A little more than a meter below the westernmost cutting of

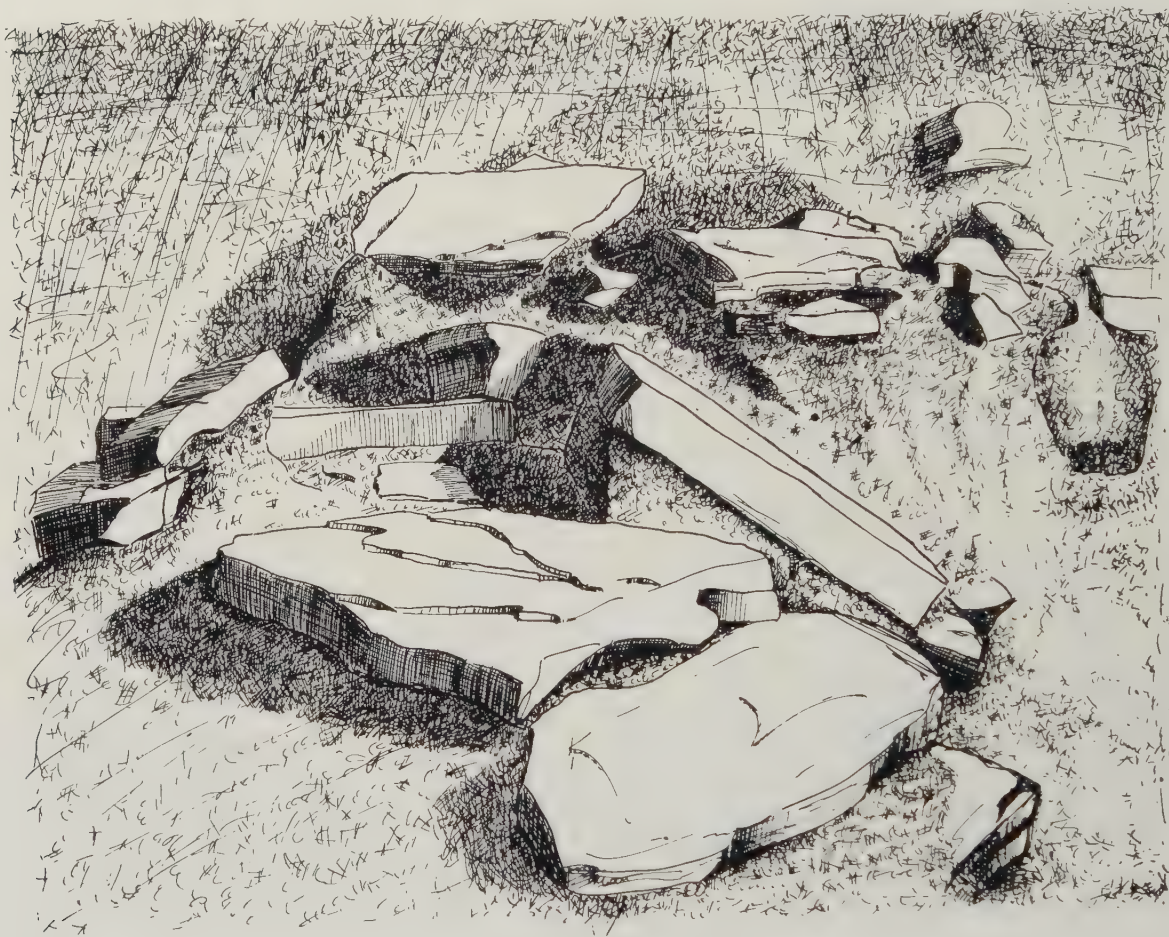


Fig. 10. Sketch Showing Condition of Stairway at Foot of Flight IV During Course of Excavation

the third flight, and a little farther west are two similar cuttings (Plate XIII, J, and Fig. 8, J), only about a half meter apart and aligned horizontally. These were evidently made for the support of the landing. The fourth flight, descending toward the east, is represented by three cuttings, one of which is partly hidden under the stone steps still preserved *in situ* (Plate XIII and Figs. 8, 12, 13) at the bottom of the flight. Only three steps remain, and the topmost of these is slightly tilted from its original position.

The steps are made of a grayish blue marble, which flakes off into flat slabs like slate. These have been broken up into the proper size and shape, with no marks of tooling left along the edges. A hard deposit of reddish color, *ca.* 1 to 5 cm. in thickness, covered the tread of the steps when first uncovered. This may have been added purposely to render the steps less slippery, but more likely it was formed by



Fig. 11. View of Passage, Looking Down, During Course of Excavation

an accidental accumulation of earth washed down by rain from the sides of the chasm and trodden down by the feet of the water carriers. The steps are laid in a mortar of yellow clay¹⁸ and supported on a substructure of loose rubble. This rubble masonry is constructed of rather small stones, carelessly thrown in with a liberal use of earth mortar, which differs both in color and consistency from the mortar bedding for the steps.

Although the slope at this point is rather gentle and the surface rough, it is

¹⁸ A similar use of yellow clay in the construction of a stairway is reported by Wace at Mycenae, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 45.

obvious that no secure foundation for the steps could be made with this kind of masonry alone. The cup-like depressions, one of which was found behind the rubble underneath the preserved steps, must have served some purpose in connection with the construction of the stairway. They are, as a rule, not at the outer edge of the steps, but more than halfway in, and *ca.* 0.90 to 1.25 m. below the tread of the step directly above each cutting. In several of the depressions were found small quantities



Fig. 12. Flights IV and V as Found

of a soft, dark substance, obviously decayed wood; and in the rubble construction at several points were clear traces of decayed wooden beams, running approximately parallel to the line of the stairway and following the descent of the steps. At the foot of the fourth flight the excavations revealed a heap of stones and marble slabs in complete disorder, concealing the steps of flight V and the landing below flight IV. Figures 10 and 11 show the condition of the stairway at this point before the débris from the collapsed upper flights had been removed and the preserved steps of flights IV and V uncovered.

The landing below flight IV (Plate XIII, K, and Figs. 8 K, 12 K and 14 K), measuring *ca.* 1.40 x 1.60 m., is preserved in its original condition. It is made of several slabs of irregular shapes roughly fitted together. Below the landing are preserved six steps of the fifth flight (Figs. 8, 12-14) descending toward the west. These were found in their original order but sloping sharply toward the north, their



Fig. 13. Flight V, Showing Condition of Steps Before Being Raised to Horizontal Position

south ends resting on a slight, partly artificial, ledge in the rock (Figs. 12 and 13). The rubble substructure had collapsed, but the clay mortar and the weight of the slightly overlapping slabs were sufficient to hold the steps together and prevent them from falling down into the shaft below. We were able to raise the steps to a horizontal position (Figs. 14 and 15), supporting them temporarily with ropes tied to a wooden beam, while a concrete slab was laid underneath for their permanent support. In the removal of the collapsed rubble masonry a few sherds were discovered, valuable for the dating of the stairway (see p. 346, note 24). Two pairs of cuttings in the

rock were found underneath this flight. The upper two (Plate XIII, L, L', and Fig. 15), somewhat larger than the others, are *ca.* 1.25 m. below the tread of the step directly above. Their position in relation to the stair indicates that they were intended for the same purpose as the cuttings for flights III and IV. The two smaller cuttings (Plate XIII, M, M', and Fig. 15), aligned horizontally at a still lower level, were probably made for a different purpose (see p. 345).



Fig. 14. Flights V and VI, After Steps Had Been Raised

In the construction of flights III, IV, and V the builders faced a difficult problem. The technique used in the upper flights of steps was not suitable here, partly because wooden steps could get no safe purchase on the overhanging north face of the rock, and partly because of the greater width of the passage. Furthermore, since this was all underground and exposed to a great deal of moisture throughout the whole year, a stairway constructed entirely of wood could not be expected to last very long. This obvious fact, however, seems to have troubled the builders less than the difficulties

of construction.¹⁹ The most satisfactory solution, to cut a stairway in the side of the rock, was probably beyond their technical ability. But it is likely that the element

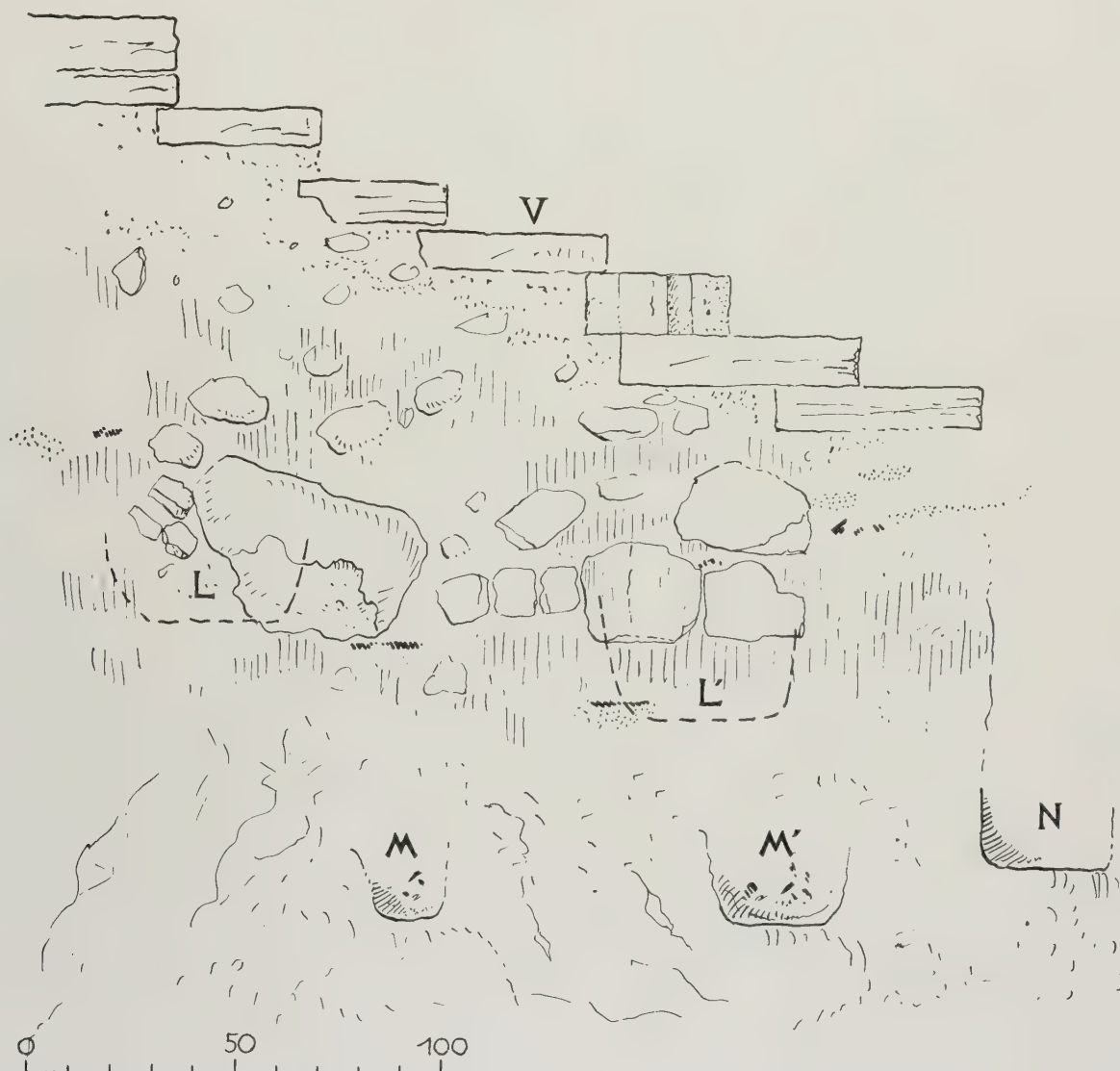


Fig. 15. Flight V in Elevation, Showing Cuttings Below

of time, too, was an important factor in the choice of construction, for there is every reason to believe that the underground fountain was part of a general program of defence against impending danger to the city. The construction they devised can

¹⁹ In Tiryns, too, wood was used extensively in moist places, e. g., in the bathroom and in the deep magazines west of the court. Müller, *Tiryns*, III, pp. 180 f., suggests that the wood may have been covered with tar to protect it against decay.

hardly be called satisfactory, but it served the purpose for the time, and part of it remains in its original condition to the present day.

From the cuttings in the rock and from the actual remains of steps and sub-



Fig. 16. Conjectural Restoration, Showing Construction of Flights III-V

structure it is possible to determine how these flights were constructed. The cup-like cuttings in the south face of the cleft must have been made for the purpose of anchoring the stairway to the steeply sloping rock. The shape and spacing of the holes would seem to indicate that they were intended as anchorage for the lower ends

of upright wooden posts, whose upper end would lean against the overhanging north face of the cleft. This would be a likely explanation if the holes were cut at the outer edge of the stair, but wherever the steps are preserved it is obvious that an attempt was made to cut them as far in as possible and at the proper distance below the steps so as to be approximately in the middle of the substructure. Some of the cuttings



Fig. 17. Model of Stairway

are so far from the outer edge of the stair that beams resting in them would be in a nearly horizontal position and thus could get no purchase against the overhanging rock on the other side of the cleft.

From practical experiments with a model of approximately one tenth the actual size of the stairway the reconstruction seen in Figures 16-18 evolved. Long horizontal beams were held together by upright posts at intervals of slightly less than a meter.²⁰

²⁰ This is a common type of construction in house walls of the Mycenaean period; see Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, pp. 42, 88 ff. and fig. 20. Even the spacing of the beams in the South House

The total absence of metal spikes indicates that the posts were joined to the beams by halving, and placed on the outside so as to hold the beams in place. A transverse tie²¹ would be similarly fastened at its outer end to the middle of each post and its inner end notched to fit into the cuttings in the face of the rock. The distances between the holes show the spacing of the upright posts, and probably the horizontal beams were equally spaced so as to form a succession of squares. The whole framework, imbedded in the loose rubble construction, would hold the masonry together; and the transverse ties, firmly anchored in the holes and held down by the superposed mass of rubble, would be sufficiently strong to prevent the stairs from slipping down the slope. In the model shown in Figures 17 and 18 the notched tie, of about the thickness of a middle finger, when inserted into the small hole, became so firmly fixed that it could not be removed except by breaking the wood or by lifting it out of the hole. As long as the wood remained in good condition and the weight of the masonry held these ties in place there was no danger that the stairs would collapse. Its duration would depend very largely on the kind of wood used, but the dampness in the lower part of the passage is so great that even the best kind of wood could not be expected to last very long.

About 1.50 m. below the bottom of the fifth flight, the slope of the main mass of rock changes, as seen in Plate XII. Here it turns at almost right angles, continuing with a pronounced southward slope, and the corresponding face of rock on the other side of the cleft follows in the same direction. This change in the slope necessitated a change in construction. Since the stairway obviously could not be built on the overhanging face of rock on the south side of the cleft, it became necessary to bridge over to the opposite side. The last three steps of flight V are missing (the short steps seen in Figure 14 are not ancient), but the landing which bridged the cleft at this point remains together with the next step below. It seems to have been supported on a wooden beam, a cutting for which is visible on the south side (Plate XIII, N, and Fig. 15 N). The north end of the beam must have rested on one of the steps of the next flight. When the wood decayed, the two slabs slid down slightly, but the cleft at this point is so narrow that they did not fall into the shaft below. They have now been raised to a horizontal position and are supported on an iron beam. Flight VI seems to have consisted of only three steps, in addition to the landings. The overhanging rock at the turn of the stairs is here so low that one must stoop to reach the next flight, and it must have been difficult to carry pitchers of water beyond this point (see p. 345).

at Mycenae, 0.80-0.85 m., corresponds rather closely to that in the stairway as revealed by the distances between the cuttings in the rock. At Tiryns the wooden network was much closer, Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 f.

²¹ Similar transverse ties were used in Tiryns, where strangely enough no upright beams appear to have been used; cf. Müller, *loc. cit.*

On the north side of the cleft the natural rock at this level is sufficiently soft to enable the builders to level off the surface so as to secure horizontal beddings for the foundations. The substructure for flight VII does not consist of soft rubble held



Fig. 18. Model of Stairway, Showing Details of Construction

together by wooden beams, but of solid masonry still in a good state of preservation. All five steps of this flight remain in their original position (Figs. 8 and 19). They are higher than the preserved steps above, *ca.* 0.25 m. as compared with 0.15-0.20 m., and the tread is comparatively narrow, *ca.* 0.26 m. The width of the stairs at this

point is only 0.75 m., about one fourth less than that of flight V. At the narrow landing below the fifth step is a large projecting piece of rock, which seems to have been there when the stairway was in use.

The eighth flight (Fig. 19), consisting of four steps, is preserved in its entirety.



Fig. 19. Flights VII and VIII, Seen From Below

As in the preceding flight the steps are high and the width of the stairs is only about 0.45 m., as compared with 1 m. in flight V. The lowest step is a large block, 1.55 m. in length, supporting the weight of the upper three steps. The bedding on which it rested had largely disappeared and this caused the stone to settle to such an extent that it had to be supported to prevent the collapse of the whole flight.

From the bottom of flight VIII to the level of the water (at the close of the excavation in August, 1938) there is a sheer drop of *ca.* 8 m. Originally there was a

well shaft, *ca.* 2 m. in diameter, cut in the soft clayey rock on which the limestone cap of the Acropolis rests. The shaft seems to have been approximately circular, but the original edges have caved in, except for a small section in the northwest side. It was filled with a rather soft earth, containing a great deal of pottery, as well as

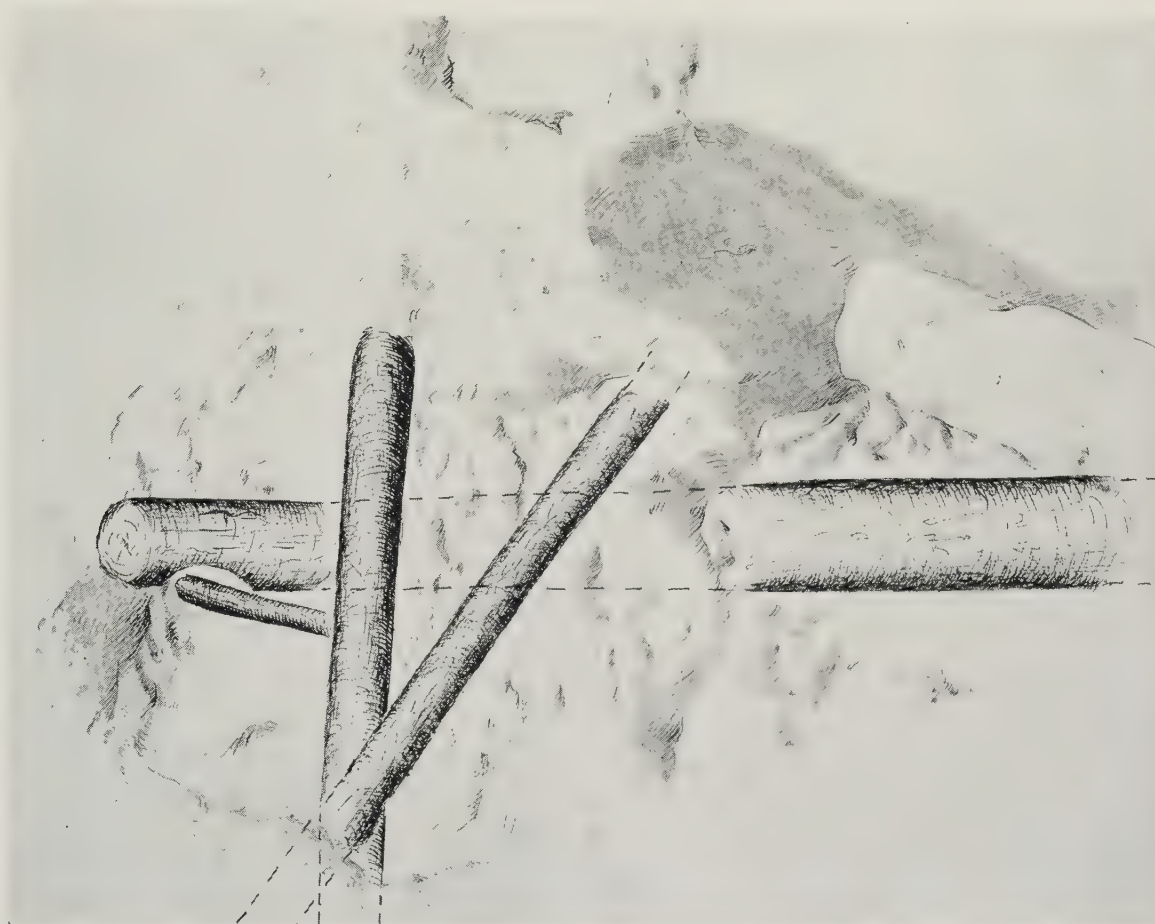


Fig. 20. Holes in Earth Left by Decayed Wooden Beams

marble slabs and stones from the collapsed stairway above. In the lower part were well-marked layers of a hard, rust-colored deposit²² marking the various levels of water. In this fill were numerous holes formed by decayed beams (Figs. 20 and 21), with bits of wood and pieces of bark adhering to the edges. The largest of the beams (Fig. 20) had a length of *ca.* 3.45 m. and a diameter of *ca.* 0.20 m., but some were short pieces, a few centimeters in thickness. The beam holes were mostly circular, or

²² A chemical analysis of this deposit, made by Miss M. Farnsworth, shows an iron oxide (Fe_2O_3) content of 12.3%.

semicircular, in section, showing that they were formed from tree trunks, either whole or split through the center. A few, however, were practically square in section, and one hole, of no great length, appears to have resulted from a short piece of flat plank.

At first it was thought that these beams had to do with wooden stairs, reaching from the lowest flight of stone steps to the level of the water, but upon closer examination this hypothesis seems improbable. No intelligible order of the beams could be observed, beyond the fact that in many cases they were oriented east to west. A few



Fig. 21. Traces of Decayed Wooden Beams

holes pointed down as if caused by upright beams leaning against the sides of the shaft. The most likely explanation is that the beams and planks were used for shoring up the sides of the shaft. This would explain the irregular arrangement of the holes and also the prevailing orientation, the east and west sides being the weakest because of the east-west orientation of the cleft. The necessity for precautions of this nature was impressed upon us repeatedly during the process of excavation.

At the bottom the circular shaft opens into a small reservoir, *ca.* 4 m. in diameter (see plan, Plate XII). The edges are so poorly preserved that the exact form is not very clear, but it seems to have been shaped like a bee-hive with a deep pit in the center

(Plates XII and XIII). A small portion on the north side still retains its ancient fill. This is the better preserved side, but at the close of the excavations several new cracks developed in the stereo above the reservoir, which made it inadvisable to remove the earth from beneath the crumbling rock.

It is not certain how the water was reached from the lowest flight of stone steps, but it is possible that a wooden ladder was used for a short while or was, at least, intended. A heap of rubble masonry (Plates XII and XIII, O), similar to the sub-structure for flights IV and V, is preserved at the north side, and this may have been made for the support of a landing on which the ladder stood. A marble slab (Plates XII, XIII, P) like that used for the steps was lying on the rubble, but it is uncertain whether it was *in situ* where found or had fallen from above. A wooden ladder or stair might have been placed on this platform, its top leaning against the long slab at the foot of flight VIII.

If this was the original arrangement, it is unlikely that it continued in use very long. The inconvenience of carrying water up the steep steps of the ladder and past the abrupt overhang above flights VI and VII, would necessitate alterations. From a platform constructed below flight V it would be possible to draw water with the use of a rope, and at this point are two horizontally aligned holes in the south face of the cleft (Plate XIII, M, M' and Fig. 15, M, M'). The beams on which the platform rested were probably placed in these holes. This is the highest level from which a rope can be let down vertically into the reservoir.²³ Possibly an overhead pulley or some similar device was used at this point to facilitate the raising of the water jars.

It is obvious that the problem of construction taxed the mechanical ingenuity of the builders to its limit, and the result was not altogether successful. They were probably familiar both with wooden ladders and with ordinary stone stairs, but difficulties arose in trying to adapt these types of construction to a steep underground chasm, where wood was likely to rot and the surface of the rock was too steep to provide support for stone foundations. The upper two flights seem to have caused very little trouble, and the wooden stairway with the steps anchored firmly in the sides of the cleft was both serviceable and lasting. New steps could be added whenever the wood became impaired through wear or decay, and it is likely that this part of the descent, repaired from time to time, remained in use throughout antiquity. Ordinary stone stairs, on the other hand, were common, and for these a particular type of marble was used, which, so far as I know, is not found in the vicinity of Athens. At the present time a similar stone, used extensively in Athens for steps and pavements, is quarried on the island of Tenos. It is more likely, however, that the slabs used for the stairway were brought from the island of Euboea, where a similar stone is still quarried near a small village, called Marmari, *ca.* 6 km. north of

²³ In our excavation of the shaft we were faced with the same problems as the original builders and the users of the water, and throughout our work a platform at this level was in constant use.

Karystos. It required considerable skill to break up the slabs into the right shapes and sizes for the steps. The edges are comparatively straight and sharp, and in no case is there any trace of tooling. The clay mortar in which the slabs were laid was sufficiently hard and adhesive to hold the stones in place, as is shown in flight V, where the steps were firmly held together after the rubble underneath had collapsed. Wherever the surface was level so as to offer a secure bedding for the substructure, as in flight VII, the stairway is still in excellent condition.

The slope of the rock is so steep in most places that in all probability the stairs collapsed as soon as the wood decayed, and this is likely to have taken place not many years after its construction. They may have been mended for some time, but it is unlikely that they remained in use for long. A maximum duration of twenty-five years is a generous estimate. The potsherds found in the rubble under the steps are of the same type as the bulk of the pottery thrown into the hole after the stairway collapsed.²⁴ The same is true of some better preserved pots, found at the very bottom of the reservoir, where they were left while the well was still in use. A small deposit of pottery, including two large amphoras and a kylix, probably used as a lamp, were found at the foot of flight IV (Fig. 22 and Fig. 8 Q), where they may have been placed just before the destruction. They certainly cannot have come down with the later fill. Thus we have ceramic evidence to fix the date of the original construction of the stairway, of the period of its use, and of the time of its destruction; but the period of use was so short that no chronological difference in the pottery can be observed. The date will be discussed more in detail in the final section, but it is important in this connection to bear in mind that very little time elapsed between the construction of the stairway and its final abandonment.

THE POTTERY

After the lower part of the stairway had collapsed and the water supply was no longer accessible, the underground passage seems to have become a general dumping place, which accounts for the immense accumulation of potsherds from the fill. The bulk of the pottery probably dates from the time of destruction and somewhat later, yet no distinction in date can be made between the pottery thrown into the cavern after the destruction of the stairway and that left there while the fountain was still in use. The vases found at the very bottom and in the deposit below flight IV (see p. 395) are certainly earlier than the destruction of the stairs, as is shown by the fact

²⁴ Among the recognizable shapes, represented only by small fragments, are unpainted kylikes (Shape 7 *b* and *c*), one pyxis (Shape 15), skyphoi (Shape 3), cups with two horizontal handles (Shape 9), and, most numerous, larger vessels, probably water jars. Although in most places a slight contamination would have been possible, the sherds found in the collapsed substructure beneath the steps are so numerous that a preponderance of earlier sherds, had it existed, would have been easily detected. Actually very few sherds of early Mycenaean pottery came to light here.

that several of these vases were found practically complete. They are mostly large vessels, amphoras or hydriai, suitable for carrying water. The only other type of vessel that can be definitely associated with the period of use are some undecorated kylikes, one of which is complete (see p. 377). The pottery thrown in after the collapse of the stairway is very fragmentary. The vases were probably in all cases broken before thrown away, and rarely or never were all the pieces of a broken vessel thrown down together. The fragments of a particular vase may in some instances



Fig. 22. Pottery Deposit at Foot of Flight IV

have been thrown down at different times, and in some cases they became scattered and mixed with the earth and rubbish, most of which immediately fell down to the bottom of the pit, while some of it was left higher up the cleft on projecting ledges of rock or on the remaining parts of the stairway. If the hole had consisted of a vertical shaft, the accumulated earth should have been found in a stratified order, for it is perfectly clear that the deposit had never been disturbed by human agency since the fountain went out of use. The fill of the last fifteen meters was of uniform date, as is indicated by the scattered sherds of certain vessels found at greatly varying depths, in some cases as much as eight meters apart. It is only at the upper levels that

a distinct difference in the pottery could be observed, but at no level was there anything like a sequence of stratified deposit.

Although immense quantities of sherds came from the fill, only a comparatively small number of vases have been put together and restored. An attempt has been made, so far as practicable, to restore at least one specimen of each determinable shape, in order to show the range of the potters' repertoire in Athens at this time. Some well-known and perfectly certain shapes are represented only by small fragments, and in such instances it has seemed preferable to refer to published examples rather than to restore most of the vase in plaster. The coarse, undecorated pottery, large quantities of which were discovered, is too fragmentary to repay detailed study. In most cases the shapes of this pottery are of slight importance, but a few of the more characteristic types are discussed below.

In describing the shapes of the decorated vases it seems advisable to include in the discussion the decoration of each type, because in many cases the relation between the shape and the decoration is of fundamental importance. This is not due to any subtle fitting of designs to the shapes of the vessels, but to an arbitrary, though rather rigidly fixed, distribution of patterns. Certain elements of decoration occur on vases of many different shapes, but in other instances only a particular design or combination of designs occurs on a given type of vessel. Although in many cases the decoration consists of nothing more complicated than a more or less stereotyped arrangement of horizontal lines, or alternating painted and reserved bands, a particular scheme is adhered to for each shape. Because of these conventions it is sometimes possible to distinguish sherds of closely related vessels, even when no such distinction can be made from the profile of the sherds.

There is a considerable variety in clay and fabric among the pottery from the fill of the passage. For the decorated ware and for all smaller vases a rather fine clay is employed, usually of a buff color but with considerable variation of shades. The surface is smooth and covered with a clay wash of the same color as the biscuit. In some lightly fired examples the surface is mealy and the decoration is in poor condition. This is by far the most common type of clay used both for the decorated and undecorated vases. A very few sherds of vases decorated in the "close style" are made of the greenish-buff clay which is typical of this class of vases. Usually the fabric is thin and tends to flake off, but the glaze is, as a rule, well preserved. A third variety is comparatively common. The biscuit is brick red and rather coarse and gritty, and it is covered with a white slip over which the decoration is applied. Usually the slip is too thin to conceal the gritty surface of the clay, but in a few cases it is applied so thickly that the vase has acquired a smooth surface as if covered with enamel. Only a few shapes, mostly large open vessels, such as kraters and bell-shaped bowls, belong to this variety.²⁵ A fourth variety, very coarse and gritty and usually unslipped and undecorated, is used for the plain household ware.

²⁵ The white slip is a common feature on Cypriote pottery and on vases from Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, where it continues to a late period.

The glaze likewise varies to a great extent. The typical brown or reddish glaze of Mycenaean pottery is used for most of the better vases, but a growing tendency away from the brown and toward the black may be observed. A few sherds have decorations rendered in an opaque white paint on a black ground. There is no marked deterioration in the quality of the glaze among the later sherds. The skyphoi with reserved bands and the shallow bowls with one or two handles (Shapes 8 and 9), which represent a late phase among the pottery from the passage, are often decorated

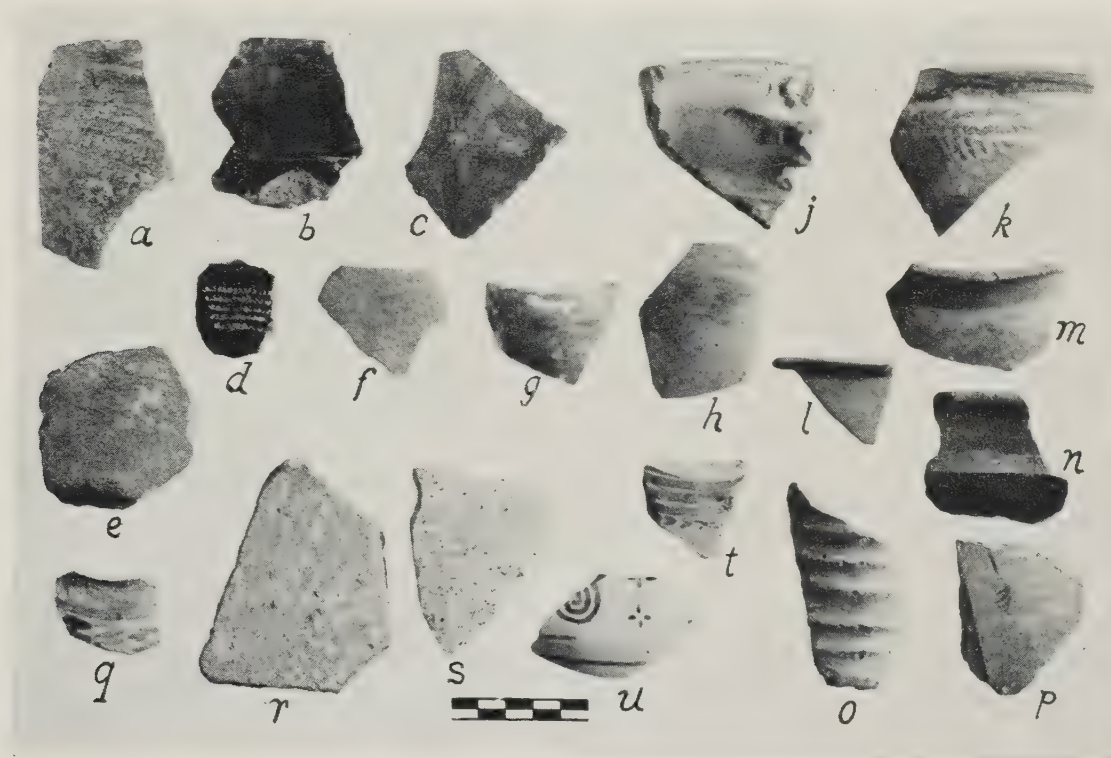


Fig. 23. Sherds of Pre-Mycenaean Pottery

with a glaze of excellent quality, still in good condition. On some of the smaller skyphoi, which are glazed all over, the glaze is often dull and rather poor, but these are probably not much, if at all, later than the bowls with reserved bands. Many of the kylikes are covered with a very poor glaze which has largely peeled off, and the same is true of a large percentage of decorated sherds of larger vessels.

The bulk of the pottery belongs to a late phase of the late Mycenaean period (L. H. III C), but a few sherds are earlier. One or two tiny fragments seem to be Neolithic (Fig. 23 *a-d*), and about a dozen pieces are Early Helladic (Fig. 23 *e-k*). The Middle Helladic period is likewise represented by a few sherds of gray Minyan (Fig. 23 *l-o*) and matt-painted (Fig. 23 *q-u*) ware. One small fragment (Fig. 23 *p*)

preserves the feet of a bird. Typical examples of all these periods from the North Slope excavations have been published in earlier reports,²⁶ and only a few of the more important fragments from the underground passage are shown in Figure 23. The sherds of early Mycenaean pottery, some typical examples of which appear in Figure 24, are also too small and too few to have any bearing on the date of the fill.

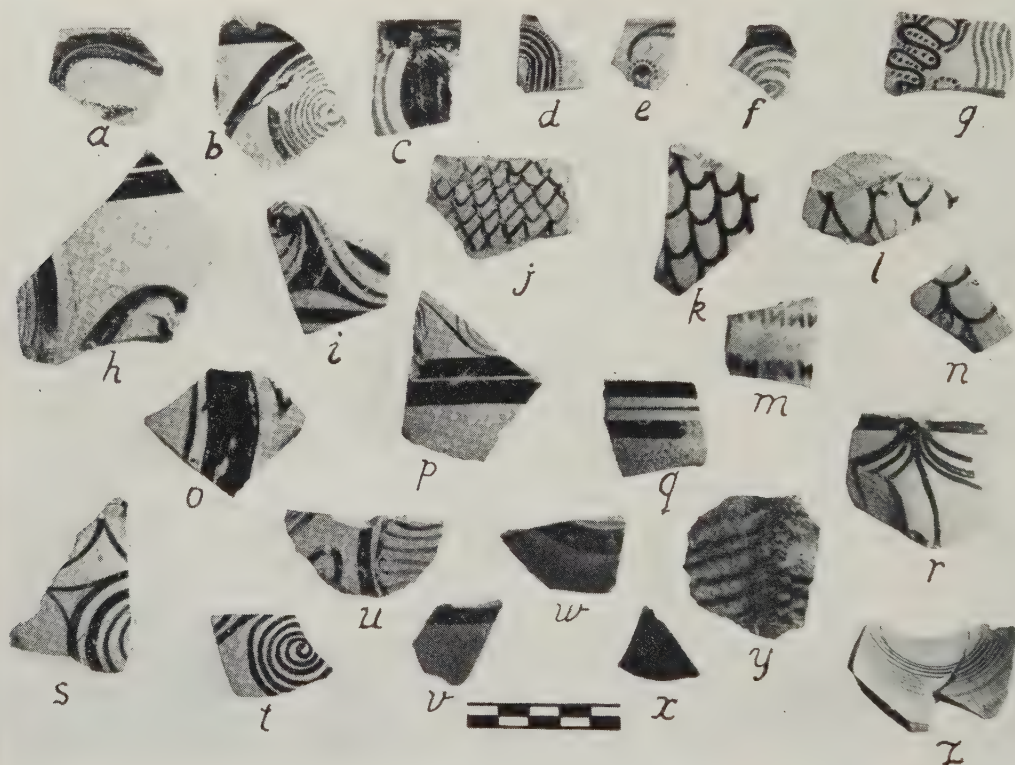


Fig. 24. Sherds of Early Mycenaean Pottery

To the earlier phases of late Mycenaean, L. H. III, A and B, probably belong some of the better sherds, but the distinction is not easily drawn. Even in the case of better preserved vases the arrangement of late Mycenaean ware into definite chronological groups is largely conjectural,²⁷ and no such division of the fragmentary material from our excavation is possible. Among the late Mycenaean pottery thirty shapes can be distinguished with certainty, but many others are doubtless represented by smaller sherds.

²⁶ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 356-363; VI, 1937, pp. 539-557.

²⁷ Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, p. 424. Recently an attempt has been made by Mackeprang (*A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 537-559) to fix the limits of the three phases of late Mycenaean pottery first established by Forsdyke, *Br. Mus. Cat. of Prehist. and Aegean Pottery*, pp. xl-xliv.

1. STEMLESS KRATERS. Figures 26-38.

The most common shape among the larger vases is the large bowl or krater with two horizontal handles, flat base, broad rim (Fig. 25 *a-h*), usually flat on top with a wide projection toward the outside and often decorated with painted designs. A

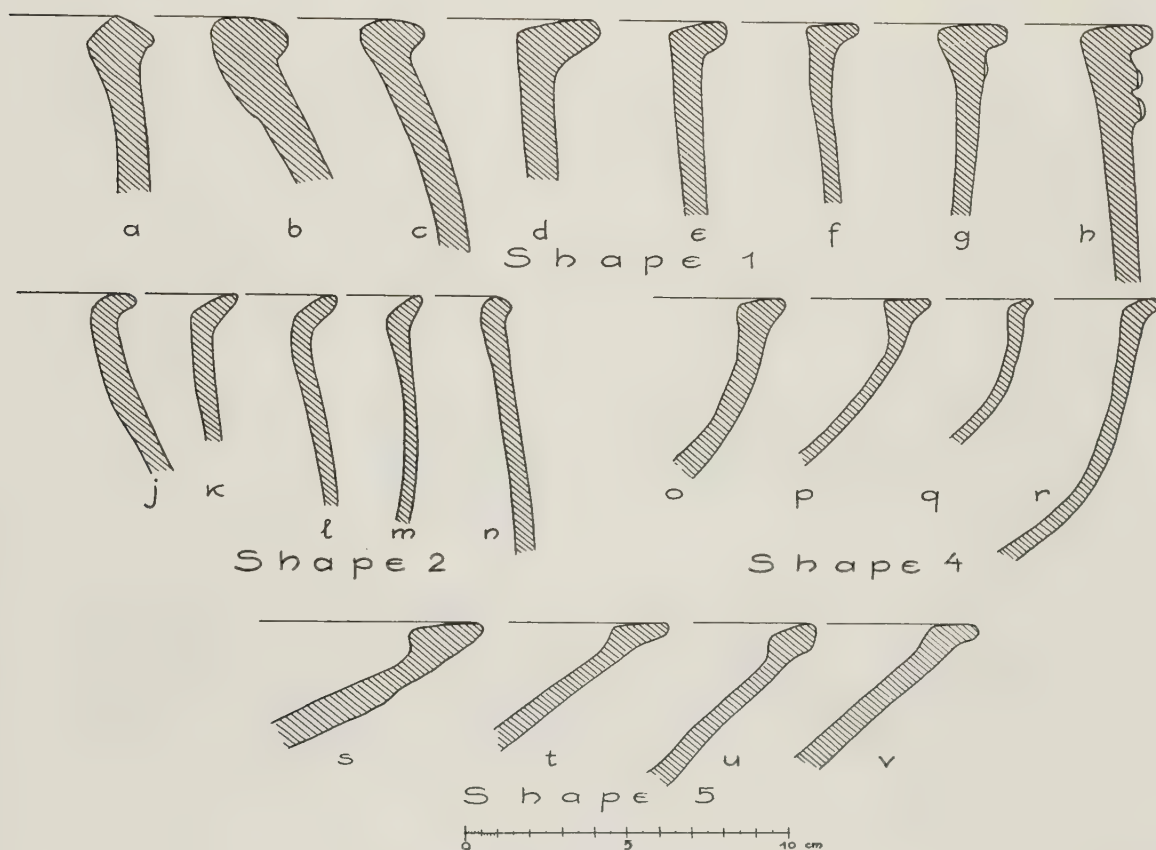


Fig. 25. Rim Profiles of Large Open Vessels

bridged spout, projecting from the rim, is a common feature, but is not invariably found on vessels of this kind.

In spite of the large number of sherds of this shape, in no case is enough preserved to justify a restoration. The shape, which is well known from other sites,²⁸

²⁸ Comparatively few examples from the Peloponnesos have been published. There is one from the graves at the Argive Heraion (Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, p. 23, fig. 124, no. 231), and this has a high foot and no spout. There is not a single example from the chamber tombs at Mycenae published by Wace, but one was found in the Granary (Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 49, b). The warrior vase from Mycenae is a well-known late example of the type (Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, XLII, XLIII). Two examples from Asine (Persson, *Asine*, p. 301, fig. 207, 5 and 6) came from the settlement, none from the chamber tombs. The shape, with or without spout, is common among the pottery from Kephallenia (Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1932, pls. 4, 5, 8-11).

did not become common until near the end of the Mycenaean period. Some fragments of similar kraters were found in the excavations on the Acropolis,²⁹ and some nearly complete specimens came from the Mycenaean houses on the northeast slope.³⁰ The frequent occurrence of this shape at Athens and its rather rare occurrence at most Peloponnesian sites should probably be explained on the basis of chronological

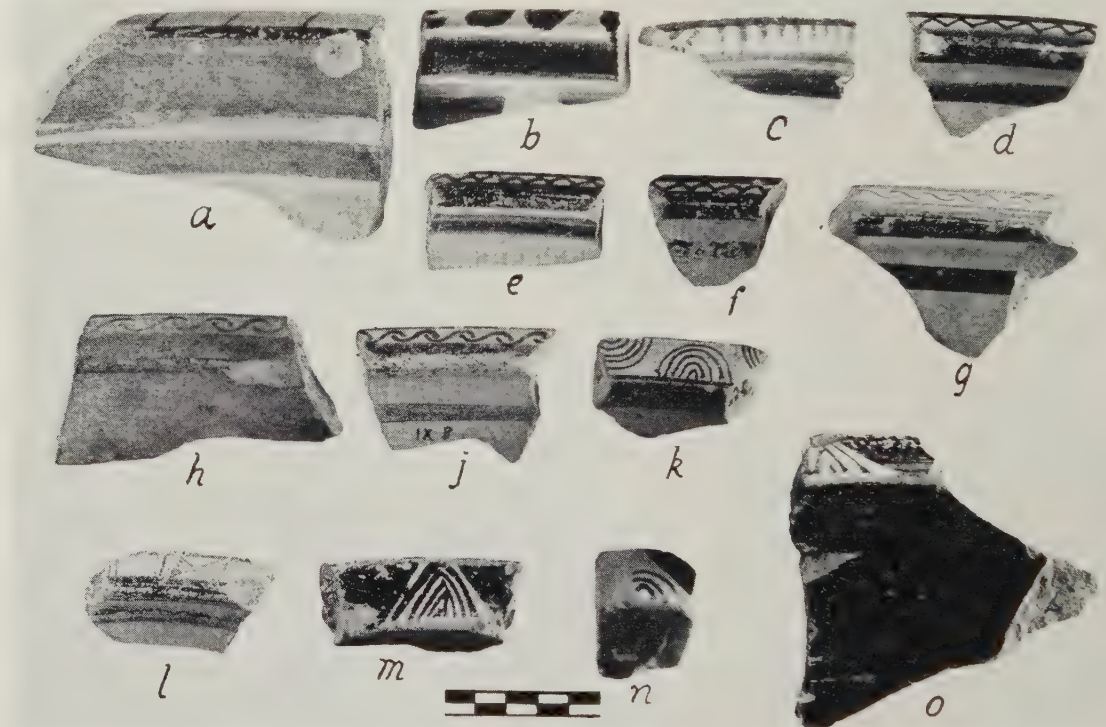


Fig. 26. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, with Decorations on the Rim

rather than local differences. Comparatively little pottery has been found in the Peloponnesos of the period at which the stemless krater was a common shape.

A peculiar feature of the fragments from our excavation is the decorated rim (Fig. 26). The patterns consist of simple dashes and blobs, zigzags on a reserved band, the broken-rope pattern,³¹ alternating rows of concentric half-circles,³² reserved triangles filled with concentric half-circles or with series of diminishing chevrons,

²⁹ Graef-Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I, pl. 7, nos. 183, 220.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 369, fig. 42.

³¹ For a discussion of this pattern see under skyphos, p. 363.

³² This is a common pattern on vases decorated in the close style; see Persson, *Asine*, pp. 397, fig. 260, 3; 360, fig. 233, 5; Mackeprang, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pl. XXV, 6-8.

and hour-glasses between cross lines.³³ Several fragments have below the rim single or double raised bands with slanting notches producing the effect of ropes (Figs. 25 *g, h*, and 27 *a-f*). This plastic decoration may have been borrowed from coarse pottery, such as storage jars, where it occurs frequently (see Fig. 80). It survives on early Protogeometric kraters as a simple raised band without notches.³⁴

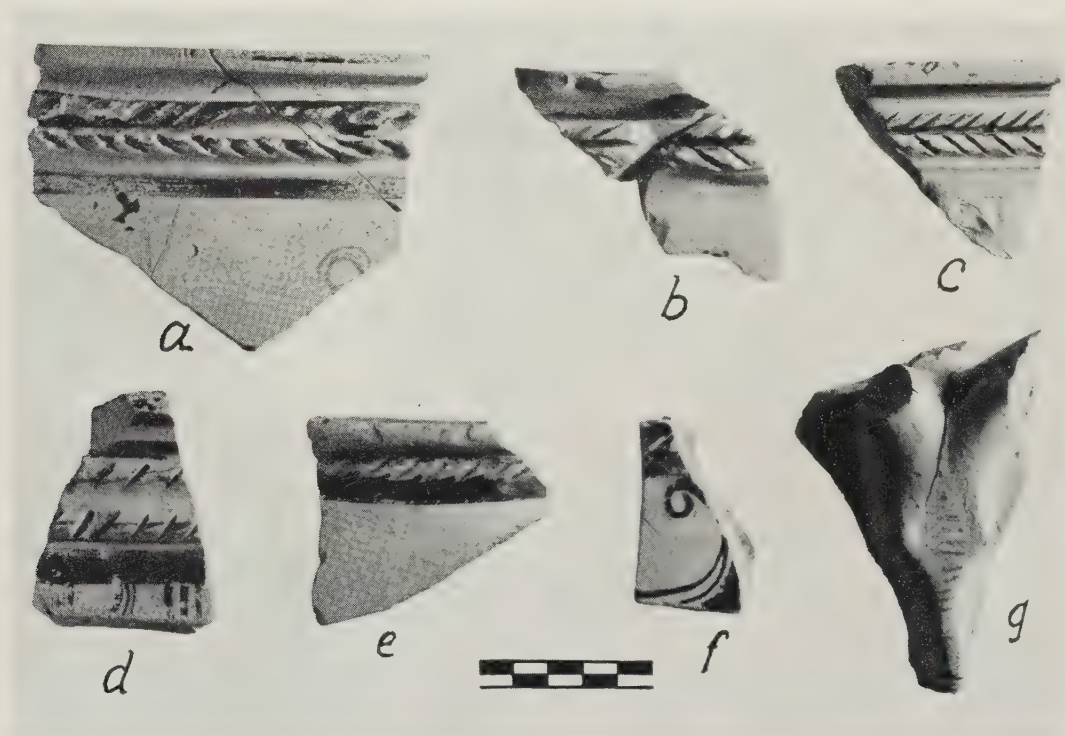


Fig. 27. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, with Plastic Decoration

The handles are usually bow-shaped and applied horizontally just above the widest part of the body, a few centimeters below the rim. One fragment of peculiar shape, shown in Figure 27 *g*, is from a double handle terminating in a highly stylized bull's head in the middle. This type of handle, which is found on the warrior vase

³³ This is probably derived from the double-axe-butterfly pattern, which has a long history in Cretan-Mycenaean art (see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, pp. 292 ff.). It occurs in metope formation on early Mycenaean pottery (Mylonas, *Ἑλεσινιακά*, A', p. 116, fig. 94; Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, fig. 655, etc.), and continued to be used as a major design to the end of the Mycenaean period (Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1932, pl. 10, no. 149) and even later (Hall, *Vrokastro*, p. 162, fig. 98). As a subordinate element of decoration it is common on Geometric pottery and on early Orientalizing ware (cf. Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pp. 56 ff.; Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 294 ff.).

³⁴ Cf. Kraiker and Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, *Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 127, 174, pls. 50, 51.

from Mycenae,³⁵ is more common in the Geometric period. The spout (Fig. 28), commonly found on bowls of this type from Athens, is set just below the rim by which it is bridged over at the base.

The decoration comprises a wide range of patterns. A very common type consists of two or three painted bands at the widest part of the body and a broad wavy

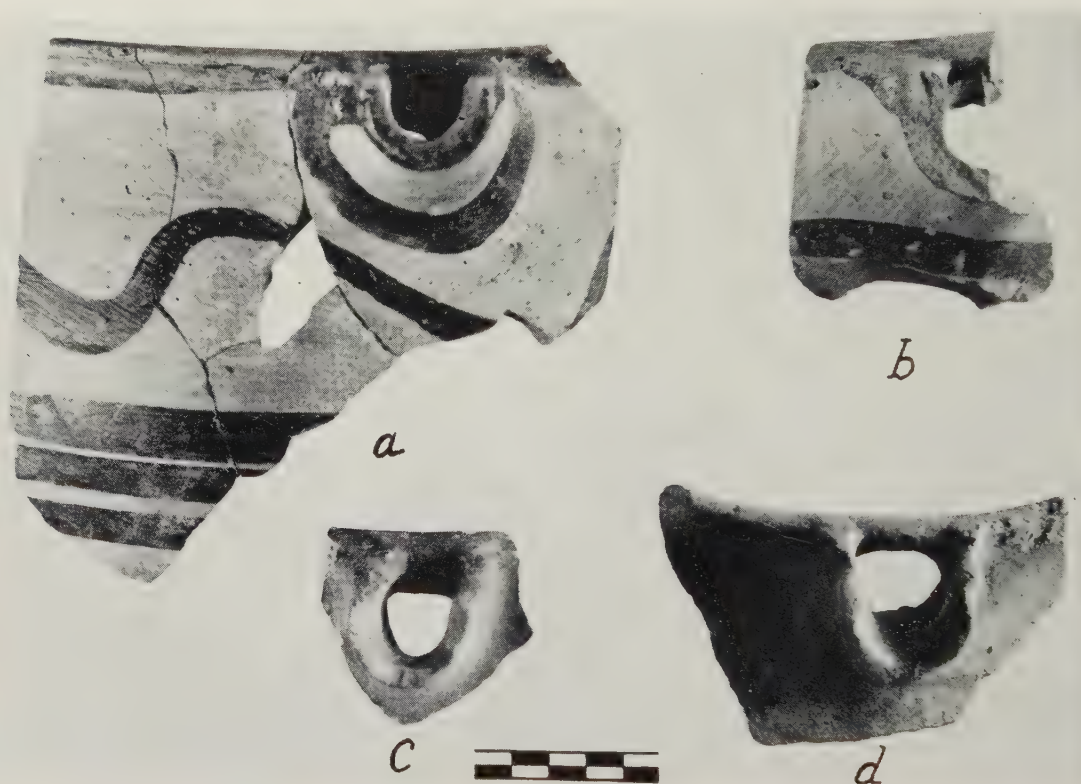


Fig. 28. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, with Spouts

line at the level of the handles³⁶ (Fig. 28, *a* and *b*). The more elaborate decorations are usually arranged in zones, divided into so-called metopes by vertical bands of multiple lines, or by zigzags between two or more vertical lines (Fig. 29, *a-l*).³⁷ Occasionally somewhat more elaborate division lines are used (Fig. 29, *m, n*), and in some late examples these vertical stripes have grown to be the main decoration.

³⁵ Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIII; cf. Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 42; Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 143, note 2.

³⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 369, fig. 42.

³⁷ The use of the vertical lines of zigzags between straight lines is pointed out by Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 143, as a new element in the Protogeometric style of decoration. It is, however, common on the pottery from our excavation.

A fine example of that kind is shown in Figure 30. On two broad painted bands between thin multiple lines are rows of opposing concentric half-circles rendered in the reserved technique, a rare type of decoration appearing at this time as an early precursor of the red-figured style.³⁸ On either side of the whole decorated band is a fringe of small loops.

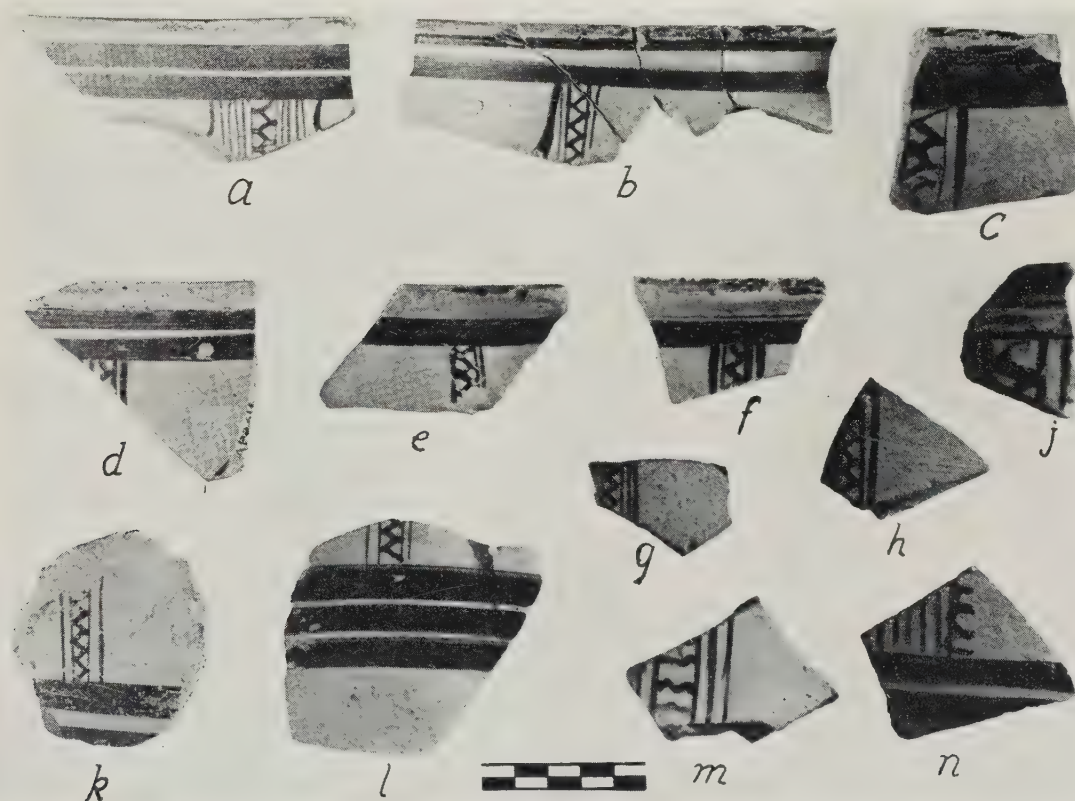


Fig. 29. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Showing Types of Division Lines

Among the elements surviving from the earlier Mycenaean pottery the most common is the spiral (Figs. 31 and 32), which appears in various combinations, usually with some fillers in the triangular space formed by the outer coil of the spiral and the connecting line. Some of these fillers are in the form of debased papyrus flowers³⁹ (Fig. 31 *c, d, f*). Two small sherds of a krater (Fig. 32 *j, k*) have spiral designs in the reserved technique. The center of the spiral is often filled with some

³⁸ There are several examples of this kind of decoration; see below, p. 420; cf. Heurtley, *Q.D.A.P.*, V, 1936, p. 93; Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, pp. 107-108, figs. 13, 14, etc. It occurs more commonly on vases of the transitional period and on Protogeometric pottery from the Kerameikos, Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112, 141, 176; fig. 10, pls. 29 (no. 523), 63, etc.

³⁹ See below and cf. Mackeprang, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 548.

motive: a solid circle, the Maltese cross (Fig. 33 *e*), or the hour-glass pattern (Fig. 32 *f, g*). In combination with the last of these there are often rows of dots outlining the spirals and the other curvilinear designs (Fig. 31 *c, d, f*, and 32 *f*). The dotted outline, a common feature in early Mycenaean designs, is a sign of lateness in L. H. III pottery, as is also the hour-glass pattern, and both elements are found on Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery.⁴⁰ The spirals are often combined with

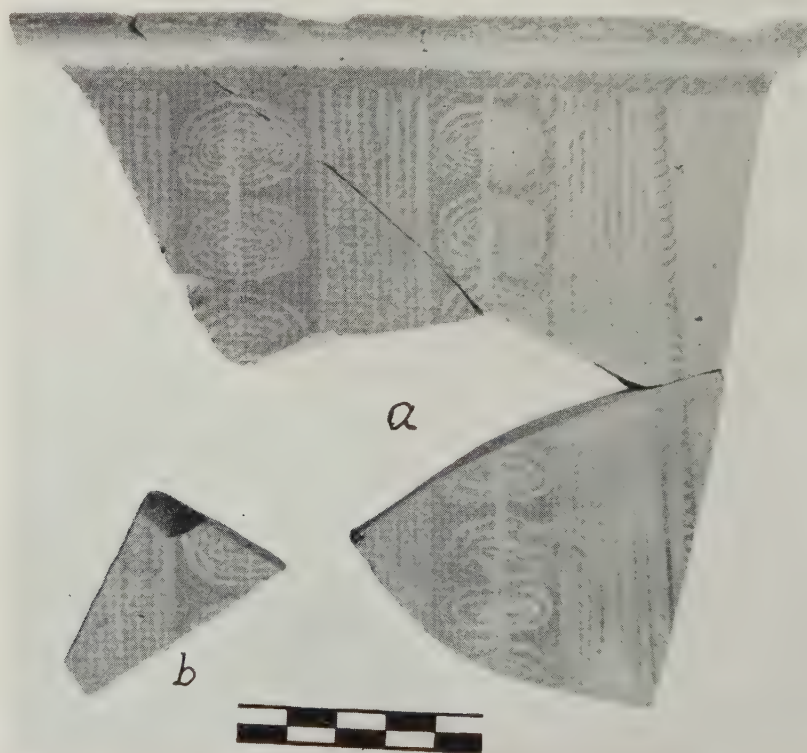


Fig. 30. Fragments of Krater, Shape 1, with Decoration in the Reserved Technique

vertical patterns like those described above. A common combination consists of a series of inverted papyrus flowers between vertical lines, flanked by spirals from which large loops extend to either side. The design taken from the papyrus flower appears in varying stages of degeneration, examples of which appear on Figure 33. In the earliest examples (Fig. 33 *a-d*) there is still an unmistakable resemblance to the naturalistic rendering of the flower, but gradually the motive is simplified, until only a row of chevrons (Fig. 33 *h, i*) remains. Checkerboard patterns, arranged in vertical zones, are often combined with other motives (Fig. 34). A common pattern

⁴⁰ Cf. Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

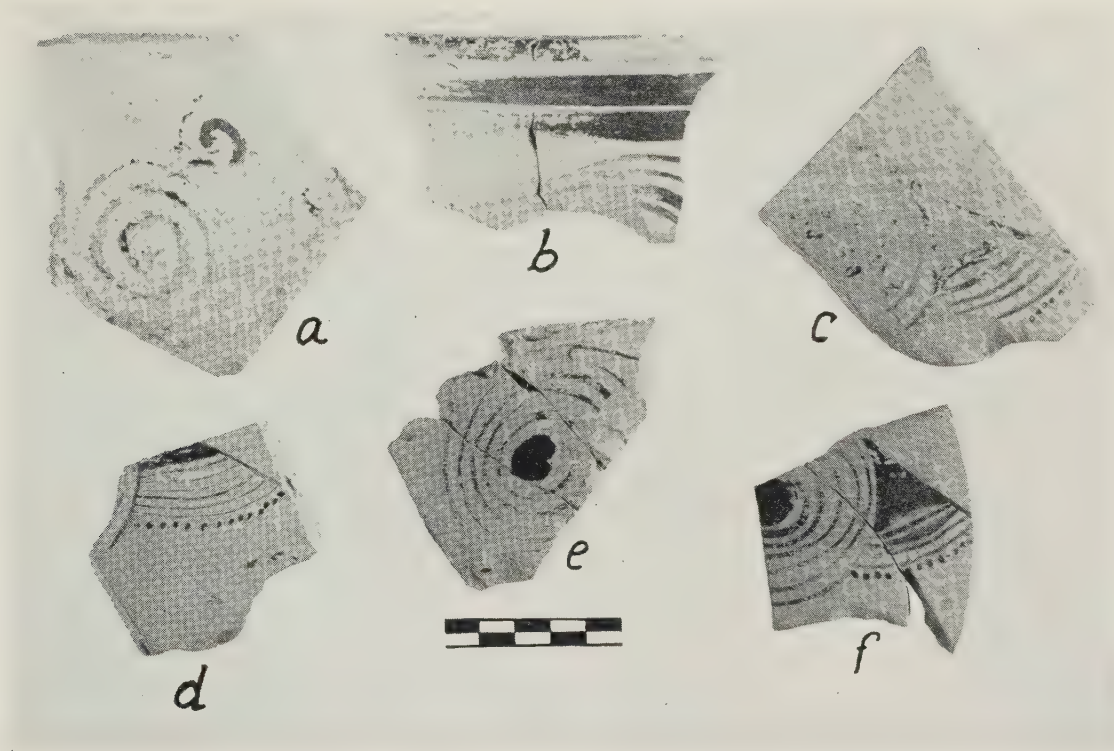


Fig. 31. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Decorated with Spiral Designs

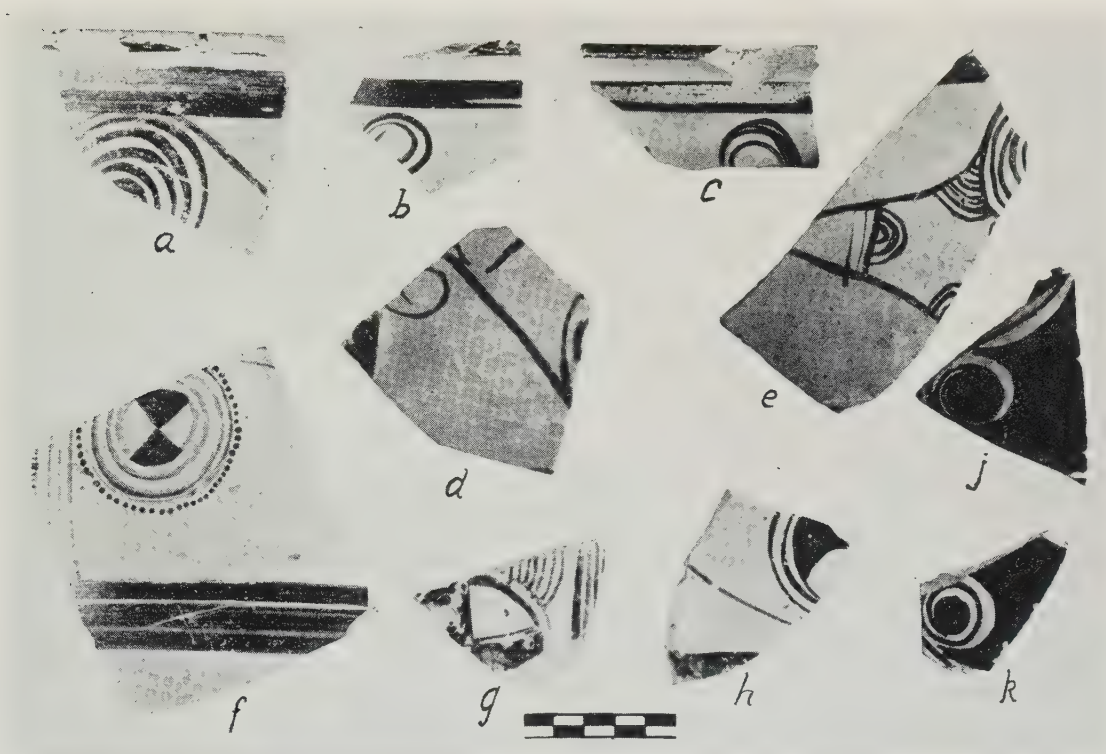


Fig. 32. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Decorated with Spiral Motives

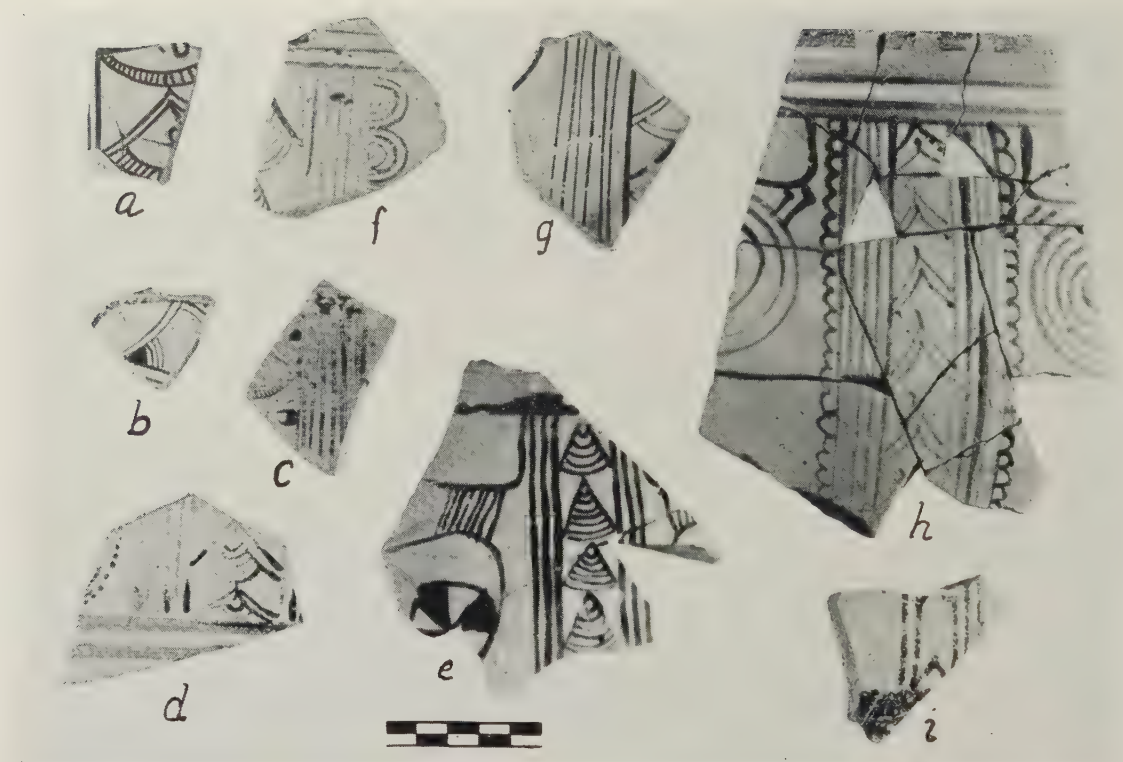


Fig. 33. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Illustrating Degeneration of Papyrus-Flower Motive

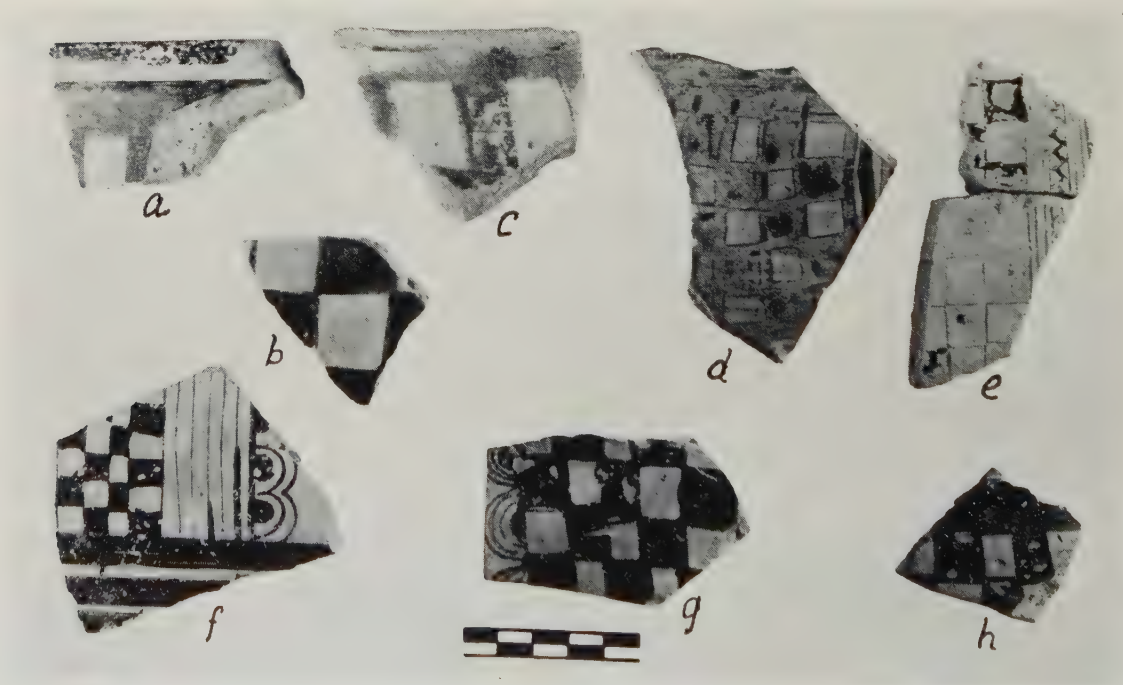


Fig. 34. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Decorated with Checkerboard Patterns

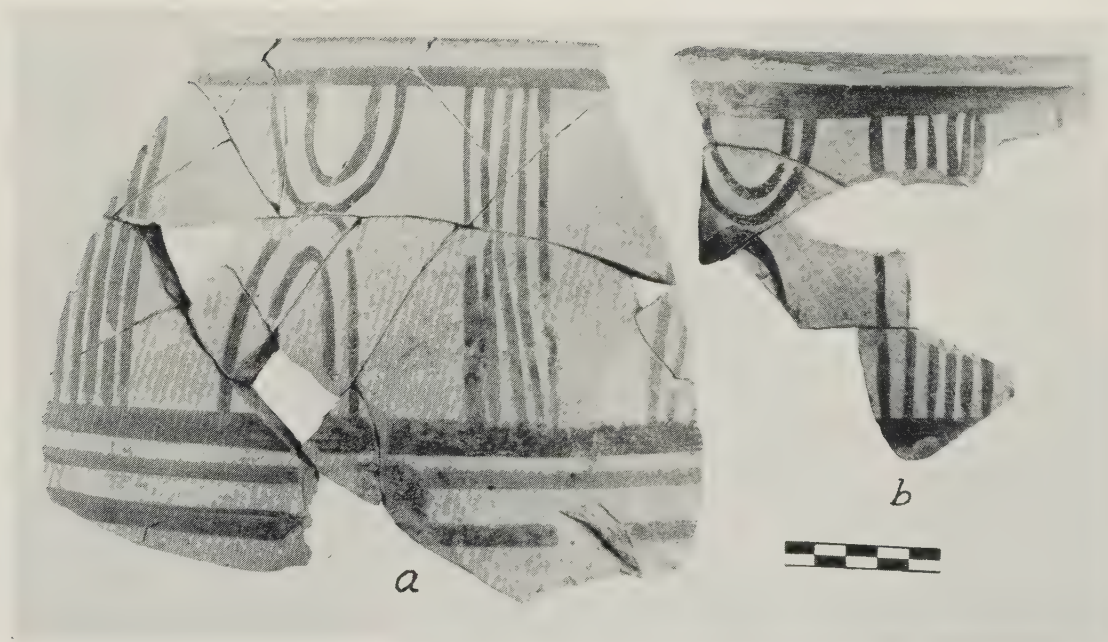


Fig. 35. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Decorated with Loop-Patterns

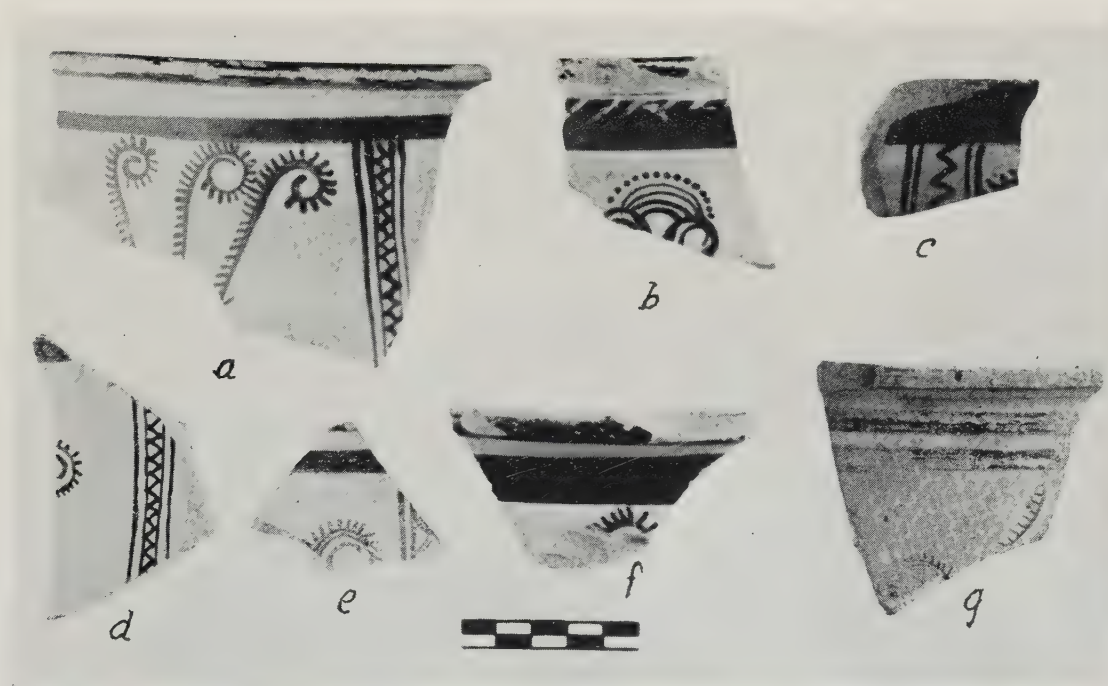


Fig. 36. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Decorated with Degenerate Floral and Marine Motives



Fig. 37. Fragments of Kraters, Shape 1, Decorated with Figures of Birds and other Motives

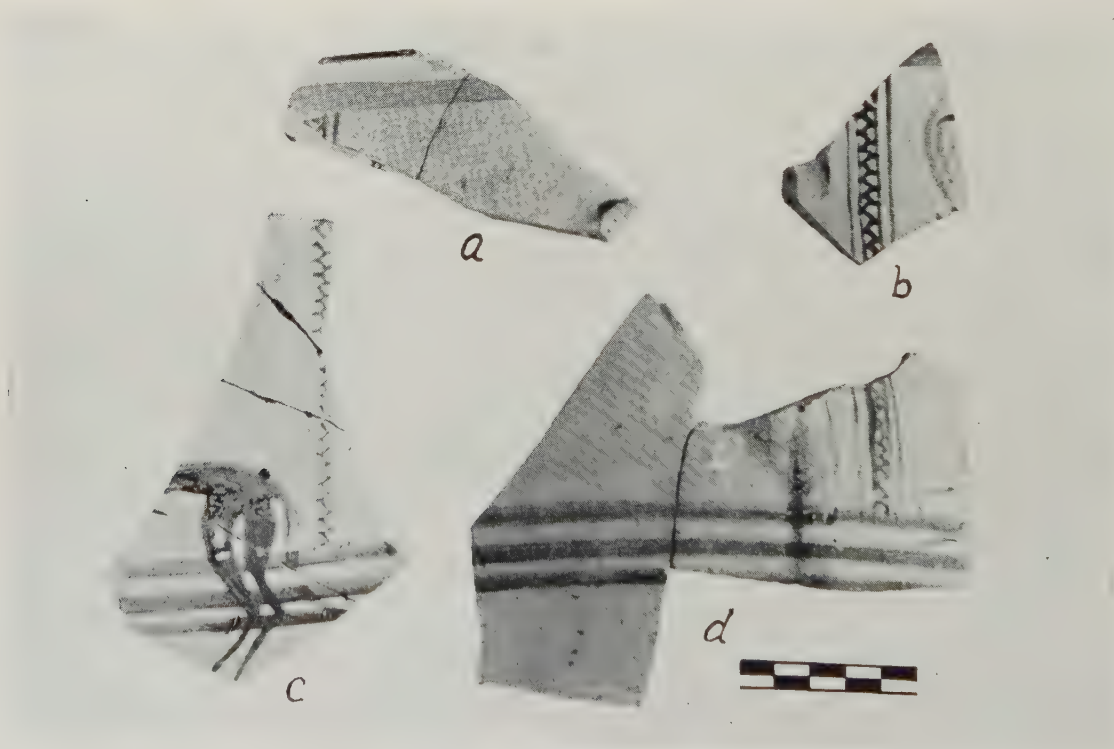


Fig. 38. Fragments of Krater, Shape 1, Decorated in the Figured Style

of rather late origin consists of double or multiple loops⁴¹ depending from the rim and often met by similar loops in the reverse order from below (Fig. 35). These loops, in some cases almost semicircular in form, gave rise to the concentric half-circles, the most common element of decoration on Protogeometric pottery.⁴² Among the less common motives are triangles filled with a net pattern (Fig. 37 *a, b*) and arranged in single rows or combined so as to form the hour-glass design. Various floral motives (Fig. 36) appear in degenerate form, usually arranged in metopes. In some cases these are indistinguishable from the marine motives, such as the nautilus and the octopus (Fig. 36). Most of these go back to more naturalistic designs common in the Palace Style of decoration in the second Late Helladic period.

Of particular interest is the figured style of decoration which enjoyed a short vogue at the end of the Mycenaean period. On the fragments from the North Slope appear figures of birds with long feet and ducks' heads (Fig. 37 *f-j*), and a quadruped of uncertain species (Fig. 38 *c*). Often these designs, particularly the quadruped, are applied over the linear decoration (Fig. 38), as if they were an afterthought on the part of the vase painter. This type of decoration,⁴³ especially common on vases from Rhodes and Cyprus, did not at this time develop into a successful naturalistic style, but died out together with most of the decorative motives on Mycenaean pottery. It all but disappears in the period of Protogeometric art,⁴⁴ and the animals on early Geometric vases are too stylized for comparison. One might almost say that the decorators of Protoattic pottery took up the animal designs where their predecessors of late Mycenaean times had left off. The similarity is very striking.

2. STEMMED KRATERS. Figure 39.

Closely related to the preceding shape is the stemmed krater with turned-out rim (Fig. 25 *j-n*) and with two flat handles extending from the rim to the widest part of the body. The spout is rarely found on this type. It is a common shape at other

⁴¹ It occurs on a three-handled jar from the Argive Heraion (Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, fig. 351, no. 790); on some sherds from Delphi (Lerat, *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 373, fig. 24, 7-9); and on a squat skyphos from Knossos (Mackeprang, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pl. XXVII, 3). There are various theories, not all convincing, about its origin (cf. Heurtley, *op. cit.*, p. 94).

⁴² An intermediate stage in the development from the Late Mycenaean loops to the compass-drawn concentric circles on Protogeometric pottery appears on Submycenaean vases (see Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1932, pls. 4, no. 5; 6, nos. 33, 36, 38, 41; 11, no. 179; Wide, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 27, fig. 3). For a discussion of the motive see Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 269. On the earliest Protogeometric vases the half-circles are often drawn by hand (Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 145; pls. 44, 61, 63, etc.).

⁴³ The use of human and animal motives on L. H. III pottery is discussed at some length by Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pp. 176 ff., with references to the literature.

⁴⁴ A few examples of animal figures on Protogeometric vases are exhibited in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens; see Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 207; pls. 56, 58, Inv. 560; and cf. Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 297, fig. 42.

Mycenaean sites,⁴⁵ especially in Rhodes and Cyprus, but very few pieces from our excavation can be identified as belonging to it. In the case of small fragments it is often impossible to distinguish between this shape and the preceding, but as a rule the rim is different. On the stemless krater (Shape 1) it is nearly always flat or convexly curved on top, whereas the rim of Shape 2 is a continuation of the side of the vessel, which first turns in near the top and then flares out sharply to form the rim proper. Although this distinction is commonly applicable, some variations

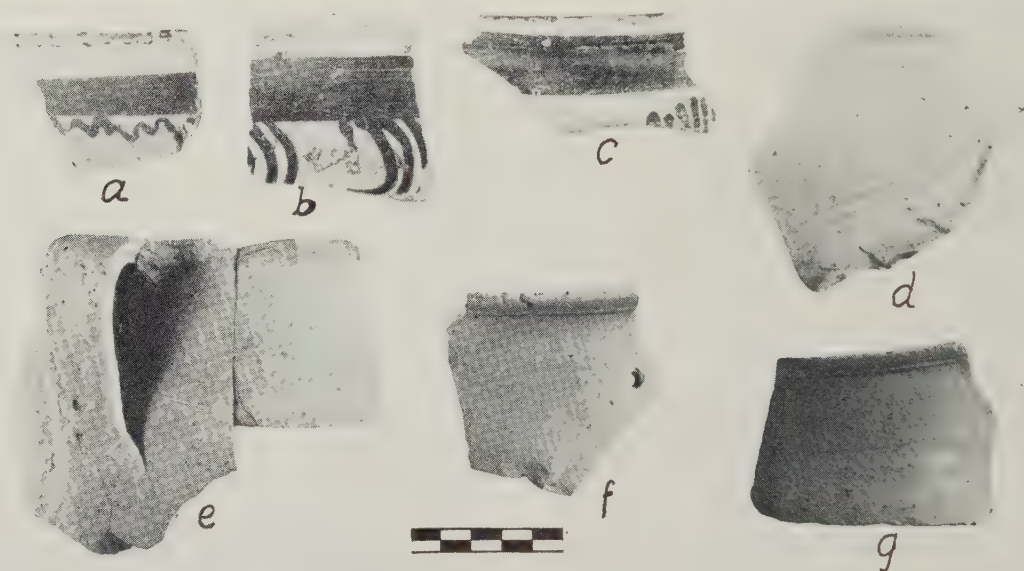


Fig. 39. Fragments of Stemmed Kraters, Shape 2

occur, and in a few cases the rim of Shape 1 occurs on Shape 2⁴⁶ and *vice versa*.⁴⁷ The fragments shown in Figure 39, which have been identified on the basis of the rim profile, may not all belong to this shape. There is one large piece of an undecorated krater, with the flat, vertical handle preserved (Fig. 39, e).

3. SKYPHOI. Figures 40-49.

The most common of all the shapes from the fill of the passage is the skyphos with gently out-curving rim, horizontal handles attached at the widest part of the

⁴⁵ The type is very common in Aigina (see Welter, *Aigina*, p. 26, fig. 30), but the stemless krater, our Shape 1, is not represented among the Mycenaean pottery in the Aigina Museum; and some of the fragments from the Acropolis seem to belong to this shape.

⁴⁶ Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 65, fig. 91.

⁴⁷ Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 48-49, figs. 64 and 65, and p. 60, fig. 83.

body, and a low base. This shape is more commonly referred to as a "deep bowl,"⁴⁸ but that term is unsatisfactory. It is no deeper in proportion than the preceding two shapes and its similarity to the classical skyphos, especially the Attic type, is sufficiently close to justify the use of this name for the Mycenaean prototype. Moreover, a later form of the same vessel, in use throughout the Geometric period and commonly called skyphos, is the direct ancestor of the skyphos of classical times. It is a late shape with no close relations among the vases of early Mycenaean times.⁴⁹ It does not become common until the very end of the Mycenaean period, but it continues with some modification in the early Iron Age. Like the preceding two shapes it occurs but rarely in Mycenaean tombs,⁵⁰ but is common in Submycenaean and Protogeometric graves.

The variations in shape are slight. In some cases the body is nearly spherical, as in Figure 44 *a*, but no chronological development of the shape can be observed among the material from the North Slope. All the recognizable bases are low, whereas in Submycenaean examples of the type the base is, as a rule, considerably higher.

The decorations found on the skyphoi comprise many elements which occur on the kraters, but several new patterns occur. In general the decorations fall into five categories:

- a. Horizontal designs. These consist of rows of very small patterns such as zigzags or wavy lines, single or multiple (Fig. 41 *a-d*); broken-rope patterns, often called "running dog,"⁵¹ either by itself or between wavy lines (Figs.

⁴⁸ Blegen (*Korakou*, pp. 48, 62, 63; *Prosymna*, I, p. 451) and Wace (*Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 172) group the three shapes, 1, 2, and 3 together and call them deep bowls or kraters. Mackeprang (*op. cit.*, p. 544) distinguishes between deep bowls, our Shape 3, and large bowls, our Shapes 1 and 2.

⁴⁹ Mackeprang (*op. cit.*, p. 539, and pl. XXII, 4) points to certain examples with one handle as illustrating the earliest appearance of the type. I can see no reason for assuming that these are earlier than the more common two-handled variety. Among the Mycenaean pottery from the Acropolis in the National Museum there is a late skyphos with one handle and rather high foot. It is not earlier than the Granary Class, as is shown by the reserved section including the foot and lower part of the vase.

⁵⁰ Numerous skyphoi, usually with a high foot, have come to light recently in Submycenaean graves in Kephallenia (see Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1932, pp. 1-47, and pls. 7, 9, 12). The shape is also common at Delphi (Lerat, *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 341 ff., and pls. XXI, 1-4; XXIV, 1-20).

⁵¹ This is a favorite pattern on late Mycenaean ware (see Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 426, and II, fig. 125, no. 239; Lerat, *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 339, and p. 337, fig. 1, 11, 12, 15; p. 342, fig. 3; p. 367, fig. 20, 15-17) and it continues in vogue on Protogeometric and Geometric pottery (Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 270, fig. 32, 24, and p. 273, fig. 33, 17) and even on early Orientalizing ware (Payne, *loc. cit.*, p. 279, fig. 34, 19-21). It is, of course, related to the *guilloche* pattern, which may have developed from it. If angulated the rope pattern becomes a meander, but see Eilmann, *Labyrinthos*, pp. 38 f., 52 f.; and Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 176, note 2. That the motive originated as a rope pattern is evident from more carefully rendered examples (Lerat, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXIV, 11 and 18; and Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pl. XXXIII, 3), but it is not unlikely that the running-spiral design contributed toward its development (cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 42, fig. 57). It is found also on early Mycenaean pottery, Wace, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 15; Mylonas, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, p. 117, fig. 95, and p. 123, fig. 101.

40 *b*, and 41 *e-g*); rows of single or double loops (Figs. 40 *a*, and 41 *l, m*); eyelets between wavy lines (Fig. 41 *h, j*); rows of reversed *N*'s (Fig. 41 *n*); dotted scale patterns (Fig. 41 *o, p*), etc.

- b. Designs applied vertically. These comprise an infinite variety of patterns, including most of those found on the large kraters. Common among these are the zigzags or chevrons between two or more straight lines (Fig. 42), but scale patterns (Fig. 43 *c* and *d*), rows of diminishing chevrons (Figs. 43 *b*, 44 *b*, 47 *b-e*), cross-hatched diamonds (Fig. 43 *b*), etc., also occur. Spirals with large lateral loops, and often with some kind of vertical design in the middle,⁵² are common (Figs. 44 *a* and 45 *b*). On one fragment (Fig.



Fig. 40. Skyphoi, Shape 3, Decorated with Horizontal Designs

45 *a*) a crude figure of a bird fills the triangular space above the spiral. This is the only recognizable animal motive on sherds of this type of vessels, unless what remains of the decoration on two fragments from a skyphos of the close style (Fig. 46 *m, n*) may be so regarded. Broad streamers (Fig. 47 *f-m*), probably derived from lily patterns, and nautili, degenerated beyond recognition (Fig. 46 *a-c, f, k*), are the only other elements which can be traced back to naturalistic motives. One small sherd (Fig. 47 *r*) shows a design of uncertain nature in the reserved technique.

- c. All the designs discussed above are applied on the upper half of the vase, which is set off from the lower portion by means of one or more horizontal lines, and in most cases there is a painted stripe at the rim. A large number of vases have no other exterior decoration than these horizontal bands (Figs.

⁵² This design has been interpreted as a degenerate octopus pattern, Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 47, pl. V, f; Heurtley, *Q.D.A.P.*, V, 1936, p. 95.

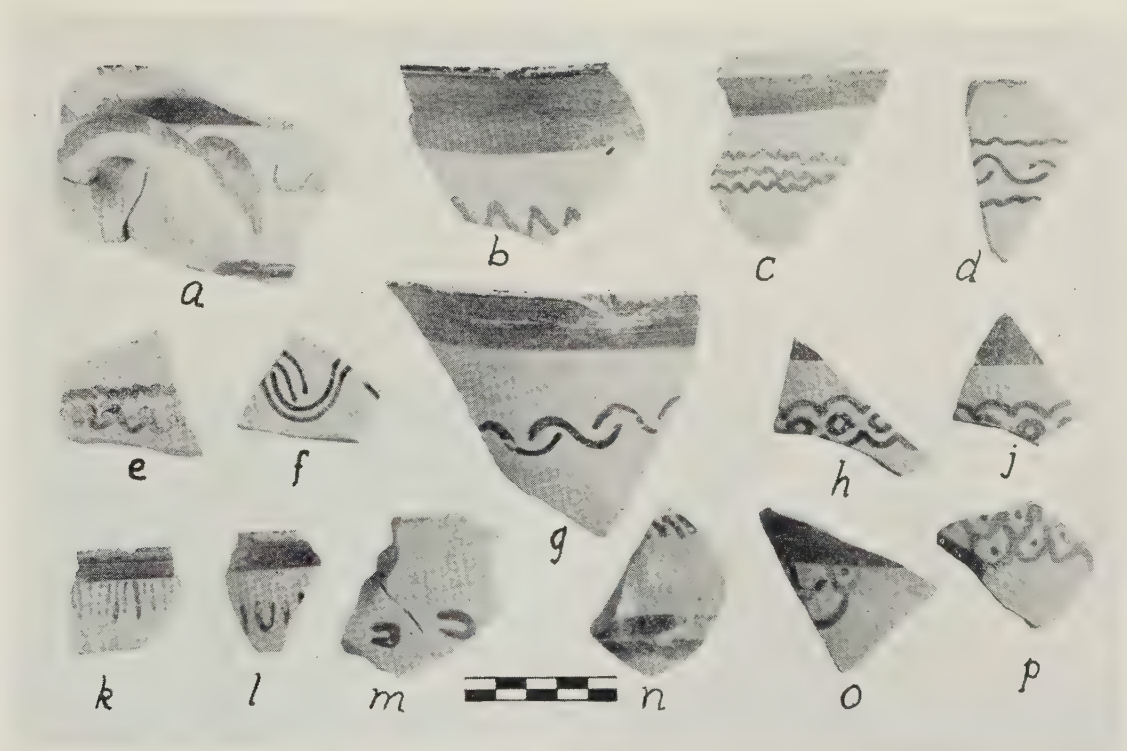


Fig. 41. Fragments of Skyphoi, Shape 3, Decorated with Horizontal Designs

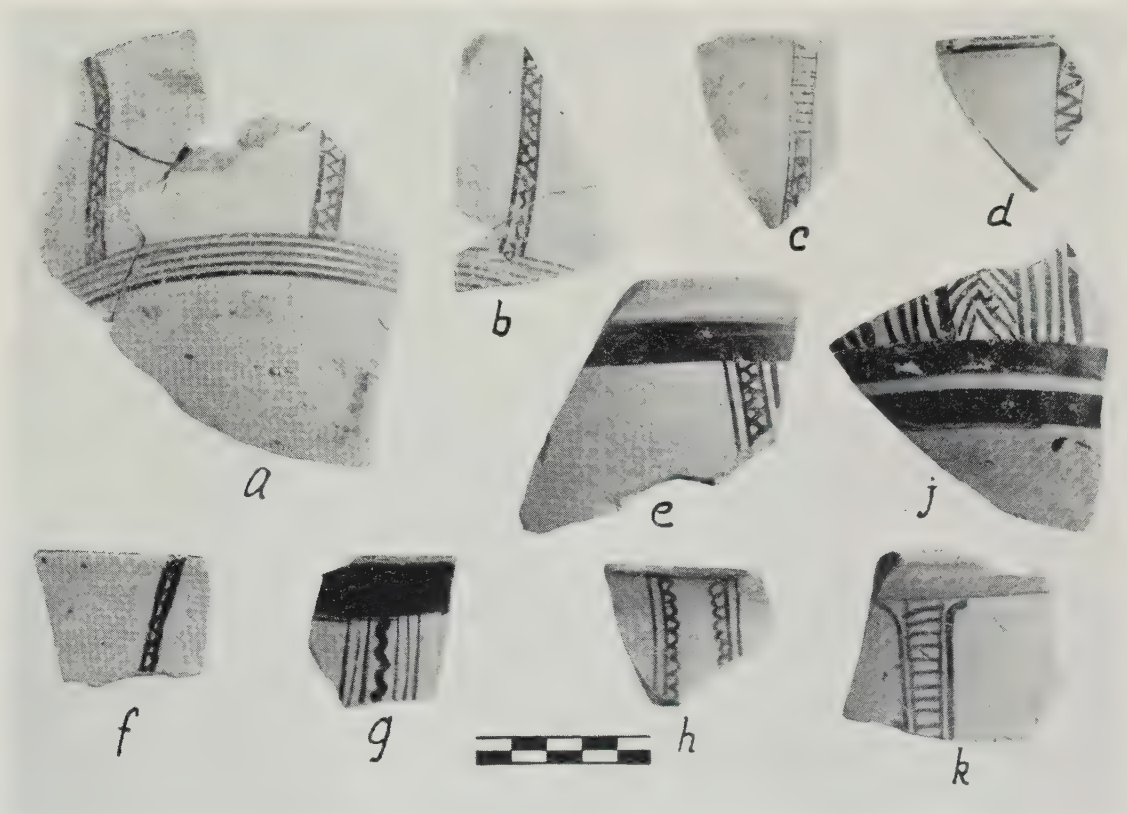


Fig. 42. Fragments of Skyphoi, Shape 3, Decorated with Vertical Patterns

48 *d, f, 49 a*), but usually the handles, the base, the lip, and the entire inside are also painted. In some cases the whole lower portion of the vase as well as the rim is covered with paint and only a broad zone in the upper half is left reserved (Fig. 48 *a-c*). Occasionally there are horizontal lines at the bottom of this zone (Fig. 48 *e, g*). This variety forms the transition to the next group.

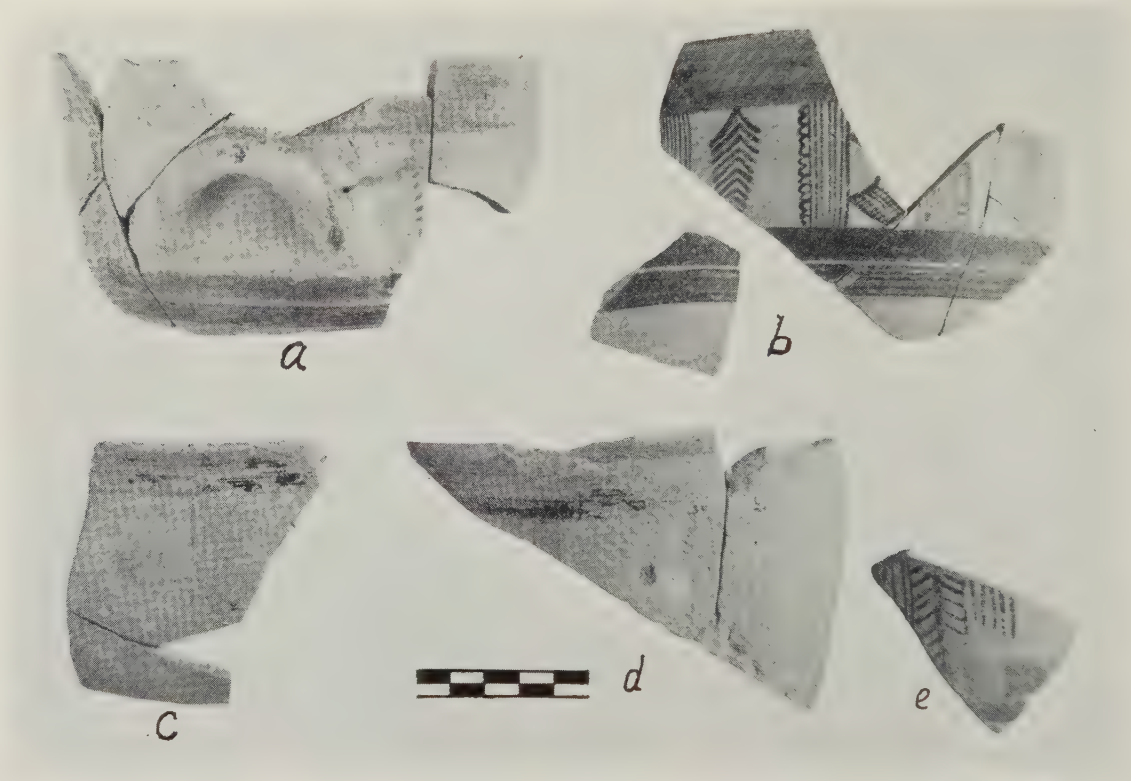


Fig. 43. Fragments of Skyphoi, Shape 3, Decorated with Vertical Patterns

- d. A large number of skyphoi are entirely covered with paint on the outside, except for the base and one or more reserved bands, usually below the level of the handles (Fig. 49 *b*). This decoration, the reverse of *c*, seems to have developed at a slightly later date. The bulk of sherds belonging to this type came from the upper layers, but a few came from farther down. It is an important fact that no skyphoi with reserved bands came from the houses along the northeast stairway, whereas Group *c* was very common.⁵³ Group *d* is found among the earliest of the Submycenaean skyphoi from the Kera-

⁵³ See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 369, fig. 41.

meikos,⁵⁴ but these seem to be slightly later than those from our excavations. The shape is less graceful, the handles heavier, and the reserved bands are at a lower point on the vase. The original function of these bands, to set off the upper decorated zone from the lower part of the vase, is forgotten; and on the latest examples they have become a meaningless tradition, applied at a point where they tend to impair the tectonic character of the vase.

- e. In the last group the whole vase, within and without, except the reverse of the base, is covered with a dull black or grayish brown glaze (Fig. 49 c). Most skyphoi of this group are small, and the base is less flaring than is the case on the preceding groups, but there is no appreciable modification in the shape of the body.



Fig. 44. Two Skyphoi, Shape 3, Decorated with Vertical Patterns

Groups d and e show the latest stage in the development of the skyphos, as represented by the material from the North Slope. The skyphos continued in vogue in the subsequent periods, but the shape underwent a gradual change. The base grew higher, until it received the developed Protogeometric form of a truncated cone (see Figure 85 n), and the body became somewhat higher in proportion to its diameter. The development is clearly illustrated in the series of skyphoi from the Athenian Kerameikos.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, pl. 22, Inv. 434, 445, 458.

⁵⁵ See Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff., 147, 174, and pls. 22, 23, 30, 34, 48, 49, 67, 68. The low base occasionally occurs with Protogeometric skyphoi. In the collection of antiquities housed in the Town Hall at Skyros there is a fine specimen with large compass-drawn concentric circles on either side, but the base is low and the shape of the body is the same as on skyphoi of the Mycenaean period. Other Protogeometric skyphoi in the same collection have the normal base (see Dawkins, *B.S.A.*, XI, 1904-05, p. 79, fig. 3 c). The use of the compass and multiple brush, on the other hand, is not an infallible sign of late date (see p. 403, note 139), and it is not impossible that the Skyros skyphos is late Mycenaean.

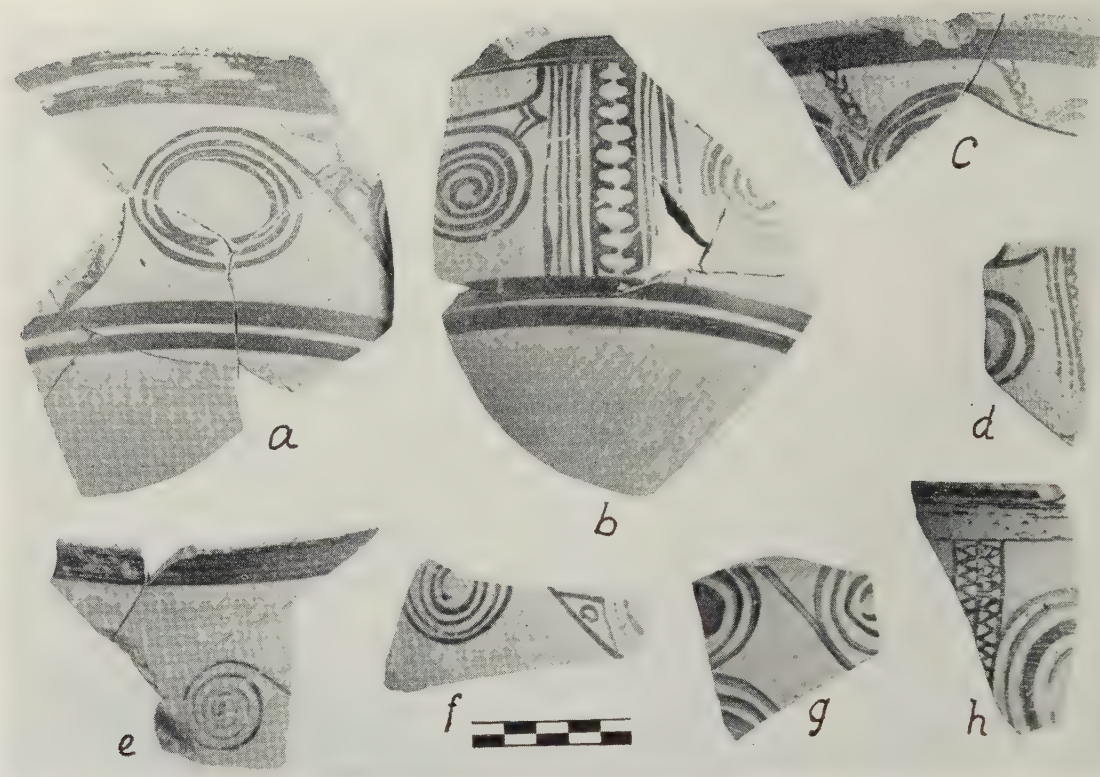


Fig. 45. Fragments of Skyphoi, Shape 3, with Spiral Designs

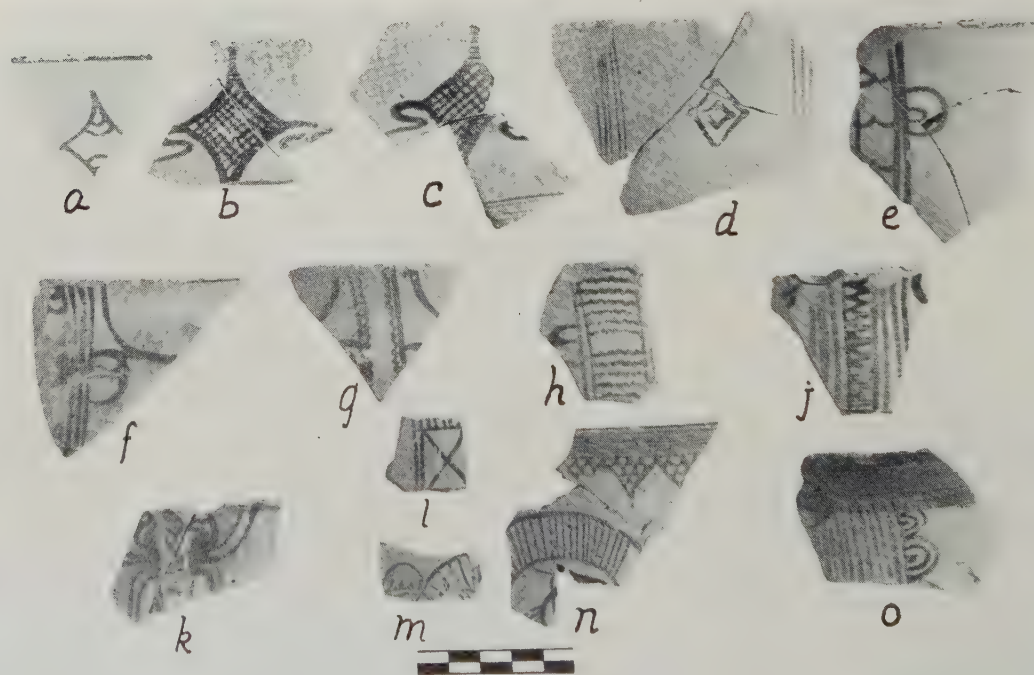


Fig. 46. Fragments of Skyphoi, Shape 3

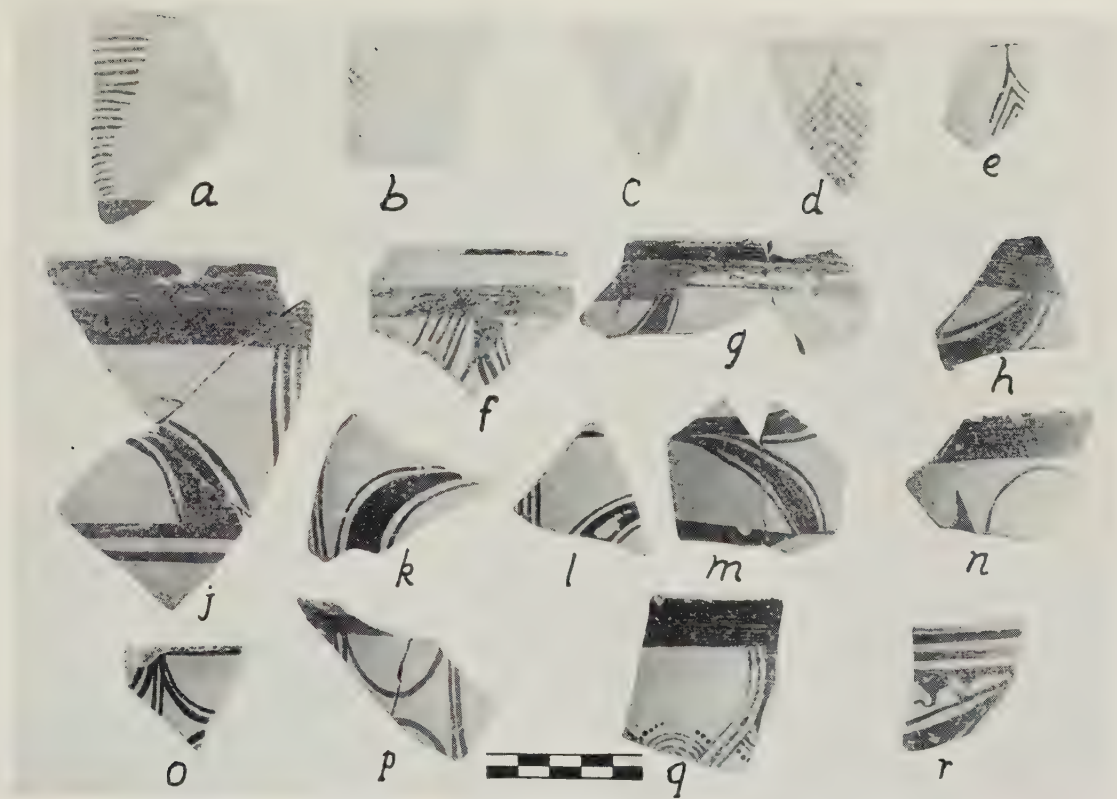


Fig. 47. Fragments of Skyphoi, Shape 3, with Various Kinds of Decoration



Fig. 48. Fragments of Skyphoi, Shape 3, Decorated with Horizontal Bands and Stripes

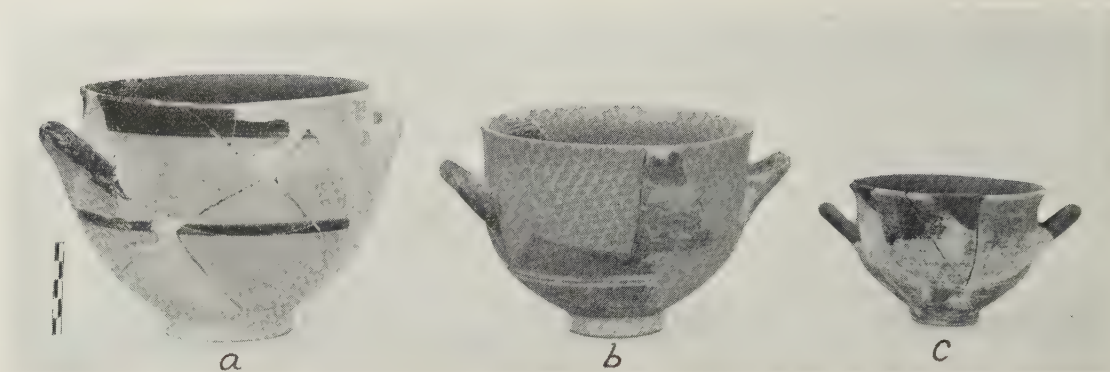


Fig. 49. Skyphoi, Shape 3, Granary Class

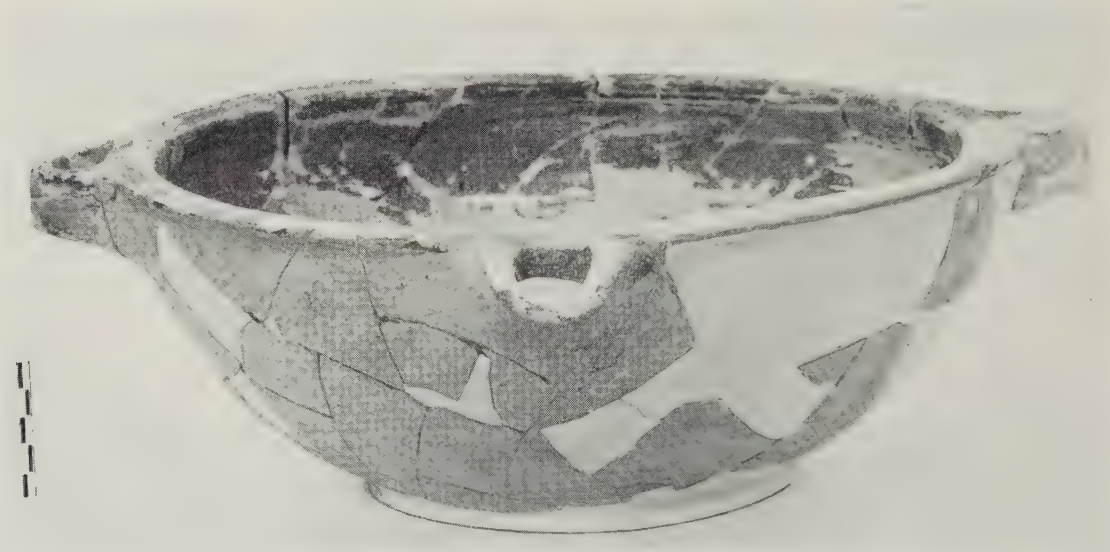


Fig. 50. Spouted Bowl, Shape 4

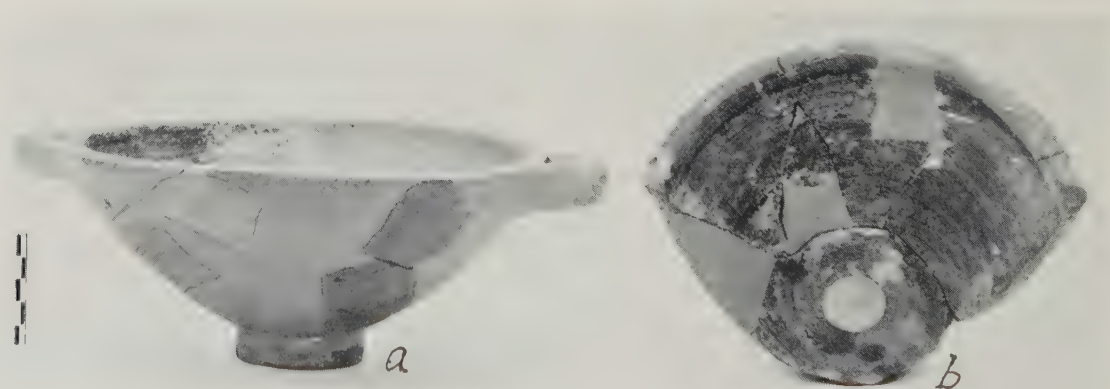


Fig. 51. Two Shallow Bowls, Shape 4

4. SHALLOW BOWLS OR BASINS. Figures 50-52.

Another common shape is the shallow bowl or basin, with flat rim (Fig. 25 *o-r*) projecting on the outside, horizontal handles attached just below the rim, and flat base. A short spout, open or bridged, is a common feature, especially in the larger examples of the type (Fig. 50). The rim is often decorated with dashes, cross lines, chevrons, etc. As a general rule the outside is unpainted, but the rim and the inside are covered with paint. A reserved circle is usually left in the center of the bowl (Fig. 51 *b*), and in some cases the inside is decorated with alternating painted and reserved bands. A large piece of a bowl related to this shape is decorated on the outside with a debased form of marine animal ⁵⁶ (Fig. 52). The fragment offers an excellent example of the deterioration of a one-time naturalistic design. In this case, two bodies, each with two tentacles, are combined with a cusped diamond pattern and two dotted lozenges to form a series of ornamental units. Such elaborate decorations are very rare on bowls of this kind. The fragment also differs from the more normal type in the shape of the rim (Fig. 25 *r*), which is slightly flaring but is not flat on top.

Most specimens of this shape, especially those of large size, show signs of rubbing in the interior, and in some cases the bottom is worn thin. It is obviously a vessel designed for practical use, as is shown by the type of decoration and by its common occurrence in excavations of settlements ⁵⁷ and its rare appearance in tombs. The shape ⁵⁸ is reminiscent of stone mortars like that shown in Figure 94.



Fig. 52. Fragment of Bowl, Shape 4, Decorated with Debased Marine Motive

5. BELL-SHAPED BOWLS. Figures 53-54.

A rather common shape, represented by several fragments, is the bell-shaped bowl with flat rim usually with a slight projection toward the inside (Fig. 25 *s-v*),

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the origin of this design see Persson, *Asine*, p. 402 and fig. 264, and cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 146 and fig. 137.

⁵⁷ Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 63, figs. 87, 88.

⁵⁸ A related shape of late date with almost vertical sides and flat bottom, common at Delphi (Lerat, *loc. cit.*, pp. 343 ff., figs. 4 and 5) and Kephallenia (Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1932, pls. 7, nos. 91, 31 a, 32 a; 8, no. 108, etc.), and found more rarely at other sites (Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, figs. 126 and 696, no. 234), seems not to have been in use in Athens.

two horizontal handles, and flat base (Fig. 53). The rim is usually decorated with a variety of patterns (Fig. 54), similar to those found on the rims of kraters, Shape 1. The most common is the zigzag pattern on a reserved band, but rows of dashes, alternating with plain sections, concentric half-circles, and triangular designs, also occur in various combinations. These patterns are sometimes applied in white paint on a black ground (Fig. 54 *e, f, s, t*).

The most common decoration, apart from the rim patterns, consists of painted and reserved horizontal bands (Figs. 53 and 54 *p*) both on the inside and on the outside. In some cases a shining black or brown glaze with a metallic lustre covers

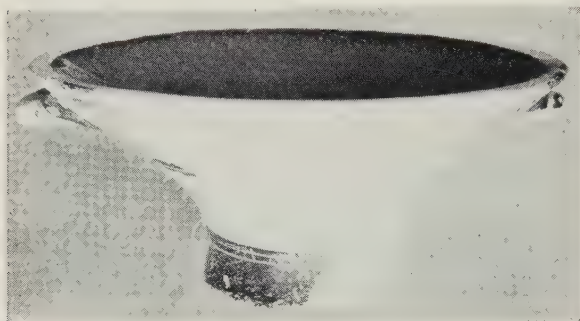


Fig. 53. Bell-Shaped Bowl, Shape 5

the whole inside. In a few cases more elaborate patterns occur. One small fragment (Fig. 54 *q*) preserves part of two fishes, and four pieces of another bowl (Fig. 54 *s-v*) have traces of decorations, probably some animal motives, applied in a dull white paint on a lustrous black ground.⁵⁹ The rim pattern is executed in the same technique.

The shape was fairly common in Athens, and it occurs at many other Mycenaean sites.⁶⁰ Undecorated examples with less flaring sides have been found in the Argolid,⁶¹ but the shape is especially common in Rhodes,⁶² where some examples have been found with human figures attached to the rim.⁶³ Sometimes false spouts are similarly added. Bronze vessels of related shapes are also found, often with wish-bone handles and side spout.⁶⁴

6. TANKARDS. Figures 55-56.

An interesting shape, whose origin can be traced to vessels of other material, is the large tankard with flat base, sides contracted at the middle, and a small loop-

⁵⁹ This type of decoration, a reversion to a L. H. I technique, enjoyed a brief period of popularity in late Mycenaean times. See Lerat, *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 339, and p. 337, fig. 1; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pp. 179-180; Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 139, 140, fig. 131. It continues into the Submycenaean period (see Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1932, p. 35) and then disappears to be revived several centuries later; cf. Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, pp. 275 f.

⁶⁰ Persson, *Asine*, p. 405, fig. 265, 6; Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, pls. X a, XI h, 1. There are numerous examples in the Aigina Museum.

⁶¹ Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 156, fig. 148; Persson, *op. cit.*, p. 415, fig. 270, 12.

⁶² Cf. Maiuri, *Annuario*, VI-VII, p. 103, fig. 21, and figs. 38, 42, 43; Zervos, *Rhodes, capitale du Dodécanèse*, fig. 244.

⁶³ Maiuri, *loc. cit.*, figs. 65, 99, 101.

⁶⁴ Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pls. XXX and XXXI, 4, 6, and pp. 92-95, figs. 67, 68; *Asine*, p. 393, fig. 257.

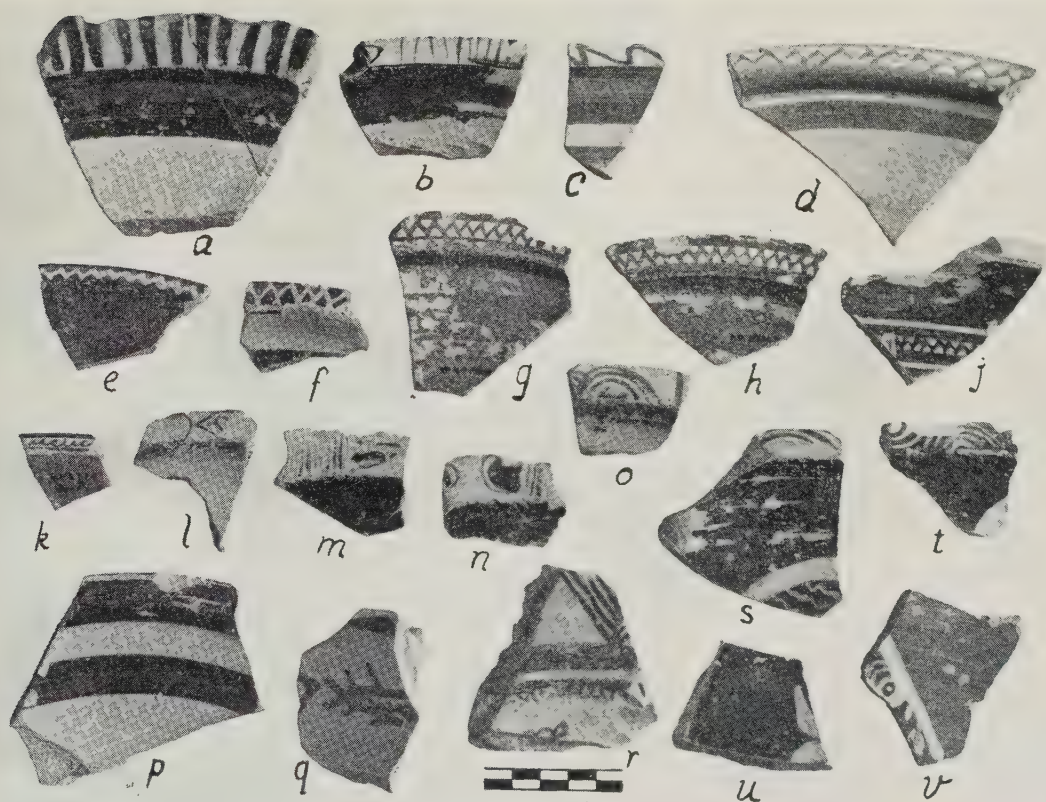


Fig. 54. Fragments of Bell-Shaped Bowls, Shape 5

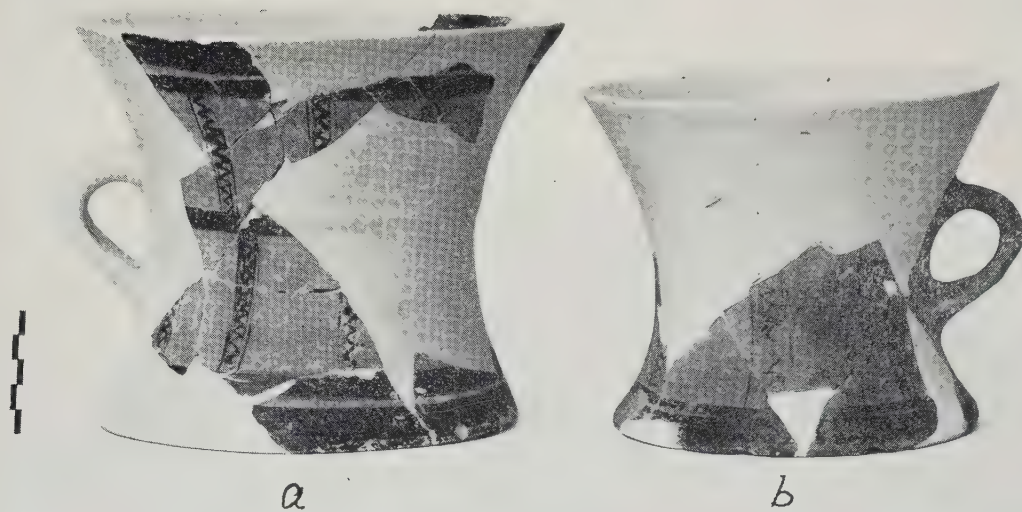


Fig. 55. Tankards, Shape 6

handle (Fig. 55). The decoration is generally applied in two zones, separated by a painted band, usually slightly raised. Simple vertical lines of zigzags and other linear designs are most common, but a few fragments preserve traces of more elaborate decoration. One piece of a base (Fig. 56 *m*), which seems to belong to a similar vessel, has a pattern of spirals and probably the figure of a fish painted on the bottom.



Fig. 56. Fragments of Tankards, Shape 6

The shape has derived from a smaller mug of nearly cylindrical form which makes its appearance in the Late Helladic II period.⁶⁵ The development of this shape has been discussed by Professor Blegen, who derives it from prototypes of the Vaphio-cup shape.⁶⁶ It is probable, however, that the two shapes developed independently. The small cup of the Vaphio-cup shape never has the handle attached at the middle but always at the rim, as in the metal cups, and the raised dividing line is always below the middle. Furthermore, only the upper zone carries the main decoration, whereas the narrow part below the raised band is usually ornamented with simple parallel

⁶⁵ See Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 80, pl. XIV h, i; and especially *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 166, note 13, where reference is made to other examples.

⁶⁶ *Prosymna*, I, p. 431, and II, figs. 100, 109, 141, 254; *Zygouries*, pp. 138-139, fig. 130, 1.

lines.⁶⁷ The cylindrical mug, on the other hand, has all the features of the tankard: the same kind of handle, the raised line in the middle, and the decoration divided into two equal zones. The prototype of this shape is rather to be sought in vessels like the wooden stoup with bronze mountings from the tholos tomb at Dendra.⁶⁸ Here we find the same cylindrical shape of the body, the same type of handle, and, above all, the metal hoop which gave rise to the raised band at the middle. Metal vessels of the Vaphio-cup shape were found in the same tomb,⁶⁹ showing that the two forms existed side by side.

Tankards of the shape seen in Figures 55 and 56 have been found at most late Mycenaean sites, but never in large numbers. In Crete the shape continues into the period of transition to the Iron Age.⁷⁰

7. KYLIKES. Figures 57-58.

Fragments of three kinds of kylikes were found.

- a. The first is a goblet on low and usually rather thick stem, and with two handles. This variety, a near relative to the Ephyrean goblet, was more common in the Late Helladic II period,⁷¹ but continued into the later period. Several bases and stems are preserved (Fig. 57 *a-d*), but in no case is the rim preserved with the lower part. They are often decorated with a grayish brown paint applied in horizontal bands or covering the entire vessel.
- b. The second variety has a tall stem which merges gradually into the conical body of the vessel. Two vertical handles extend from the lip down. The only complete example of this type is undecorated (Fig. 58 *a*), but numerous decorated fragments of similar kylikes have been found (Fig. 57 *e-o*). In most cases the decoration consists of horizontal bands on the body, whereas stem and foot are glazed all over. A peculiar type of decoration, very common among the sherds from our excavation, is illustrated in Figure 57 *e-g*. The whole body is glazed with the exception of a broad vertical stripe along the line of each handle. This type of decoration on kylikes seems to be peculiar

⁶⁷ Some of the gold cups from Mycenae have decorations in the lower zone, usually differing from those above the raised line (cf. Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, pl. CXXIV). In a single instance (*ibid.*, pl. CXXV) the same kind of decoration is applied both above and below the raised line, but even here the lower zone is narrower than the upper.

⁶⁸ Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 52, fig. 31.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. II, XVI.

⁷⁰ Pendlebury, *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 1, 1939, p. 181, fig. 8.

⁷¹ Numerous fragments were found in the earlier campaigns on the North Slope, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 363 and p. 364, fig. 36; VI, 1937, p. 558, fig. 13.



Fig. 57. Fragments of Kylikes, Shape 7



Fig. 58. Three Undecorated Kylikes, Shape 7

to Athens, where it is common.⁷² One fragment of a stem (Fig. 57 *o*) is decorated with a spiral band like a barber's pole. Vertical lines also occur on some fragments from the body of the vase. No examples of kylikes with swollen or ringed stem came to light.⁷³

- c. The third variety (Fig. 58 *b, c*) has short stem, off-set rim, and a single handle. All the kylikes of this type are unglazed.

Several unglazed examples of the second and third varieties are blackened from burning on the bottom and on the sides of the interior. In some cases the black has penetrated into the clay so as to be clearly visible even after the fragments have been cleaned in a diluted bath of hydrochloric acid. One complete kylix of the third variety (Fig. 58 *b*), showing discoloration from burning, was found together with two well preserved amphoras in a deposit at the foot of flight IV (see p. 395). It must have been employed for some purpose while the fountain was in use, but it is hardly likely that it was brought down to serve as a drinking cup. It is probable that these vessels were employed as lamps, held in the hands of the water-carriers. This use would explain the blackening in the interior of many of the kylikes. Perhaps animal fat or some resinous mixture was used rather than olive oil, for which open vessels like these would be less suitable. Small clay lamps are unknown from Mycenaean times,⁷⁴ but it is not improbable that some of the small vessels originally intended for other purposes were occasionally so used.

8. CUPS WITH ONE HORIZONTAL HANDLE. Figures 59 *a* and 60.

Closely related in shape to the preceding is the small cup, resembling the kylix of Type *b*, but without stem and with a single horizontal handle similar to the handles on the skyphoi. No whole vase of this shape has been found, and it may be questioned whether there were one or two handles, but the former alternative is the more likely. Among the numerous handles preserved there are no two that could belong to the

⁷² A feeding-bottle from Kourtes, Crete, with somewhat similar decoration is illustrated in *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, pl. IX, 16.

⁷³ This is a late feature, found on kylikes from a few sites; cf. Heurtley, *Q.D.A.P.*, V, 1936, p. 102; Persson, *Asine*, p. 299, fig. 206, and p. 300, no. 4; Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, p. 222, goblet no. 3, and p. 228; Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1932, p. 32. Some fine examples of kylikes with ringed stem have come to light in the recent excavations on Ithaka. I am indebted to Miss S. Benton for kindly showing me the proof of her article on this pottery, soon to appear in the *B.S.A.*

⁷⁴ The large open lamp made in imitation of stone lamps (Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pl. XLIII, 46-48; and Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 455) were obviously not intended to be carried about. Very few lamps of any kind, except stone lamps, are known from the Mycenaean period (see Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 5; Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1932, p. 34), although small terracotta lamps had been in use in the Neolithic period and later.



Fig. 59. One-Handled Cups, Shapes 8 and 12

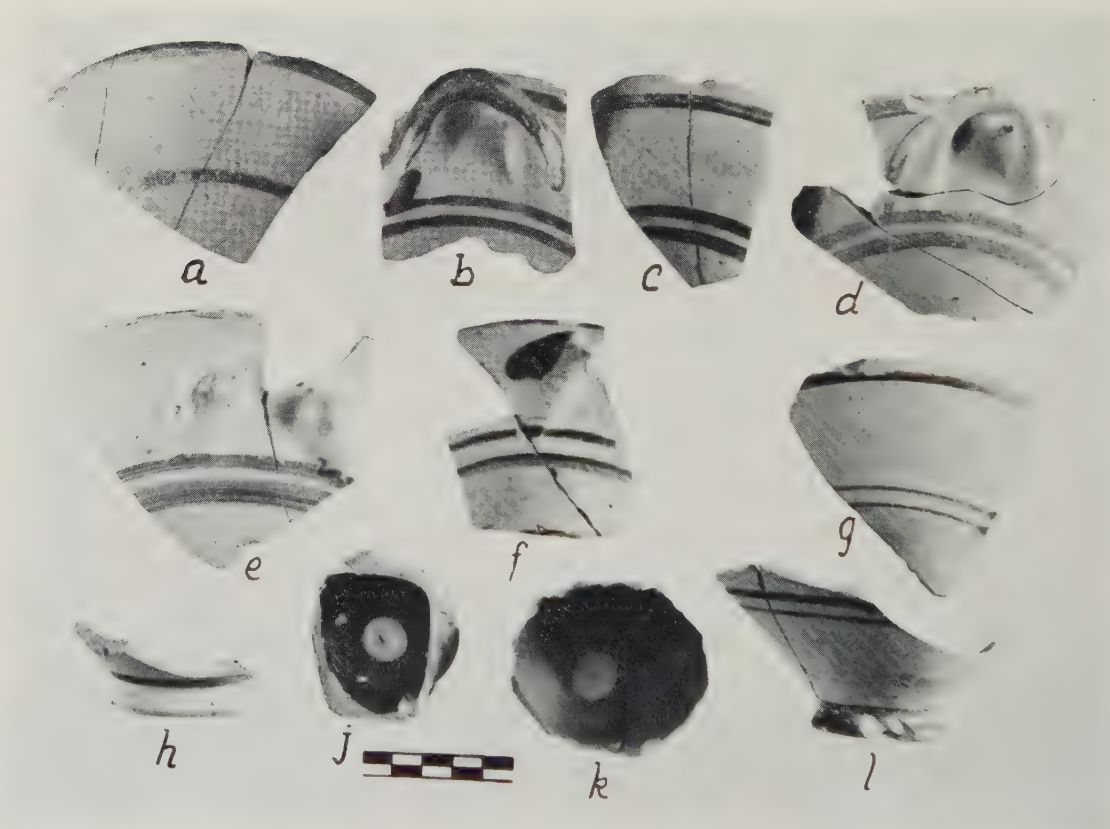


Fig. 60. Fragments of One-Handled Cups, Shape 8

same vase. The base is much like that of a skyphos, but is more concave underneath. The inside of the vase is, as a rule, covered with glaze, with the exception of a reserved circle in the center (Fig. 60 *j, k*). On a few fragments there is also a narrow reserved band a little below the lip. The outside is decorated with horizontal lines (Figs. 59 *a* and 60 *a-h, l*). Usually there is a rather broad stripe at the lip or slightly below, one or two lines below the level of the handle, and a single stripe just above the base. The shape, which combines the features of skyphos and kylix, was common in Athens, but I know of no exact parallels from any other excavation in Greece,⁷⁵ nor were any found in the Mycenaean houses on the northeast slope of the Acropolis.

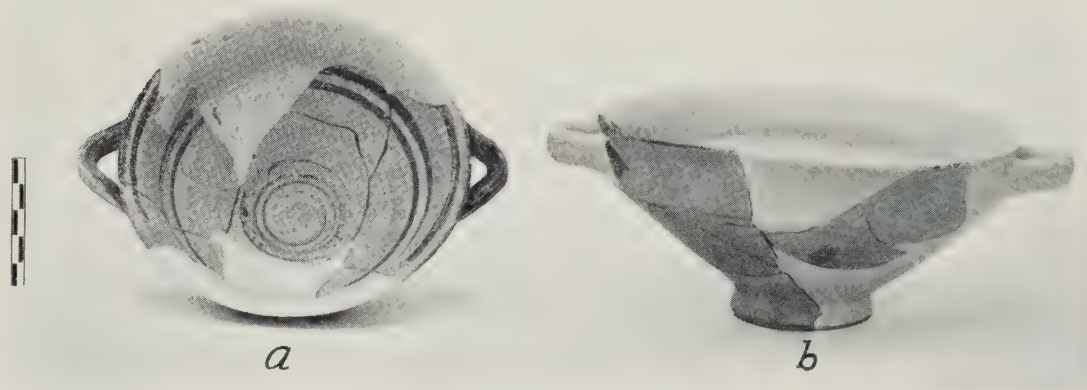


Fig. 61. Two Cups, Shape 9

A one-handled cup, slightly more squat and less conical in shape, and probably of earlier date, which has come to light in tombs from Attica, may be regarded as the direct predecessor of the type.⁷⁶ Cups of somewhat similar shape with two, one, or no handles, are also common in Cyprus,⁷⁷ but it is likely that the shape originated in Attica.

9. TWO-HANDLED CUPS WITH OFF-SET RIM. Figures 61 and 62.

Another vessel, likewise related to the kylix, is the small cup with off-set rim, low base, and two horizontal handles attached slightly below the rim. The exterior

⁷⁵ A vase of unknown provenance published by Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XXII, 161, is a close parallel to ours in shape, but the decoration is different. This example, too, has only one handle. Small cups resembling skyphoi, but with one handle, were also found in tombs at the Argive Heraion, Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, fig. 126, no. 246; fig. 484, no. 976; but these are deeper in proportion to their diameter and the rim is different.

⁷⁶ I am indebted to Mr. Frank Stubbings for calling my attention to these, and for showing me his manuscript of an unpublished article on late Mycenaean pottery from Attica.

⁷⁷ Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, pp. 212, no. 2; 213, no. 12; 222, no. 10; Daniel, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pls. I, 29, 69, 34; IV, 74, 21, 20, 93, 103, 87; Walters, *Br. Mus. Cat. of Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery*, pl. III, C, 623.

is generally unglazed except on the lip (Figs. 61 *b* and 62 *a*) and on the top of the handles, but one fragment (Fig. 62 *d*) has a wavy band below the rim. The inside is decorated with concentric bands, usually arranged in pairs. There is some variation in the number and disposition of these bands, which are never found on the outside.

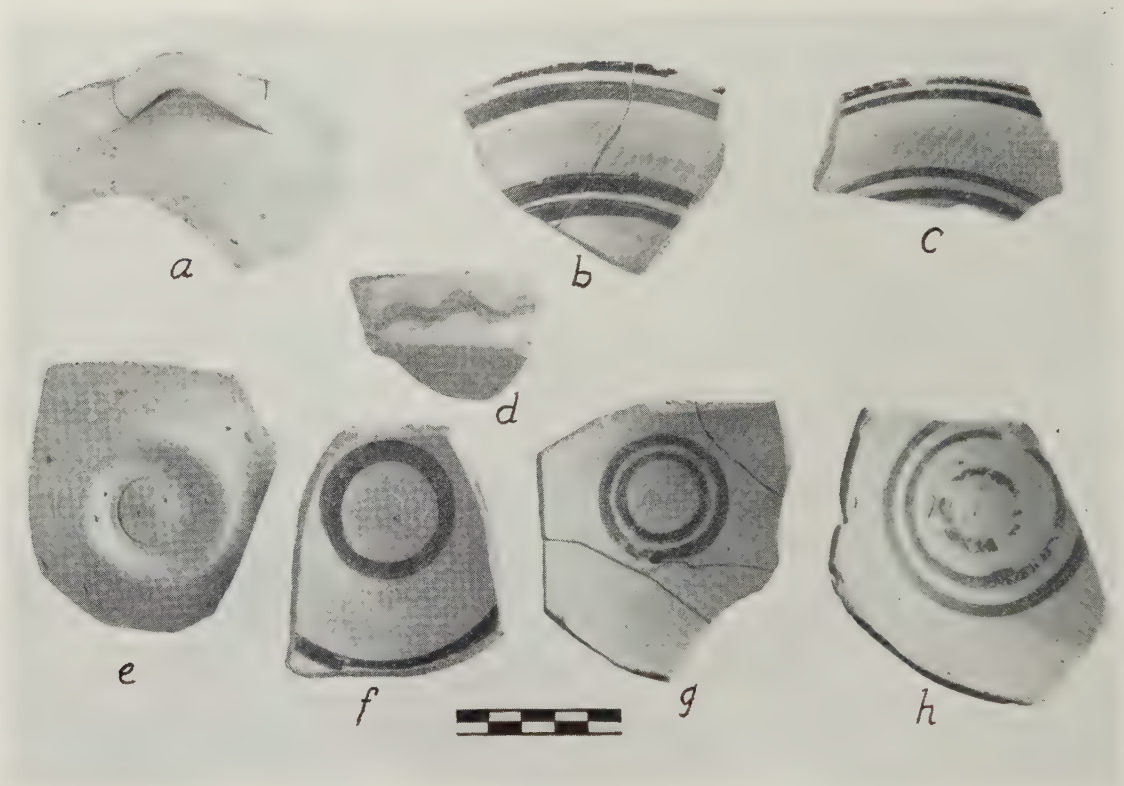


Fig. 62. Fragments of Cups, Shape 9

These cups resemble the preceding in size and in the shape of the base, but the stereotyped decoration in each case makes it easy to distinguish the sherds of the two types of vases. The profile of the rim and the shape of the body may have been derived from the one-handled kylix, Type c. The shape is known from other Greek sites,⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Several examples from Mycenae are decorated on the interior like those from our excavation (Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 33, fig. 9 c, pl. XI k). Undecorated bowls of somewhat similar shape but shallower, less angular in profile, and without the raised base have been found in the Argolis (Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 425; II, p. 55, fig. 239, no. 1062, etc.; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pls. XVII, 29; XXXI, 51; Persson, *Asine*, p. 370, fig. 240, 61, 62). Two examples from Asine are partly glazed (*ibid.*, fig. 240, 63, 64). A single specimen of the earlier undecorated variety came from the Mycenaean houses on the northeast slope of the Acropolis, but none of the fully developed type.

but the earlier examples are mostly undecorated. Again, as in the case of the preceding shape, it is Cyprus that offers most numerous parallels.⁷⁹

10. CUPS WITH OFF-SET RIM AND ONE VERTICAL HANDLE. Figure 63 *a*.

A single specimen is preserved of a shallow bowl or dish, with the rim set off from the body as in the preceding shape, a single vertical handle attached to the rim, and a low flat base. It is really a stemless kylix of Type c, somewhat more squat than the stemmed kind, and like the latter it is unglazed. Unless the base is preserved the fragments are indistinguishable from those of 7 c. The cup shown in Figure 63 *a* was pressed out of shape in the firing. The same type of vessel was found in the houses on the northeast slope, but the shape is not common.

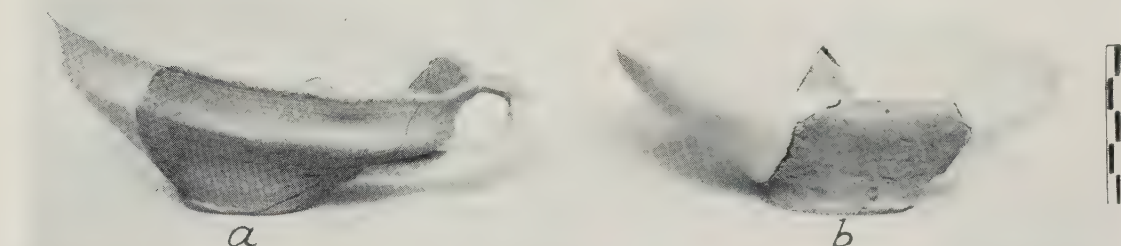


Fig. 63. Two Cups, Shapes 10 and 11

11. SHALLOW CUPS WITHOUT HANDLES. Figure 63 *b*.

A comparatively rare shape in the period to which our pottery belongs is the undecorated shallow cup or dish with slightly incurving rim, low base, and no handle. Only a single specimen is preserved. The shape was in use throughout Mycenaean times.⁸⁰ One example came from the houses on the northeast slope.

12. SMALL CUPS OF TEA-CUP SHAPE. Figures 59 *b* and 64 *a-d*.

This variety of cup, which is deeper than the preceding four shapes, is closely related to the skyphos. It has a single vertical handle and a low flat base. The profile

⁷⁹ The Cypriote examples with one or two handles are late (Daniel, *loc. cit.*, p. 63, II d, e; pl. I, 51, 28, 27; Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222, nos. 11 and 12; and cf. Walters, *op. cit.*, nos. C 659-673).

⁸⁰ See Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 424. At Mycenae it begins in L. H. I, but seems to grow rare in L. H. III (Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 151). The earlier examples are somewhat deeper in proportion to their diameter (*ibid.*, p. 150, fig. 33 c).

describes an inward curve above the middle, but the rim has an outward bend. Several fragments were found but none with the base preserved. The shape has been restored (Fig. 59 *b*) from some cups of similar shape found on the northeast slope. One complete specimen was discovered on the Acropolis.⁸¹ The decorations consist for the most part of broad painted bands, but one fragment (Fig. 59 *b*) has a degenerate



Fig. 64. Fragments of Shapes 11-14

spiral pattern. Spouted cups of the same shape are common at other sites.⁸² The shape, which is derived from the shallower cup of early Mycenaean times, continued with some variations to the end of the seventh century.⁸³ In the Protogeometric and Geometric examples of the shape there is usually a high base in the form of a truncated cone⁸⁴ as on the skyphoi (see p. 367, note 55).

⁸¹ Graef-Langlotz, *Ant. Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I, pl. 5, no. 181. For the shape see Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 429, and *Korakou*, p. 65, fig. 92; Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, pl. XI, f-g, i-j.

⁸² There are several examples, most of them rather small, in the Museum at Aigina. See also Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 434; II, p. 43, fig. 192, no. 874, and p. 142, fig. 572, no. 805.

⁸³ Cf. Young, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 413-414 and fig. 1, D6-D8.

⁸⁴ Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 174, pls. 36, 37.

13. CUPS WITH HIGH HANDLE. Figure 64 *e-h*.

A few recognizable fragments belong to shallow cups with high-swung handles, plain or decorated with stripes. Inasmuch as this type of handle is found with cups of different shapes, the exact type to which each fragment belongs is uncertain.⁸⁵ The large fragment in Figure 64 *e* with decorations on the inside may belong to this shape.

14. LADLES. Figure 64 *j-m*.

A vessel closely related to the preceding, but perhaps used for a different purpose, is the ladle with high loop-handle, hemispherical body, and slightly flaring lip, usually unglazed. Only two handles and a few other fragments were found in the fill of the fountain, but the shape is common among the pottery from the houses on the northeast slope.⁸⁶ It appears as early as the Middle Helladic period,⁸⁷ and remains practically unchanged till the end of the Mycenaean age.

15. PYXIDES. Figures 65 *k-p* and 66 *a*.

A rather rare type of vessel in the Mycenaean period is the pyxis with vertical sides, flat bottom, slanting shoulders, and raised rim around the opening. Two flat vertical handles, projecting above the shoulders and extending more than half way down to the bottom, are applied to the side of the vessel. The decoration on the preserved fragments consists of horizontal bands on the shoulder and above the base, and of vertical wavy lines (Fig. 65 *p*) or horizontal rows of heart-shaped loops (Fig. 66 *a*) on the body of the vessel. The latter design occurs on some vases of this shape found in a house close to the earlier postern gate of the Acropolis.⁸⁸ It is a simplified form of a double spiral pattern which appears at an early date and is especially common on vases of the Palace Style and other early Mycenaean ware.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ For the shape see Blegen, *Prosymna*, pp. 427-428; and cf. *Zygouries*, p. 154, fig. 144; Mylonas, *Ἑλεσινιακά*, A', p. 135, fig. 114.

⁸⁶ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 371, fig. 44 c. For the shape see Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, figs. 125, no. 235 and 534, no. 1046. The astoundingly large number of ladles found in Submycenaean tombs on Kephallenia (Marinatos, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1932, pp. 32-33, pls. 8, nos. 100-107, and 13, nos. 254-260, 281-284) testify to the popularity of the shape at the end of the Bronze Age.

⁸⁷ Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 19, fig. 26.

⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 367, fig. 39 a; cf. Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XVI, 105.

⁸⁹ Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Tongefässe*, pls. I, 1; XII, 66; and *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXVII, 219; Müller, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, p. 308, fig. 15; Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1914, p. 115, figs. 25, 26; Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, fig. 664; Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 158, fig. 143. It is a common design in Mycenaean jewelry, Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pl. XXXII, 80 a; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pls. XVIII, 2, XXXV; Marshall, *Br. Mus. Cat. of Jewellery*, pl. VI, 691. The origin of the motive is discussed by Evans who calls it the "sacred ivy spray," *Palace of Minos*, IV, pp. 764 ff. For a discussion of its origin see also Forsdyke, *Br. Mus. Cat. Prehist. Aegean Pottery*, pp. 132, no. A 769, and 185, no. A 993.

The shape is of special interest. Although it occurs with a different kind of handle at other mainland sites,⁹⁰ it is nowhere so common as in Athens.⁹¹ Its origin may be traced to Crete, however, where the earliest example has been found.⁹² It continued into the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods, but the later examples are as a rule higher in proportion to the depth. Sometimes they are also provided with

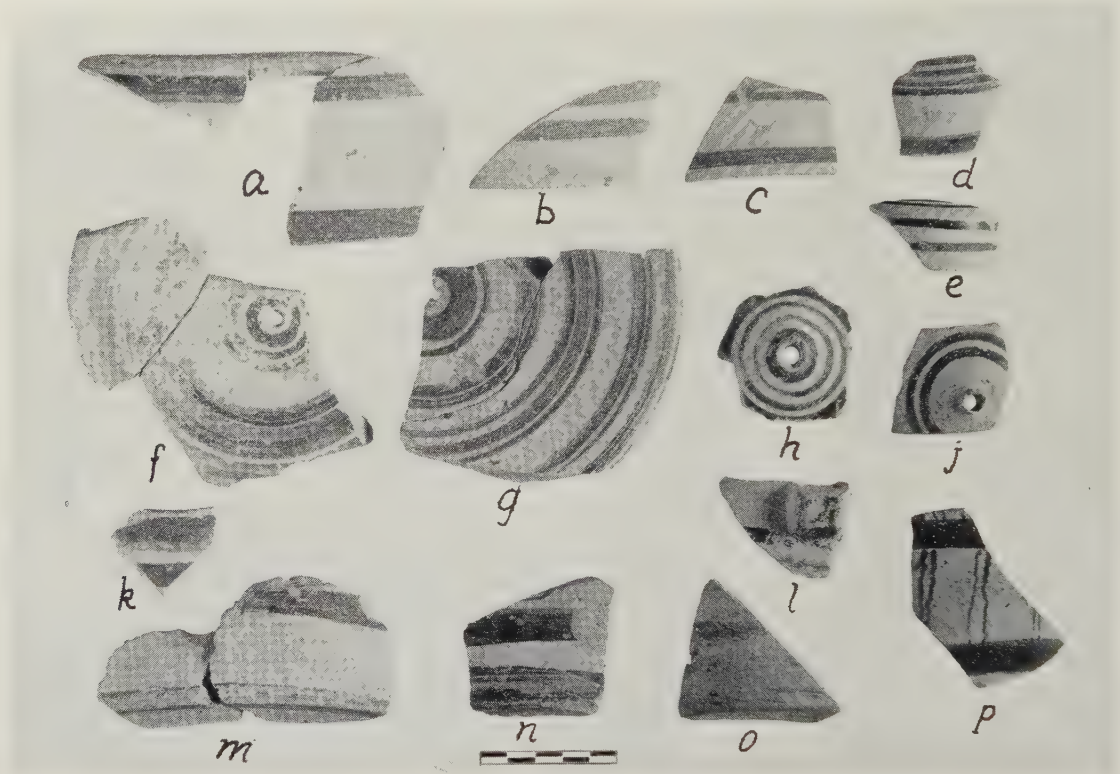


Fig. 65. Fragments of Pyxides, Shape 15, and Lids, Shape 16

three short feet. The distinguishing feature is the handle, which retains its original form in the early Iron Age, though in some cases the ends extend to the bottom of the vase. Other types of handles also occur with pyxides of the same shape. Late examples have been found in the Athenian Kerameikos,⁹³ in Aigina,⁹⁴ at Pylos in

⁹⁰ Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 70, fig. 101; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 189, fig. 263, 1.

⁹¹ Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 15-16; Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XVI, 104; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 367, fig. 39 a.

⁹² At Gournia, Mackeprang, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pl. XXVI, 7.

⁹³ Kraiker, *Arch. Anz.*, 1932, p. 202, fig. 8; 1934, p. 230, fig. 21 (second shelf on the right); Kraiker and Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 61, Inv. 533.

⁹⁴ There is a fine example in the Museum with lid preserved. Both lid and pyxis are decorated with zones of cross-hatched triangles. I am indebted to Dr. G. Welter for kindly showing me the unpublished pottery in the Aigina Museum, and for allowing me to take notes and make references to this material.

Messenia,⁹⁵ and at Ialysos⁹⁶ in Rhodes. The shape is not found among the pottery from the Submycenaean tombs on Kephallenia, but a single example of a related variety without handles was found.⁹⁷

The shape is most common in Crete, where it has a long and interesting history.⁹⁸ It has been found at Gournia,⁹⁹ Erganos,¹⁰⁰ Karphi,¹⁰¹ Knossos,¹⁰² Phaistos,¹⁰³ Moulana,¹⁰⁴ Vrokastro,¹⁰⁵ Tylisos,¹⁰⁶ and Palaikastro,¹⁰⁷ and one late Mycenaean example came from Phylakopi in Melos.¹⁰⁸ Some of these pyxides have small loop-handles on the rim, which is the common type of handle on the squat jar with flaring rim, a shape closely related to the pyxides¹⁰⁹ and to the squat alabastra.

16. LIDS. Figure 65 a-j.

More common than the preceding shape is the lid with flat, or slightly convex top, pierced in the center, vertical sides, and rounded or beveled edge. There is a considerable variation in size, the largest having a diameter of *ca.* 0.19 m. and the smallest less than a third as much. The decoration consists of painted bands on top and on the sides. The interior is unglazed.

These lids were probably used with vases of the preceding shape, but fragments of lids are so much more numerous than those of pyxides that they may have been intended for use with other types of jars, such as Shape 17. Though found at other Greek sites the shape is not common.¹¹⁰ The pyxis in the Museum at Aigina, referred to above, has its cover preserved, but it is more convex on top. This seems to be a later form than the flat type.

⁹⁵ Kourouniotes, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1914, p. 108, figs. 13-15.

⁹⁶ Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. VII, no. 36 XIII; Forsdyke, *Prehistoric Aegean Pottery*, I, i, pl. XIV, A 952.

⁹⁷ See Marinatos, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1932, pp. 33-34, fig. 34, and pl. 13, no. 262.

⁹⁸ Its relation can be traced to vases as late as the seventh century; see Hartley, *B.S.A.*, XXXI, 1930-31, pp. 60-61, fig. 6, no. 10.

⁹⁹ Mackeprang, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pl. XXVI, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Mariani, *A.J.A.*, V, 1901, pl. VI, 4.

¹⁰¹ Young, *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 235, fig. 12.

¹⁰² Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-28, p. 263, pl. VI, 11.

¹⁰³ Pernier, *Mon. Ant.*, XII, 1902, fig. 46.

¹⁰⁴ Xanthoudides, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1904, p. 35, 2, and pl. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Hall, *Excavations in Eastern Crete and Vrokastro*, p. 126 and pl. XXX; Scheurleer, *Griek-sche Ceramiek*, pl. IV, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Hatzidakis, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1912, p. 204, fig. 9. The shape of this pyxis resembles the late examples of the type, but the handles are different.

¹⁰⁷ Forsdyke, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, A 708.

¹⁰⁸ Dawkins and Droop, *B.S.A.*, XVII, 1910-11, pl. XII, 73.

¹⁰⁹ See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 367, fig. 39 b.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Persson, *Asine*, p. 415, fig. 270, 14. Compare also the numerous pierced lids of undecorated ware from the potter's shop at Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 153 ff., fig. 146, which seem to have been intended as covers for small jars of similar fabric.

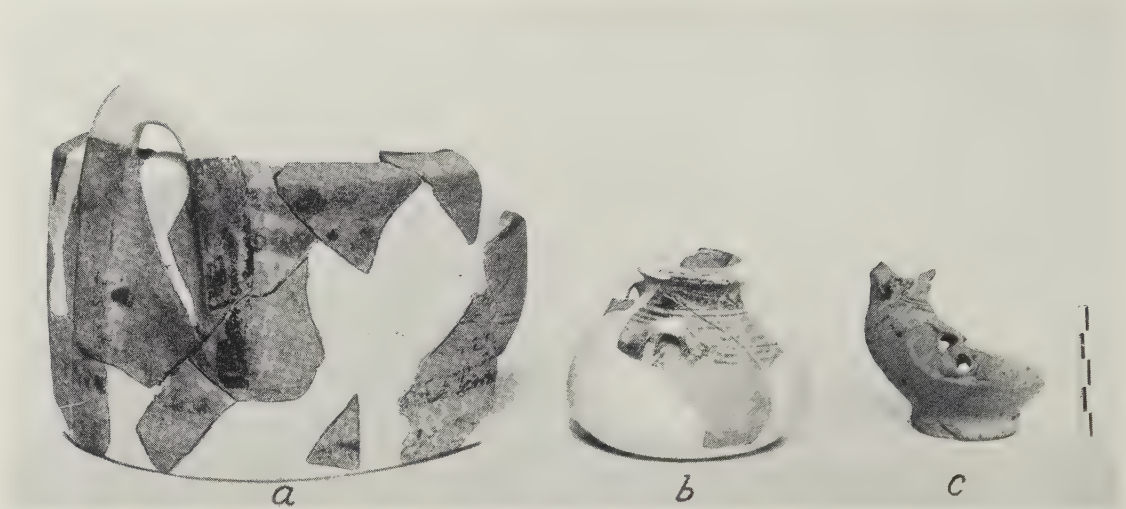


Fig. 66. Three Vases of Shapes 15, 17, and 22



Fig. 67. Fragments of Squat Jars, Shape 17, and of Rhytons, Shape 18

17. SQUAT JARS. Figures 66 *b* and 67 *a-k*.

A common shape throughout Mycenaean times, but rare among the pottery from our excavation, is the squat jar with flaring rim, two or three handles on the shoulder, and flat bottom. There are two varieties represented among the meager fragments that can be recognized as belonging to this shape. One of these (Fig. 67 *a-c*) has slanting shoulders making an obtuse angle at its juncture with the body. In the second variety there is a more uniform curve from the neck down to the base (Fig. 66 *b*). Several pieces are preserved of a fairly large jar (Fig. 67 *e-g*), the others are from small or miniature vessels. The preserved decoration, applied chiefly on the shoulder, consists of wavy lines, rows of concentric half-circles and hooks, cross-hatched triangles, etc. The large vase had a row of stylized floral motives, probably degenerate papyrus flowers. The body of the vase is, as a rule, decorated with parallel lines, and one miniature jar (Fig. 67 *c*) is entirely covered with a glaze of a poor quality.

18. RHYTONS. Figure 67 *l* and *m*.

Two fragments of rhytons were found, decorated with zones of curving lines separated by bands of parallel lines. The shape was never very common, and in the late period to which our pottery belongs, it was probably very rare. The two fragments, which may belong to a single vessel, are of very good fabric, and the quality of the glaze is superior to that of the common run of vases from the fill of the fountain.



Fig. 68. Five-Handled Jar, Shape 19

19. LARGE FIVE-HANDLED JAR. Figure 68.

The largest of the decorated vases from the underground passage is a jar with three small handles on the shoulder and two horizontal handles at the widest part of the body. Round the wide opening is a tall neck with a heavy rim at the top. The body tapers toward the flat base. Only one example of this shape is well enough preserved to be restored.¹¹¹ The fabric is rather coarse and heavy, and the glaze, of a dull grayish

¹¹¹ Height, 0.63 m.; greatest diameter, 0.58 m.

black, has largely peeled off. The decoration consists of several vertical bands on body and neck, and of an indistinct design on the shoulder. The shape is one of the most common of large vases in the Late Helladic III period,¹¹² but I know of no other example with five handles.

The term "three-handled amphora," usually applied to vases of this shape, ought to be discarded. Apart from the absurdity inherent in the name itself, the vase is not closely related to the amphora either in shape or in function. The amphora, primarily



Fig. 69. Two Stirrup Vases, Shape 20

intended for transporting liquid, is provided with two sturdy handles, by which it can be lifted and carried, and with a comparatively small opening that can easily be stopped up. The three-handled jar, on the other hand, has an opening too large and of the wrong shape for a stopper, and the handles are neither strong enough nor placed in such a position as to be of use for lifting the vessel when filled. They were obviously intended for tilting the jar to one side when the contents were poured out. Even the two horizontal handles on the vase under discussion are hardly sufficiently strong to lift a vessel of that size filled with any kind of liquid.

¹¹² For a discussion of the shape and its history see Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 447; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 171.

20. STIRRUP VASES. Figures 69-72.

The most common shape among the closed vases is the ubiquitous stirrup vase, which appears with numerous variations of shape and decoration. Countless fragments have been found, but only three vases are well enough preserved to warrant restoration. Fragments of three distinct shapes are represented.

- a. The globular type with low base is the most common (Fig. 69). Handles and spouts are comparatively small as on the earlier vases of this type, and only on a few examples is there a conical projection on the knob (Fig. 70 *d-h*),

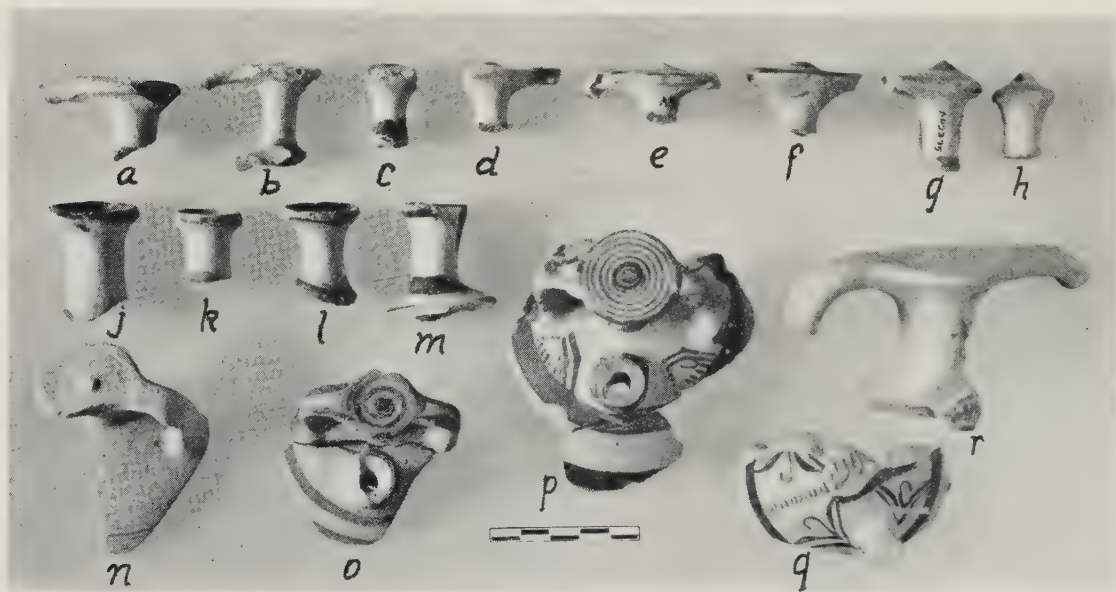


Fig. 70. Fragments of Stirrup Vases, Shape 20

which seems to be a late development, especially prominent on the Sub-mycenaean examples of the shape. Another feature of late origin is the vent-hole on the shoulder, which is found on a single sherd of this type (Fig. 70 *n*). The decoration on the body consists chiefly of parallel lines with occasional bands of zigzags and other linear patterns. On the top a great variety of designs appear, most common among which is a debased floral pattern, derived from the papyrus flower.¹¹⁸

The typical close style of decoration is represented by very few sherds which seem to belong to stirrup vases of the globular kind (Fig. 71 *a-c*). They are easily recognized by the greenish buff clay typical of this style of

¹¹⁸ For the deterioration of this motive see above, p. 356, and cf. Mackeprang, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 541, 548.

pottery. A few sherds belong to vessels seemingly made in imitation of the close style (Fig. 71 *d-g*) but of a different kind of clay. Rather more common is a type of decoration, consisting chiefly of plain horizontal stripes of varying width, often with more elaborate decorations on the upper part of the vessels, where the plain stripes alternate with bands of cross lines, zigzags, concentric quarter-circles and half-circles, etc. (Fig. 71 *h-v*). This is a late form



Fig. 71. Fragments of Stirrup Vases, Shape 20

of the Tell el Amarna style, contemporary with the type of decoration generally found on vases of the Granary Class, and often combined with the close style of decoration.¹¹⁴

- b. The second variety is rounded on top like the preceding, but the lower part of the body is conical and terminates in a short stem with flat base like a kylix foot. Parts of three vases of this shape were found (Fig. 72 *a-c*), but only one has the top preserved. The decoration consists of parallel bands of a dull

¹¹⁴ Rows of concentric half-circles, alternately turned in opposite direction, is a common design on vases of the close style (Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, pl. X g), but its origin can be traced to early Mycenaean times (*ibid.*, pl. XXIII d).

gray or brown glaze of poor quality. This shape, so far as I know, is peculiar to Athens. Three examples from the Acropolis excavation are in the National Museum.¹¹⁵

- c. The third variety is represented by a few insignificant sherds (Fig. 70 *r*) of large vases, made of a coarse, rather gritty clay, and decorated with bands of brown paint over a white slip. The shape is not apparent from the small fragments preserved, but may be conjectured from better preserved examples found elsewhere. Several examples of this type from the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes and one from Eleusis are inscribed with syllabic Mycenaean characters.¹¹⁶

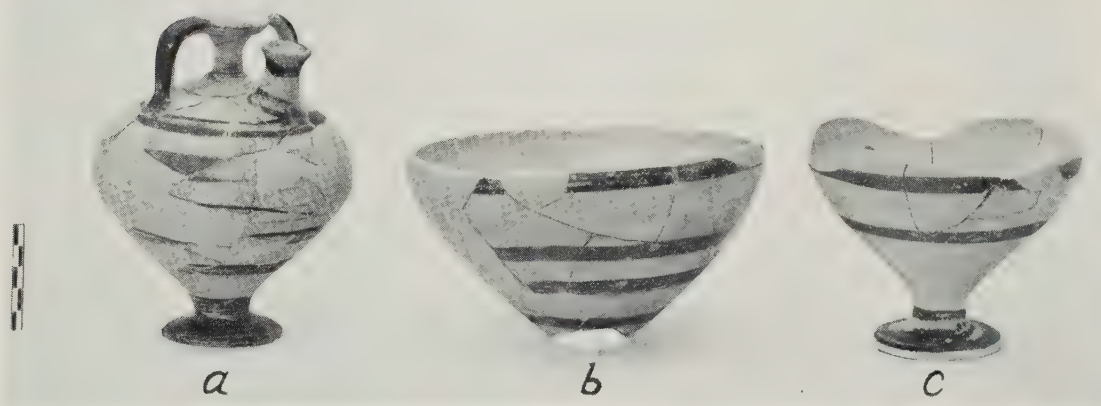


Fig. 72. Three Stirrup Vases, Shape 20

An examination of fragments from the top of stirrup vases of Groups a and b reveals a technical peculiarity not commonly found on vases of this type. Usually the top was formed on the wheel in one piece with the body, and the stem of the knob between the handles was shaped from the same piece of clay after the top had been closed. When this method was employed a conical hollow was formed at the bottom of the stem. But on the fragments from the Acropolis¹¹⁷ it is evident that a small

¹¹⁵ They are published by Graef and Langlotz, *Ant. Vasen d. Akr.*, I, nos. 106-108, but only the top of one is illustrated, pl. 4, 106. One appears in Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XVI, 103, but the shape is not represented among the drawings of vase shapes on pl. XLIV.

¹¹⁶ See A. Persson, *Schrift und Sprache in Altkreta*, pp. 28 ff.; Mylonas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1936, pp. 61-100.

¹¹⁷ Several fragments from the excavations on the Acropolis show the same treatment of the top. Among the fragmentary stirrup vases in the Aigina Museum, a single late example, possibly of Attic make, is formed like the vases from our excavation, but all the others are made in the common way. As many stirrup vases as I have been able to examine from other sites have the conical hollow in the stem. When the vases are whole it is impossible to determine how the top was formed.

circular top was formed as a separate piece, together with the stem and the handles, and inserted while the clay was still wet into the hole resulting from the gradual closing in of the sides to form the shoulder. The joining of this small "lid" to the rest of the top has left clear traces on the under side, and when the stem breaks off this "lid" sometimes goes with it. All the fragments of a and b show that this method was used invariably, whereas the fragments of the third variety have the hollow stem.

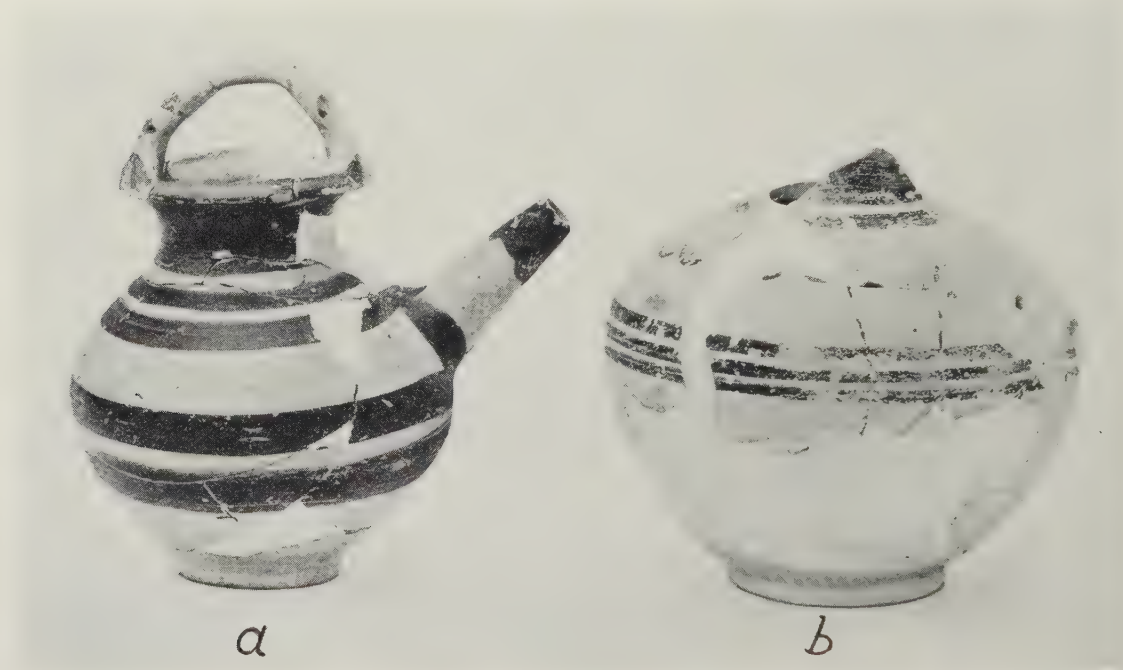


Fig. 73. Feeding-Bottles, Shape 21

21. FEEDING-BOTTLES WITH BASKET HANDLE AND POINTED SIDE SPOUT. Figure 73.

One example (Fig. 73 *a*) is complete with slight restorations, and several spouts and handles are preserved, showing that the shape was comparatively common in Athens. The decoration consists for the most part of painted bands, and one fragmentary specimen (Fig. 73 *b*) has a broken rope pattern on the shoulder. Vases of this shape¹¹⁸ have been found, though rarely in large numbers, at most Mycenaean sites. The shape is common in graves with burials of children, and it has been plausibly suggested that these vases were used as feeding-bottles as were the small spouted vessels of classical times.

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of the shape see Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 444.

22. SPOUTED STRAINERS. Figure 66 *c*.

The fragment shown in Figure 66 *c* is part of a spouted pot used as a strainer. The wall of the vase is pierced with three small holes where the spout was attached. The top is broken away, but the attachment for a handle is preserved to the left of the spout. The shape may have been similar to that of a spouted jug from the Acropolis excavations,¹¹⁹ with the positions of handle and spout reversed.



Fig. 74. Two Amphoras, Shape 23

23. AMPHORAS. Figures 74, 75 *b-d*, and 76 *b*.

Among the vessels used for drawing water from the fountain the largest and most common is the amphora with ovoid body, two handles extending from the rim to the shoulder, and low flat base. The decoration consists of broad painted bands on neck and body and at the edge of the base. Usually the handles are painted on the outside and set off from the shoulder with a painted ring. Undecorated amphoras are also common.

¹¹⁹ Graef and Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, no. 175. A similar pot was found at the Argive Heraion; see Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, fig. 189, no. 455.

An interesting feature is the rope handle (Figs. 74 *b* and 75 *b-d*), which is common on vases of this shape from the Athenian Acropolis. Several were found among the houses on the northeast slope and in the prehistoric area to the north of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.¹²⁰ The rope handle occurs in rare instances

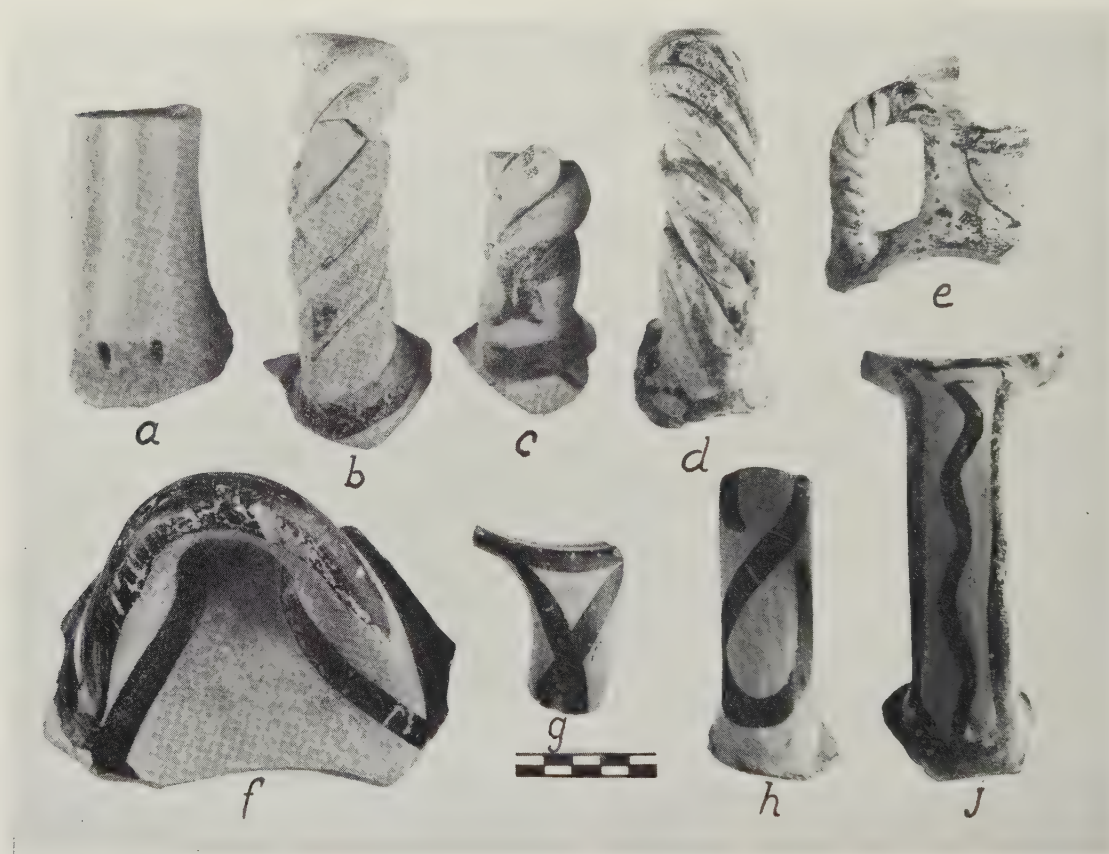


Fig. 75. Varieties of Handles

on late Mycenaean pottery from other sites,¹²¹ but in Greece proper outside of Athens it does not become a common feature before the beginning of the Iron Age. Its origin has been sought in Thessaly and Macedonia,¹²² but its common occurrence in Athens on Mycenaean pottery together with other features of supposed northern derivation removes the foundation for this theory. It is, of course, unnecessary to assume a common origin for all the handles of this type.¹²³

¹²⁰ Hansen, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 563, fig. 16, 1.

¹²¹ See Heurtley and Skeat, *B.S.A.*, XXXI, 1930-31, p. 47, note 1.

¹²² Skeat, *The Dorians in Archaeology*, p. 13; Heurtley, *Ant. Journ.*, VII, 1927, pp. 48 ff., fig. 11.

¹²³ Cf. Heurtley and Skeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f.

The two amphoras in Figure 74 were found together with an undecorated kylix (Fig. 58 *b*) at the bottom of flight IV, where they must have been deposited while the fountain was still in use. An undecorated example (Fig. 76 *b*) of the same shape came from near the bottom of the shaft.

24. PITCHERS. Figure 77.

Another very common vessel, probably also used for drawing water, is the pitcher, ovoid or pear-shaped, with one sturdy handle attached to the rim and the shoulder. The two undecorated examples in Figure 77 came from a depth of 22 m. (+ 111 m.). Similar vases were also found in the late Mycenaean houses below the postern gate.¹²⁴ The decorated specimens of the type are too fragmentary to be restored. Three of the handles shown in Figure 75 *g-j* are probably from pitchers of this shape. Another fragment from the top of a pitcher (Fig. 75 *e*) has a slender neck, more sharply set off from the shoulder, and a rope handle of the kind discussed above under Shape 23. The whole exterior seems to have been covered with a poor black glaze.

25. HYDRIAL. Figure 76 *a*.

The shape is the same as that of the preceding, with the addition of two horizontal handles just above the widest part of the body. The only example that could be restored (Fig. 76 *a*) came from the bottom of the shaft. Strangely enough there is no trace of the second horizontal handle, although the portion of the body where the handle should be attached is preserved. There are traces of painted bands, which have largely disappeared.

A selection of sherds of closed vases, illustrating various decorative patterns, is shown in Figures 78 and 79. Many of the designs are of the same nature as those appearing on open vessels. The spiral, usually combined with other elements, is the most common. Several kinds of central fillers appear, among which the hour-glass pattern (Fig. 78 *e-g*) is of special importance. One fragment (Fig. 78 *p*) preserves the head of a bird, and there are pieces of a few other vases with animal decoration. A new design of rare occurrence is the figure-eight pattern which is found on the body and the handles of some large vessels¹²⁵ (Figs. 75 *h* and 79 *a, b*). A common feature, betraying lateness, is the preference for decoration at the base of the handle (Figs. 75 *f* and 79 *d-f*). Originally this consisted of a plain circle, but in some cases

¹²⁴ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 368, fig. 40 *a*.

¹²⁵ It is found on two vases from the Granary Class from Mycenae (Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, p. 186, and pl. XII, 5; and *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, p. 32, fig. 8 *b*). The identical pattern occurs on pottery of the sixth century (see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 182, fig. 20, and p. 184, notes 2-4).



Fig. 76. Two Water Jars, Shapes 23 and 25



Fig. 77 Two Undecorated Pitchers, Shape 24

the circle was left open at the bottom with the two ends "hanging loose," and finally the double spiral design, seen in Figure 79 *e-f*, developed.

A large proportion of the sherds from the fill of the passage belong to household pottery, mostly large vessels of coarse quality. Some of the shapes can be determined, but the condition of this material is such as to discourage any further attempt at mending and restoration. A few of the most easily recognized shapes are described below.



Fig. 78. Fragments of Closed Vases

26. PITHOI. Figure 80.

A large percentage of the coarse sherds belong to large storage jars, decorated with raised bands on which various patterns have been impressed¹²⁶ (Fig. 80 *c-g*). The bands can hardly serve anything but a decorative purpose, but they are applied in such a way as to suggest that they may have been copied from wooden hoops. Some of the moulded rims of pithoi are similarly decorated (Fig. 80 *a, b*).

¹²⁶ Cf. Hansen, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 565, fig. 18; Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 72-74, figs. 105-107; Persson, *Asine*, p. 306, fig. 210.

27. COOKING POTS. Figure 81.

Another very common shape among the coarse ware is the cooking vessel with three feet and one or two loop-handles at the rim. Most of the fragments have the profile of the vessel shown in Figure 81 *b*, but a few examples have a more sharply off-set rim as in Figure 81 *a*. The clay is coarse and gritty, and the bottom is nearly always blackened by fire.

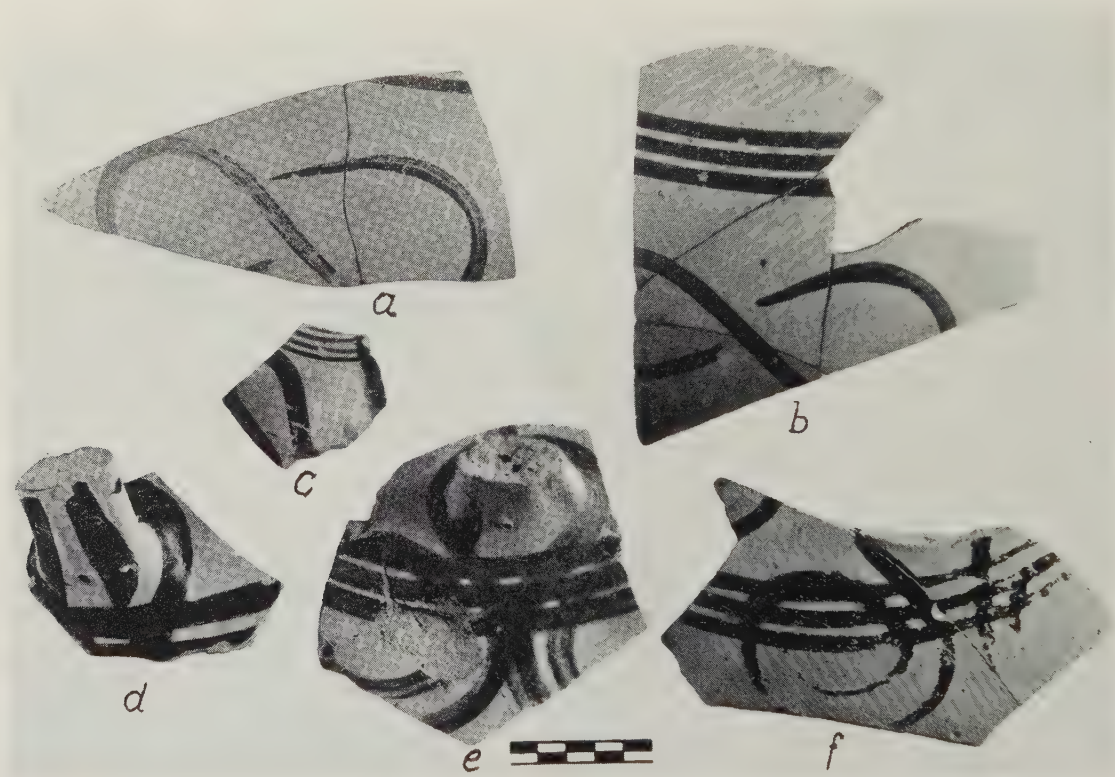


Fig. 79. Fragments of Closed Vases

The shape was very common on the Acropolis. Three whole pots and numerous fragments were discovered in the houses on the northeast slope,¹²⁷ and legs of similar vessels came from the prehistoric area north of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.¹²⁸ Examples of similar vases have been found in most Mycenaean settlements, but they are rarely complete.

A few small fragments of lids were found that may have been used as covers for the pots. These are made of the same coarse fabric and have approximately the right size to fit the cooking pots. There is no flange on the rim of the pots for the

¹²⁷ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 371, fig. 45.

¹²⁸ Hansen, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 564, fig. 17 *f-j*.

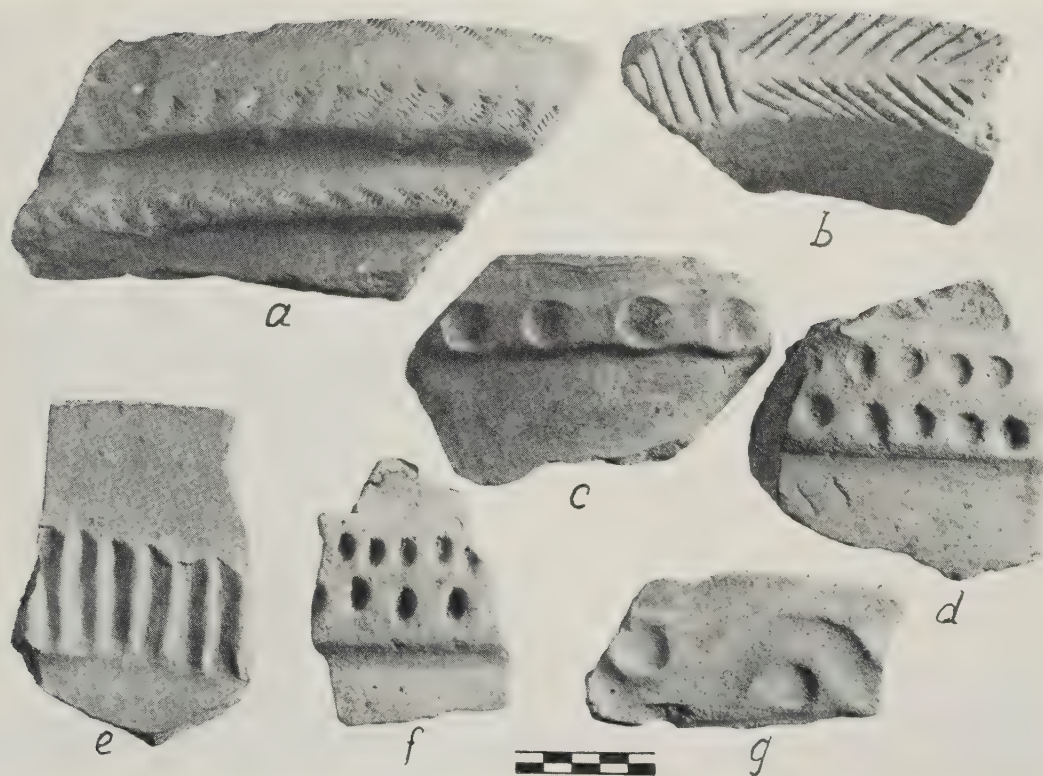


Fig. 80. Fragments of Pithoi, Shape 26, with Impressed Decoration

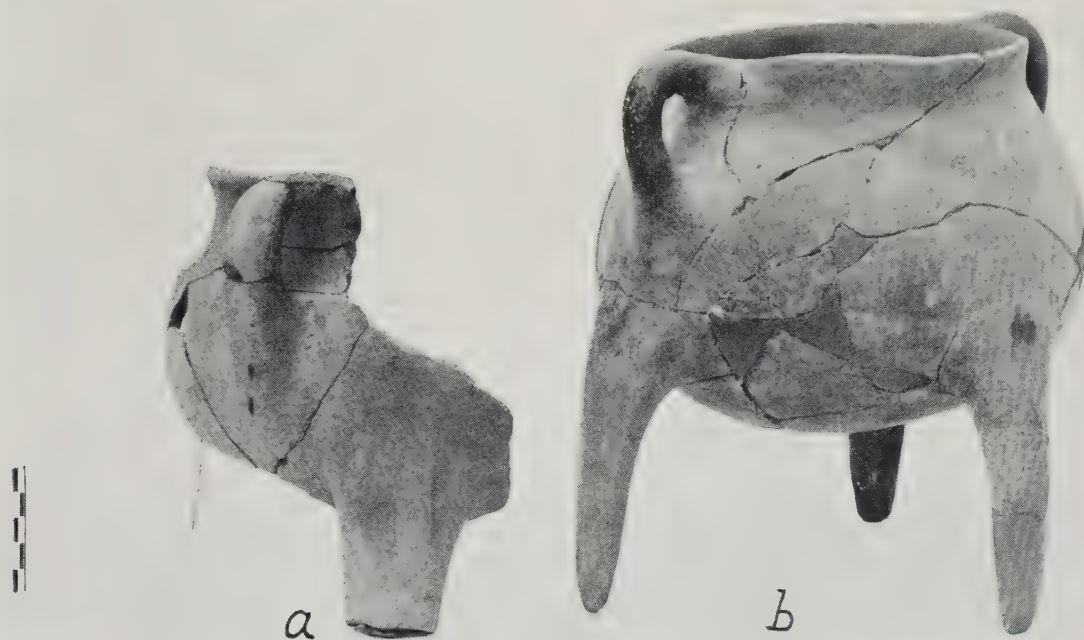


Fig. 81. Cooking Pots, Shape 27

lids to fit into, and the lids are perfectly flat underneath, but in the center is a small loop-handle.¹²⁹ Probably the lids were laid directly on the pots with the edge extending slightly toward the outside.

28. COARSE BOWLS. Figure 82.

Among the household ware is a shallow bowl or pan with straight sides converging toward the bottom. Only some small fragments were found, and no handle is preserved that can be associated with this type of vessel.¹³⁰

29. BRAZIERS. Figure 83 f.

The handle shown in Figure 83 f is of a type usually found on small braziers or scoops, a common shape at several Mycenaean sites.¹³¹

30. COARSE STRAINERS. Figure 83 a-e.

A few fragments of strainers were discovered, one of which (Fig. 83 b) preserves a small foot. One fragment (Fig. 83 d) from a flat bottom of coarse fabric has holes which do not extend through the full thickness of the clay. No other pieces of this kind were found in the underground passage, but several have come to light in the earlier campaigns on the North Slope.¹³² It is obvious that these vessels were not strainers in the ordinary sense, nor can the holes have been made for decoration. I can offer no satisfactory explanation.¹³³

The peculiar fragment in Figure 83 e consists of a shallow bowl attached to a thick narrow base. The bowl is pierced in the center, and the hole extends through the full thickness of the base. The bowl is nearly complete, but the base is broken away at either end. The base appears to have been circular, and a series of small bowls may have been attached to the top in the manner of a multiple kernos. Probably

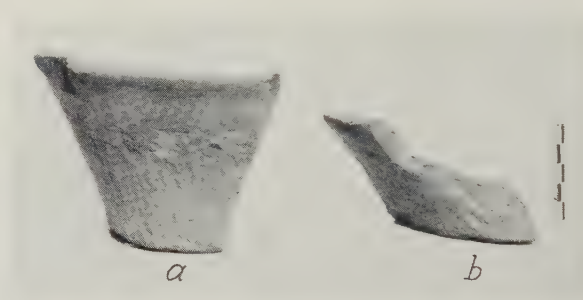


Fig. 82. Coarse Bowls, Shape 28

¹²⁹ Fragments of lids of various shapes were found in the prehistoric area north of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite; cf. Hansen, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 562 and 564, fig. 17 a.

¹³⁰ For the shape cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 165, fig. 160.

¹³¹ See Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 160, figs. 155, 156; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pls. XXVII, 12, 13; XLIII, 13.

¹³² See Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 569, fig. 20.

¹³³ Wace reports the discovery of several fragments of similar vessels at Mycenae (*B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, pp. 24, 26), but he does not suggest what purpose they served. See also Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 97, and pl. 45, no. 6.

it was intended for some ritual purpose, but the coarseness of the fabric and absence of decoration are somewhat surprising in a vessel of this kind.

Three fragments (Fig. 83 *g-j*) belong to some undecorated vase which had been mended with lead rivets. Instances of such repairs, which are fairly common in Athens, would indicate that lead was obtainable at a comparatively low price¹³⁴ and that undecorated household ware was sufficiently valuable to repay mending.

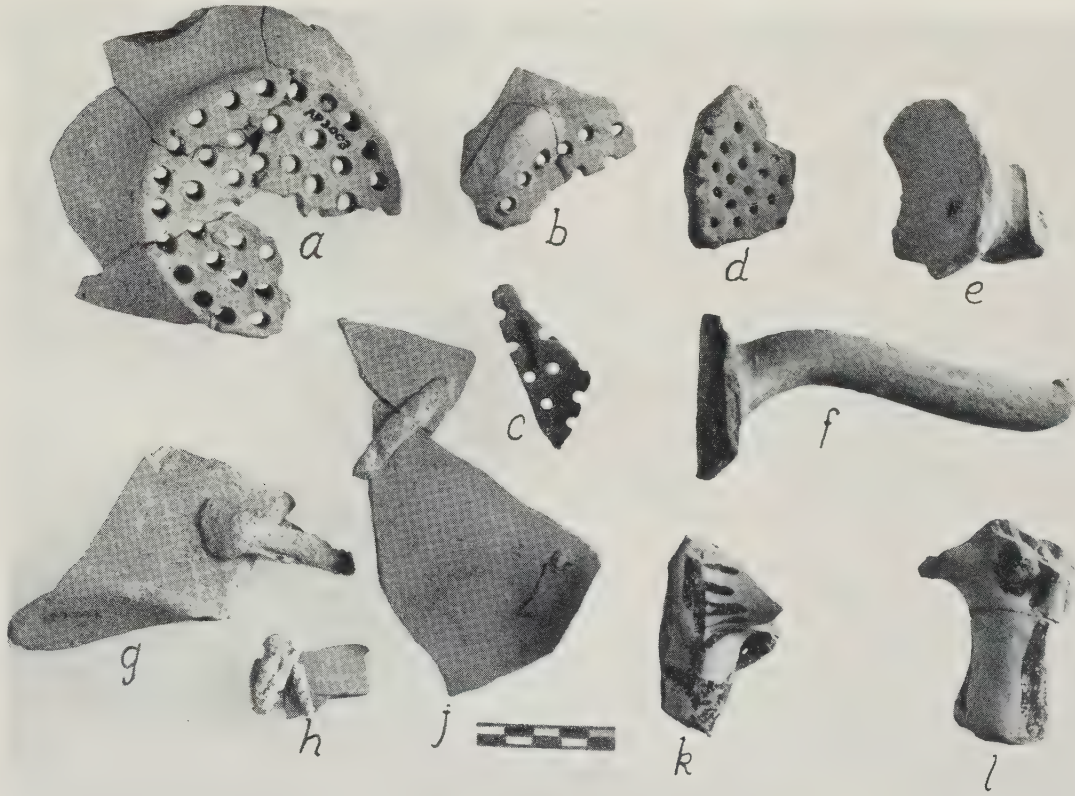


Fig. 83. Various Fragments of Mycenaean Pottery

Two small pieces of a plastic vase in the form of an animal (Fig. 83 *k, l*) were found, but there is not enough preserved to show the shape of the vessel.

Of post-Mycenaean pottery comparatively few fragments were found, nearly all of which came from the top fill of the passage. The most common shape represented among these sherds is a one-handled cup with off-set rim and flat base (Fig. 84 *a*). Both the inside and the outside are covered with a good brown glaze, and the handle is decorated with cross-stripes. The flat bottom is unpainted underneath.

¹³⁴ See pp. 415-416. Lead was used in Athens for mending pottery as early as the Middle Helladic period (cf. Hansen, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 544).

Cups of the same kind have been found in Protogeometric and early Geometric graves in the Athenian Kerameikos¹³⁵ and in the Agora, but the shape continued in use—or reappeared—as late as the seventh century.¹³⁶ It has probably developed from the one-handled cup of late Mycenaean times (see above, p. 381, Shape 12). In the later examples the low base has disappeared, the rim has become more sharply set off from the body, and the whole vessel has become more squat. It is likely that these features began to develop in the late Mycenaean period. In Figure 85 *a* and *b* are shown two fragments of a vase, the decoration of which can hardly be anything but Mycenaean. It has the off-set rim typical of this shape, and at the angle where the rim joins the body is a series of oblique dashes. The glaze, applied on the inside and at the top of the rim, is of a red color, and the unglazed part of the exterior is covered

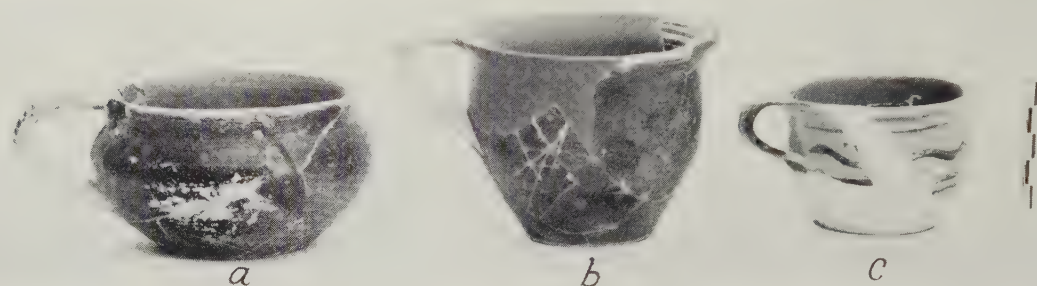


Fig. 84. Cups of Post-Mycenaean Date

with a light buff slip, contrasting strongly with the red color of the clay. Unfortunately the base is not preserved, so that the exact shape is uncertain. Some of the fragments came from a depth between 14 and 15 m. (ca. + 118.50 m.), in undisturbed Mycenaean fill. Several other fragments of large cups with off-set rim and covered with black or red glaze, came from the higher levels (Fig. 85 *c-f*). They are probably all later than the end of the Mycenaean period.

Cups and skyphoi with off-set rim were in common use throughout the period of Geometric pottery and as late as the end of the seventh century. Three decorated pieces, probably of skyphoi, are shown in Figure 86 *a-c*. A late development of the one-handled cup is represented by the tall cup in Figure 84 *b*, and by smaller fragments of about a dozen vessels of the same type. It is considerably deeper and more slender than the Protogeometric cup; the rim, less sharply set off from the body, has a pronounced outward flare and is decorated on the inside with parallel lines; and the base of the handle is decorated with lines running parallel to the handle and terminating in cross lines at the curve. On the right side of the handle are some deeply incised

¹³⁵ Kraiker and Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, p. 105, pl. 33; *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, p. 241, fig. 27.

¹³⁶ Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 151 ff., fig. 106, nos. C 51, 52.

lines. If these were intended as a Greek letter it can only be an upsilon, but the incisions are partly broken away. The shape is the same as that of several of the inscribed cups from Hymettos,¹³⁷ and sherds of similar cups have been found at Eleusis, at Phaleron, and in the Athenian Agora. On a large number of these are some crude graffiti, which may possibly be letters. This whole class of vases has recently been studied by Rodney S. Young,¹³⁸ who dates them in the seventh century before Christ. The small cup in Figure 84 *c* is a variation of the same shape.

Among the smaller sherds in Figure 85 several are decorated with concentric circles and half-circles, compass drawn. One fragment (Fig. 85 *h*) shows clearly the depression from the compass in the center of the circle. The half-circles in Figure 85 *m* are executed free-hand, but the glaze resembles that of the Protogeometric pottery rather than the glaze of Mycenaean ware.¹³⁹ The distinction, however, is not readily drawn, in view of the great variety of glaze in both periods. Some fragments of an interesting vessel, probably an oinochoe of the late Geometric period (Fig. 85 *p-t*), are decorated with parallel lines on the body, and on the shoulder is a vertical row of chevrons from which three streamers extend toward either side.¹⁴⁰ One piece (Fig. 85 *o*) seems to be from the neck of a pitcher with horizontal ribs and decorated with wavy lines and blobs arranged in vertical rows. Another piece (Fig. 85 *n*) is part of a conical base, probably of a skyphos.

A selection of Geometric sherds is shown in Figure 86, most of which are decorated with designs common to Geometric pottery. Some fragments of Geometric cups have been referred to above. Two pieces (Fig. 86 *f, g*) belong to a pyxis lid, and one (Fig. 86 *e*) is from the rim of a large krater. One of the three pieces which fit together in this fragment came from a depth of 6.90 m. (+ 126.25 m.). Figure 86 *m*, which seems to be from a closed vessel on a high stem, came from a depth of *ca.* 12 m. (+ 121.15 m.), in fill which was otherwise uncontaminated Mycenaean. One small fragment (Fig. 86 *k*) has traces of an incised inscription, the only certain letter of which is an epsilon. A few pieces, two of which are illustrated in Figure 86 *s, t*, are from early Attic skyphoi of the Corinthianizing type.¹⁴¹

A few Protoattic sherds are included in Figure 86, all of which came from near the top of the fill to a depth of *ca.* 3 m. The most interesting (Fig. 86 *q*) preserves

¹³⁷ Blegen, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 10 ff., pls. I-III; and Young, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 413 ff., fig. 1, D6-8.

¹³⁸ *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, 1939, pp. 155 ff., nos. C48-50.

¹³⁹ Concentric half-circles drawn without the use of compass occur frequently both on Submycenaean and on Protogeometric pottery; see Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, pls. 9, 10, 44, 61. Conversely, the compass-drawn concentric circles, probably made with a multiple brush, begin to appear on Mycenaean vases, Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 141, note 1.

¹⁴⁰ A somewhat similar type of decoration is found on a Geometric oinochoe from the Kera-meikos, kindly called to my attention by Mr. R. Young (Wide, *Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, p. 211, fig. 88. Cf. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 174, no. C 113).

¹⁴¹ See Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f., fig. 69, no. XXIII 1.

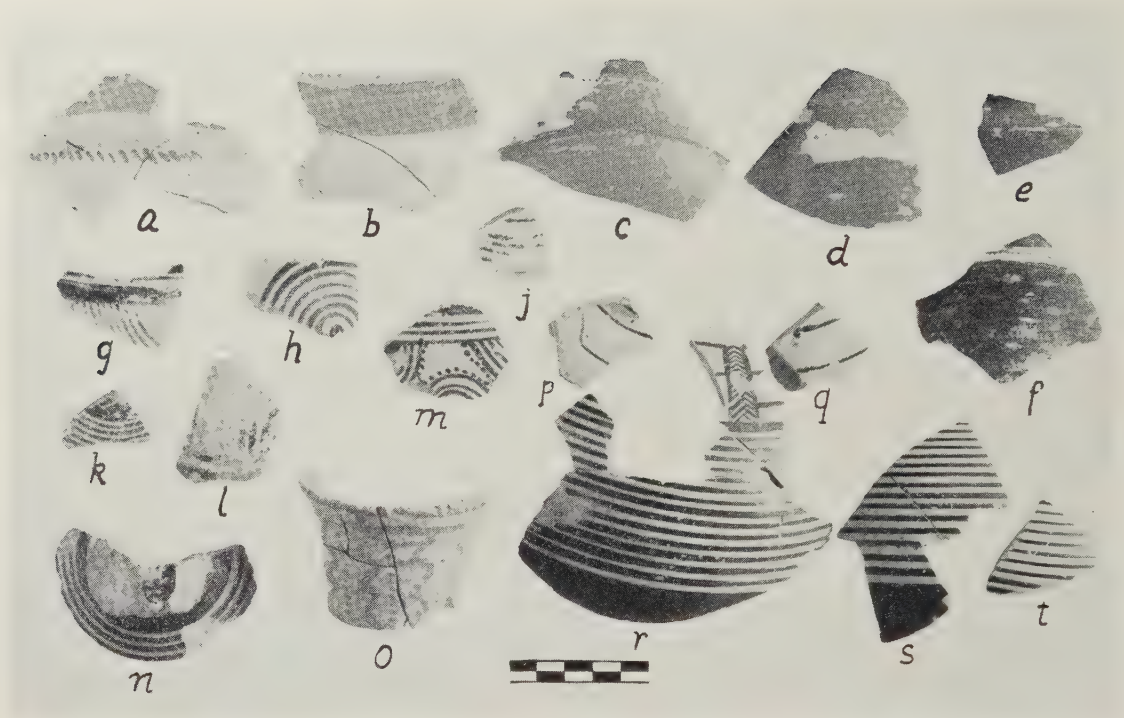


Fig. 85. Sherds of Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric Pottery



Fig. 86. Sherds of Geometric and Protoattic Ware

part of the figure of a stag or reindeer with long antlers. On another fragment (Fig. 86 *r*) is a procession of figures carrying palm branches.¹⁴² The black-figured and red-figured sherds, all of which came from the top soil, are of little importance. The largest is from an open black-figured vessel, probably a krater. Of the scene are preserved parts of two human figures and two Doric columns, the latter rendered in cream-colored paint. A small fragment of a pinax preserves part of an inscription, the extant letters of which are --- ⊕ ≤ A ---.

Two undecorated vases, probably of post-Mycenaean date, were found together at a depth of *ca.* 3.50 m. (+ 129.65 m.). The larger is an amphora (Fig. 87 *a*) with wide mouth. The rim has been restored in plaster. In the pot were found the bones of a small bird and the lower jaw of a mouse. The smaller vessel (Fig. 87 *b*) is a kind of carafe with tall, narrow neck and no handle. On the shoulder is a hole, 0.017 m. in diameter, and on the other side is a smaller hole, only 0.007 m. in diameter, which appears in the photograph as a white spot through the larger hole. In the vase was the skeleton with a fairly well preserved skull of a small bird, probably of the *Fringillide* or *Passeriforme*¹⁴³ family.

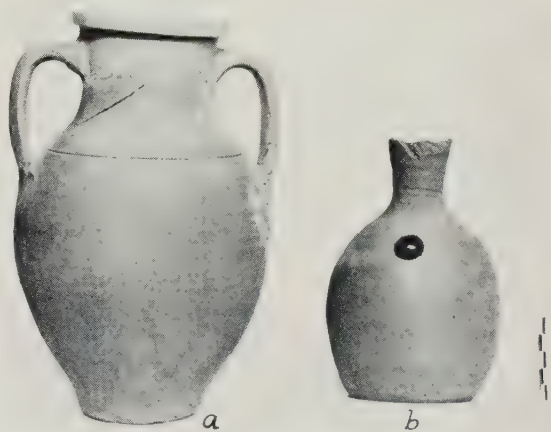


Fig. 87. Two Undecorated Vases

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Apart from the pottery a few other objects of interest were found in the fill of the passage. Pieces of sculpture and inscriptions of classical times have either been published already,¹⁴⁴ or will appear in future articles. A selection of the more important objects of the earlier periods is described below.

The fragment shown in Figure 88 *a* and *b* was not found in the fill of the passage but below the west entrance. It is a Neolithic figurine¹⁴⁵ of white, fine-grained marble. The feet and upper part are missing. The figure is rather flat and its adiposity less exaggerated than is usually the case in figurines of the Neolithic period. One per-

¹⁴² They resemble very closely the figures on the panel of an amphora from the Athenian Agora (Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 341, fig. 23).

¹⁴³ I am indebted to Mr. N.-G. Gejvall for the identification of the bones.

¹⁴⁴ See p. 320, notes 8-9.

¹⁴⁵ Preserved height, 0.073 m.; width at hips, 0.052 m.

fectly preserved figure of the same type was found at Eleusis¹⁴⁶ and another at Aigina,¹⁴⁷ now in Munich. The carving of these figures is very similar, but the shape¹⁴⁸ is more squat and steatopygous than that of the fragment from our excavation. The latter is probably somewhat later than the other two and forms the transition to the flat marble figures of the early Bronze Age.



Fig. 88. Neolithic Stone Figurine

Fragments of terracotta figurines are fairly numerous, but most of them are insignificant pieces. The common type of Mycenaean standing figure with crescent shaped arms is represented by several pieces (Fig. 89 *a-f, k*). The face is flat with a pinched-out nose (Fig. 89 *f*) and eyes and hair are added in paint, and on the top is a spreading head-gear. A less common type with arms folded across the breast is also found (Fig. 89 *h*). One fragment has more carefully modeled arms and breasts (Fig. 89 *j*). The head shown in Figure 89 *g* is unusual both in shape and decoration. The eyes are flat pellets of clay within painted rings, and the hair is shaped with two

¹⁴⁶ Mylonas, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, A', pp. 138 f., fig. 115.

¹⁴⁷ *Arch. Anz.*, 1910, p. 47, fig. 1; Welter, *Aigina*, p. 10, fig. 8.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of this class of figurines and for the literature on the subject see Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, pp. 3 ff.; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 45 ff.; Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*, pp. 339 ff. and pls. I and XXVII. An interesting example of the seated type has recently come to light in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.

horn-like projections from which painted locks hang down like festoons. This head is probably somewhat later than the more common type described above. A more carefully modeled figure is shown in Figure 89 *l*, the lower part of which is preserved. The legs are separated and pinched out to form rudimentary feet. The profile seems to indicate that the figure was represented as seated; and at the rear is a slight break

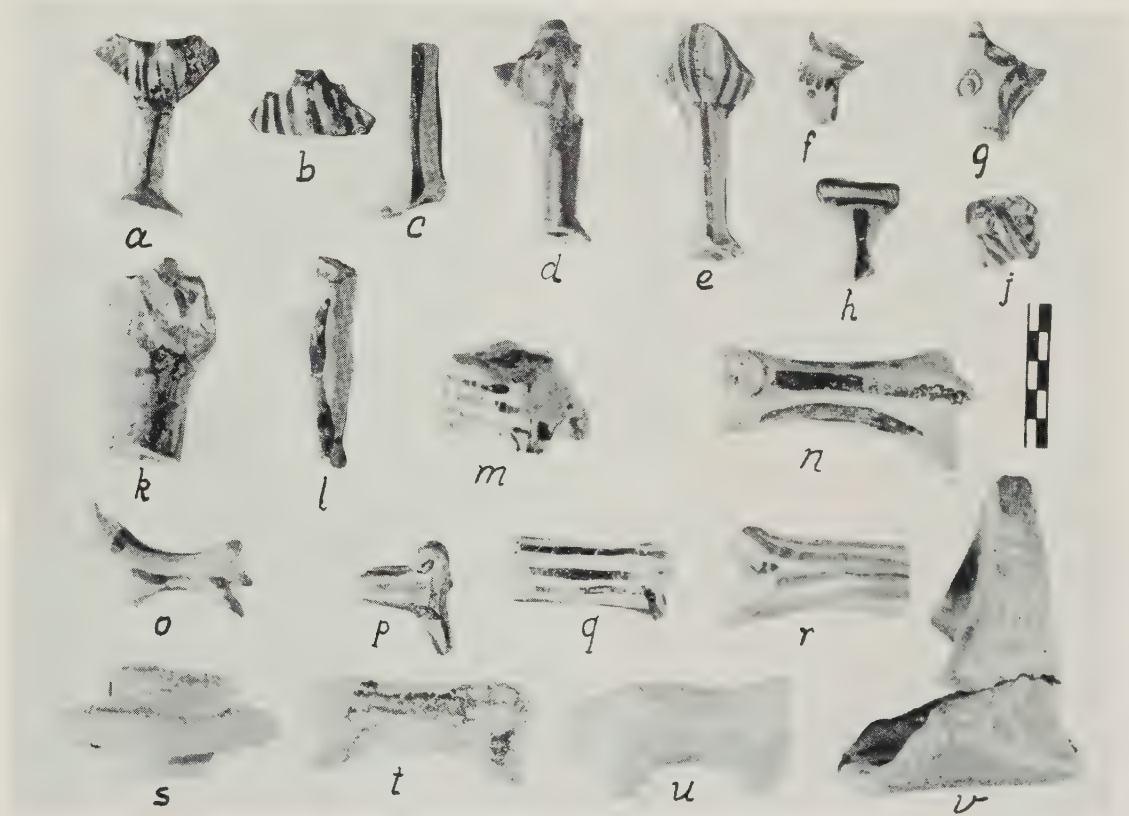


Fig. 89. Terracotta Figurines

in the clay where it may have been attached to a seat or a chariot. It was found at a high level, and it probably belongs to a rather advanced period.¹⁴⁹

Figures of animals are common, but most of them are in a poor state of preservation. They are mostly long, cylindrical bodies, crudely modeled, and decorated with painted lines. One piece of slightly different shape (Fig. 89 *u*) is unpainted. In most cases it is impossible to determine what kind of animal these crude figures are intended to represent, but one small specimen (Fig. 89 *o*) with long horns is certainly an ox, and another piece with curled up tail (Fig. 89 *p*) is probably part of a dog.

¹⁴⁹ In the shape of legs and feet it resembles some seated figures of the Geometric period (cf. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 52, fig. 35, X 18 and X 19), but the decoration shows that it is earlier.

Few other recognizable objects of terracotta were discovered. One piece (Fig. 89 *m*) is part of a throne decorated with a rudimentary meander pattern at the edge. On the top of the seat is a break where a figure was attached. It was found in contaminated fill, and its decoration seems to be post-Mycenaean. An interesting fragment (Fig. 89 *v*) is from the prow of a boat. It is made of a dark red clay, highly micaceous,

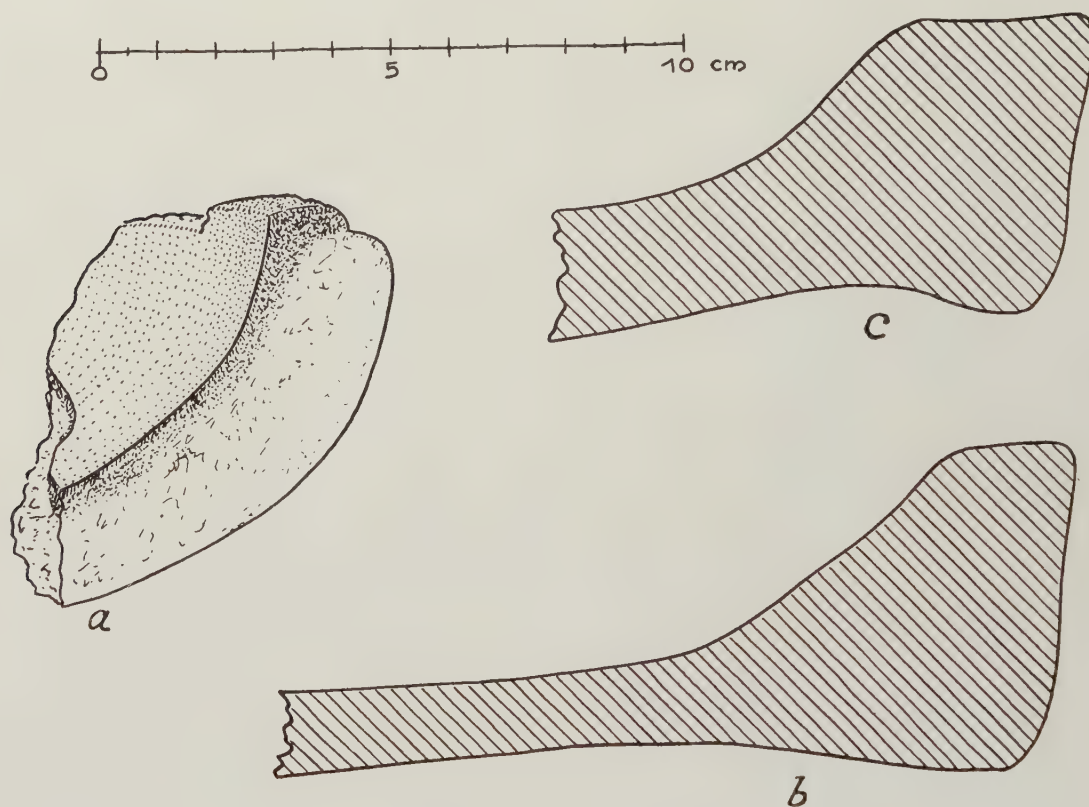


Fig. 90. Fragments of Terracotta Mould and Tiles

and on the dark ground is applied a decoration in a cream-colored dull paint. The designs consist of horizontal and wavy lines, short dependent cross lines, etc. The two adjoining pieces were found at a depth of *ca.* 7 m. (+ 126.15 m.) before the completely undisturbed Mycenaean fill had been reached. A half terracotta wheel (Fig. 89 *s*), 0.075 m. in diameter, with perforated hub, found at about the same depth, is probably from a toy car.

A fragment of a mould (Figs. 90 *a* and 91 *a*), found at a depth of 10 m. in undisturbed Mycenaean fill, seems to have been made for a metal bowl. The thickness of the fabric is 0.02-0.025 m. The inside is burned black and coated with a vitreous substance, resulting from the superheating of the clay when the metal was poured.

Part of the upper edge is preserved. The fragment resembles the moulds for casting bronze statues, recently found in the vicinity of the Theseion.¹⁵⁰

Two fragments of tiles (Figs. 90 and 91 *b, c*), resembling roof tiles of classical times, came from near the bottom of the underground passage where no objects of post-Mycenaean date were found. They are made of coarse clay, containing traces



Fig. 91. Fragments of Terracotta Mould and Tiles

of the straw used for binding material. On one fragment (Figs. 90 *b* and 91 *b*) the raised edge was added as a separate piece, and deep grooves were sunk in the surface underneath to fasten the added edge securely to the flat top of the tile. Since only two pieces were found it must remain uncertain whether these were used as roof tiles or served some other purpose, but their close similarity to tiles of later date is significant. They are rather thin, only 0.015-0.022 m., but at the outer edge they measure 0.05 and 0.055 m. respectively.

¹⁵⁰ Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 82 f., and fig. 43; Shear, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 344, fig. 8.

Among the terracotta objects are two small whorls (Fig. 92 *d, e*), shaped like a truncated cone and perforated in the center. These are of the same shape as the stone whorls described below. One flat whorl (Fig. 92 *c*) seems to have been shaped from



Fig. 92. Whorls and Weights of Terracotta and Stone

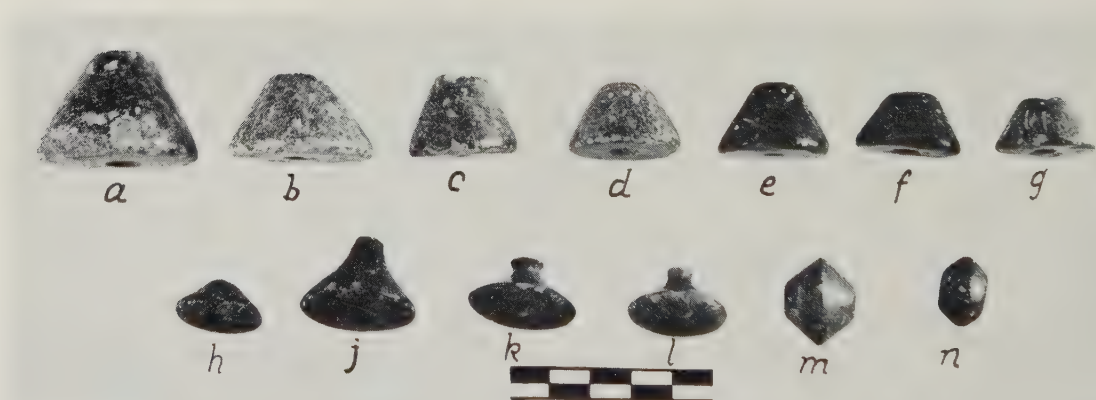


Fig. 93. Whorls and Buttons of Stone

the sherd of a coarse vase or pithos. The two larger objects in Figure 92 *a* and *b* are probably weights of some kind. They are convex on both sides and also pierced in the center. A flat piece of terracotta (Fig. 92 *f*), perforated at the top and widening toward the bottom, was probably also a weight of the same shape as the stone weight

seen in Figure 92 *g*. The latter is made of a red flaky stone. Its top, which was probably perforated, is broken away. Its thickness at the bottom is less than half its width, and it tapers on all sides toward the top.

The objects in Figure 93 are made of steatite of a dark gray, grayish brown, or greenish color. There are three distinct shapes: the truncated cone (Fig. 93 *a-g*), the flat cone with shank (Fig. 93 *h-l*), and the double cone (Fig. 93 *m, n*). All are perforated in the center. Whether or not they all served the same purpose may be questioned.¹⁵¹ The smaller ones with shank are so light that they can hardly have been used as whorls, and it seems equally unlikely that the larger cone-shaped examples are all buttons.

Numerous fragments of small stone mills and stone mortars were found at all depths. The large mortar with three feet and open spout (Fig. 94) was found near the bottom of the shaft. A fragment of another mortar (Fig. 95 *a*) has a low base ring. A more common variety is the elongated form (Fig. 95 *b*) with or without spout at one end. All these are made of trachyte, a gray volcanic stone, used throughout antiquity for similar implements. It was probably imported from Methana where it is still quarried.

Grind stones and pounders of various shapes and sizes were also found in large numbers. Some of these, which are made of the same kind of stone as that used for the mortars, are conical (Figs. 94 and 96 *b* and *c*). More commonly, unwrought stones were used, distinguishable from common pebbles by the wearing at the edges caused by rubbing and pounding. The variety of stone most frequently in use is a hard black stone of the feldspar family (Fig. 96 *j, k*), but white marble (Fig. 96 *h*) and chalcedony occur. The elongated implement in Figure 96 *e* was probably used as a pestle, although its shape differs from that of the more common type. The fine pestle in Figure 96 *a* is probably of earlier date. It is made of limestone breccia of a bluish-gray and white color. The shape is common in early Helladic contexts.¹⁵² The stone implements also included some small pieces of obsidian (Fig. 96 *d*) and a large core (Fig. 96 *f*) from which obsidian blades had been flaked off.

A fragment of a sword-pommel (Fig. 97) of fine-grained white marble came from a depth of 10 m. It had an outer diameter of 0.066 m. On the reverse is a hollow shank and a small pinhole for fastening the pommel to the sword hilt.¹⁵³

A half sword-pommel of ivory¹⁵⁴ (Fig. 98 *a-c*), with a total diameter of *ca.*

¹⁵¹ A discussion of the various shapes and their development is given by Persson, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles d'Asine*, 1922-24, pp. 84 f., pl. XXXVI; and *Asine*, pp. 375 f., fig. 246; Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, pp. 312 ff.

¹⁵² See Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 198 and pl. XXII.

¹⁵³ For the shape cf. Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, pp. 139 f., no. 778.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 139, no. 776 and p. 140, fig. 57; Valmin, *op. cit.*, p. 361; Persson, *Dendra*, p. 35, and pls. XX-XXII.

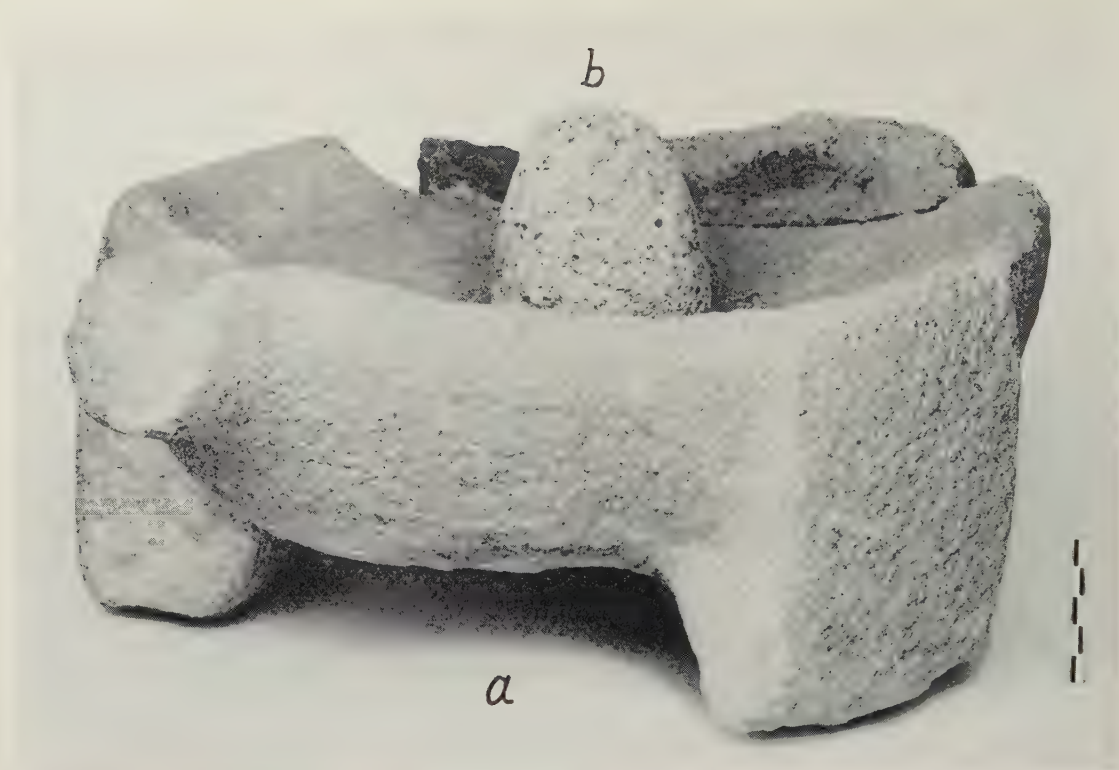


Fig. 94. Mortar and Pestle of Trachyte



Fig. 95. Fragments of Grinding Implements

0.084 m., was found at a depth of *ca.* 20 m. (+ 113.15 m.). It is shaped much like the preceding, but is somewhat flatter, and there is no hollow for the insertion of the tang. The small pinhole for fastening the pommel to the hilt is preserved. The pommel is cut through the middle and the edge has been shaved off and beveled.



Fig. 96. Pestles and Other Implements of Stone

A small wheel with six spokes (Fig. 98 *d*), carved from one piece of bone, came from a depth of 4.50 m. (+ 128.65 m.). Its outer diameter measures 0.034 m. Similar wheels of bone, bronze or lead from the excavations on the Acropolis at Mycenae are exhibited in the National Museum in Athens,¹⁵⁵ and six gold wheels of similar shape but without the pierced hub were found in the third shaft grave.¹⁵⁶ One of the bronze

¹⁵⁵ Case 65, Nos. 2570, 2600; Case 66, Nos. 1409, 1412, 1413. Four of these are illustrated in Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, p. 74, no. 120.

¹⁵⁶ Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, p. 50, no. 38, and pl. XX.

wheels from Mycenae (No. 1409) has a rectangular addition added to the rim, showing that it cannot have been used as the wheel of a small toy car.

It is highly probable that these wheels are votive objects with symbolic significance. This is suggested by the curious vase from a tomb at Mycenae, on which a dancing figure holds in either hand a large wheel on which the hubs are clearly indicated.¹⁵⁷ Wheels of this type as well as rosettes have been interpreted by Sir Arthur Evans and others as symbols of the sun,¹⁵⁸ but this interpretation has been disputed by Martin P. Nilsson,¹⁵⁹ who sees in similar designs nothing more than simple decorative motives. It is obvious that the various circular, wheel-like designs on pottery, occurring frequently in connection with other purely decorative patterns, cannot all be religious symbols, but it is equally obvious that metal and bone objects like those described above, which were made in imitation of chariot wheels, cannot have been intended merely for decoration.

A seal stone (Fig. 99 *a*), roughly circular, of black steatite, came from near the east entrance to the passage at a depth of *ca.* 8 m. (+ 125.15 m.). The back is conical and the front slightly convex and somewhat uneven. In the center is the figure of a quadruped to right with the head turned back. The shape of head and neck and the general pose of the body seem to indicate that the figure is intended to represent a horse. In front is a branch which seems to be held in a hand extended from the chest of the animal. A curved line underneath the horse is probably an indication of natural ground. At the upper left are two double axes. The engraving is crude and uncertain. The whole figure is rendered with single lines in the manner of Geometric art.¹⁶⁰ Above the rear of the horse the stone seems to have split off accidentally.

The curved tube in Figure 99 *b* is of very thin gold leaf,¹⁶¹ found at a depth of 21 m. (+ 112.15 m.). It is closed at one end and open at the other, and it tapers slightly toward the closed end.

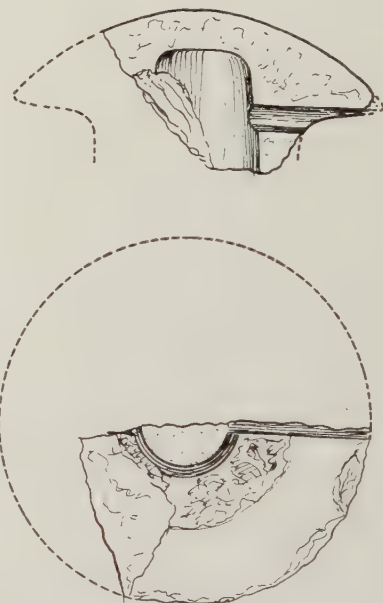


Fig. 97. Fragment of Marble Sword-Pommel

¹⁵⁷ Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pp. 30, 176 f., pls. XVIII, XIX, 5.

¹⁵⁸ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 514; Roes, *R. Arch.*, XII, 1938, pp. 157 ff.; Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 108 f.

¹⁵⁹ *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 358 ff.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Walters, *Br. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, pls. IV-V, especially nos. 189 and 211. The palm branch occurs frequently on Geometric seals; cf. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pl. XX a; Young, *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 232, fig. 10.

¹⁶¹ Total length, *ca.* 0.055 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.003 m.

Large quantities of lead were found in the passage at all depths, especially near the bottom. One large piece (A. M. 299), flat on top and convex on the bottom, measures *ca.* 0.18 m. in diameter and *ca.* 0.03 m. in thickness at the center, and has

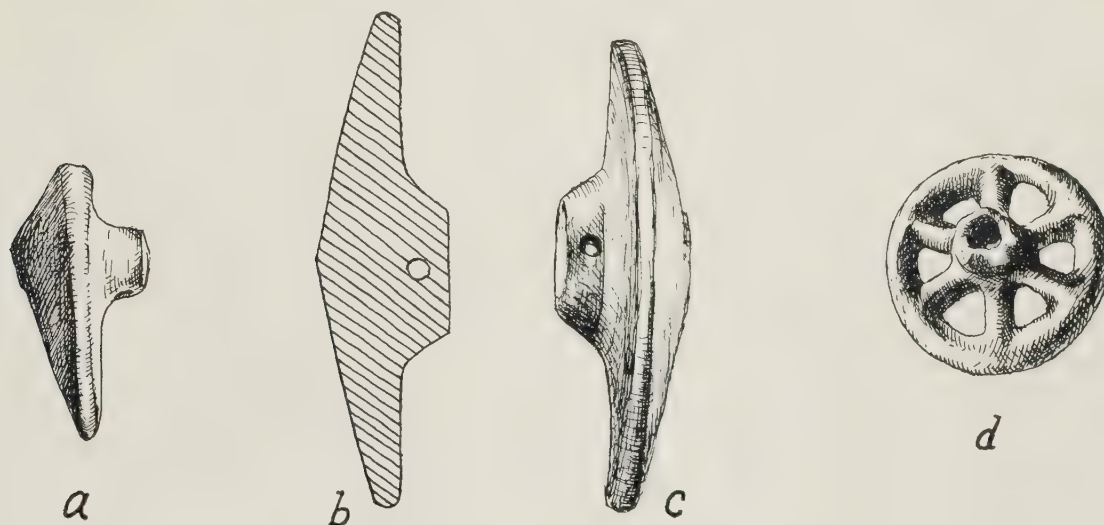


Fig. 98. Sword-Pommel of Ivory, and Small Wheel of Bone



Fig. 99. Seal Stone of Steatite, and Gold Tube

a weight of 4.64 kg.¹⁶² The other pieces are thin lead sheathings of large size, and crumpled up so as to be quite shapeless. The largest piece (A. M. 350, Fig. 100) weighs exactly 12 kg. It is hardly more than paper thick, except at the edge where it

¹⁶² A piece of pig lead, 4.10 kg. in weight and approximately rectangular in shape, was found in 1932 among the ruins of a Mycenaean house on the northeast slope, just below the Acropolis wall, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 352.

has a thickness of *ca.* 0.004 m. Three smaller pieces of the same kind (A. M. 325, 327, 351) were found in the underground passage, and one very large piece in poor condition was discovered in 1931 close to the Mycenaean stairway on the northeast slope. These thin lead sheets must have been used as covers for some vessels of perishable material. The original form cannot be determined from the shapeless mass of metal that remains.

The large amount of lead from these Mycenaean deposits in Athens is very striking, the more so as lead has not been found in such large quantities at other Mycenaean sites. Pieces of wire and some other small objects of lead have been discovered in Mycenaean tombs, and some crumpled pieces of lead sheets were found at Mycenae,¹⁶³ but nowhere have such large quantities come to light as in Athens. It is likely that the mines at Laurion, which are rich in lead, were worked already in the Mycenaean period, and Athens may well have owed its early prominence very largely to its possession of these mines. The Mycenaean settlement at Thorikos, close to the Laurion mines, was probably a mining town, controlled by the Lords of Athens.

Bones of animals were found in large numbers, but these still await study and identification. Of human skeletal remains two recognizable pieces came to light,¹⁶⁴ part of a child's skull at a depth of 9.50 m. (+ 123.65 m.), and a femur, probably of a woman, near the bottom of the fountain. These are, however, isolated pieces which may have been mixed accidentally with the fill.

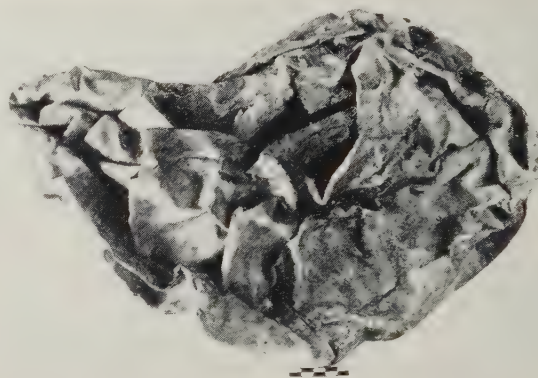


Fig. 100. Crumpled Lead Sheathing

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the description of the pottery the main characteristics have been pointed out, with special emphasis on the features derived from the pottery of preceding periods as distinguished from new patterns, and the relation of our material to the pottery from other sites has been briefly discussed. It remains to summarize these facts, to point out their bearing upon the general questions of chronology, and to discover, if possible, the historical changes reflected in the material remains.

The bulk of the pottery from the fill of the passage belongs to a late phase of

¹⁶³ Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-23, pp. 23, 56.

¹⁶⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Lawrence Angel for examining these bones.

Mycenaean ware, the period generally designated as L. H. III C. The comparatively few sherds of earlier date which were mixed with the later pottery in no way affect the chronology of the stairway and the fountain. A small number of fragments found in the rubble foundations of the stairway, and the pottery demonstrably used before the destruction of the fountain, show beyond a doubt that the fountain and the stairway leading to it were constructed in the late Mycenaean period. The similarity between this pottery and that thrown in with the fill after the stairway collapsed is so close, that it becomes necessary to ascribe a comparatively brief period of use to the fountain.

On the other hand, the changes in shapes and decoration of the pottery at this time were probably very gradual. It was a period of rather aimless adherence to tradition. Changes did take place, but these were introduced more by accident than by new inventions or by the conscious creation of new artistic principles. It was above all a period of stagnation, in which the craftsmen and decorators followed existing patterns because that was the simplest thing to do. But with such a tendency also followed a simplification and deterioration of the artistic elements handed down from earlier times. The principles underlying the existing motives were gradually forgotten, with the result that certain details came to be habitually omitted, and the main designs became so inaccurately rendered that the original intentions were no longer apparent. The result of this tendency was a movement away from the naturalistic toward a geometric conception of existing designs. The artist and decorator became more interested in combinations of simple lines and abstractions than in more elaborate designs based on the objective rendering of material things. But simple lines and geometric patterns had already played an important role in the decoration of earlier Mycenaean pottery, where this kind of decoration had been employed chiefly with a view toward its tectonic function. The handles, the rim, the base, and the shoulder of the vases were emphasized by painted lines and broad bands; and the zone, or zones devoted to more elaborate decoration were similarly framed and set off from the rest of the vessel. With the simplification and gradual elimination of purely decorative designs, the tectonic character of the decoration became emphasized, and this in turn led to a gradual change in the shapes of the vessels. In this way we may account for the development of a high conical foot on vessels which originally had a low base, as, for example, the skyphos and the one-handled cup. A similar process led in the opposite direction to the complete disappearance of the base on other shapes which can be traced back to the same prototypes, such as the cup with off-set rim and certain forms of small skyphoi.

These tendencies are already apparent in the later forms of Mycenaean skyphoi like those seen in Figure 49. On one of these (Fig. 49 *b*), the base is left in the natural color of the clay, and a double reserved band sets off the lower part from the sides of the vessel. On skyphoi like that in Figure 49 *a*, the converse of this process

is in evidence, but the result is the same. The base is here painted,¹⁶⁵ whereas the body is left in the color of the clay with painted lines serving the same purpose as the reserved lines in other types of vases. On skyphoi of the same shape, entirely covered with paint within and without (Fig. 49 c), the base was made less prominent and consequently became gradually lower until it was omitted altogether. The same is true of certain examples on which both the base and the body are unglazed on the outside except for a band at the lip.

A similar development can be traced in the formation of the off-set rim and of the ornate handle with plastic decorations. As a result of these changes many of the shapes went out of use entirely, but before this happened they underwent a gradual deterioration. The best example is the stirrup vase. In the Submycenaean examples of the shape the handles and the spout are disproportionately large, giving the vase a very ugly appearance, and before the introduction of the Protogeometric style the stirrup vase had ceased to be produced altogether.

In the earlier stages there are several exceptions to the prevailing rule in this development, but the general trend is unmistakable. The changes in shape grow out of the gradual deterioration of the ornamental designs. This explains the fact, which is often pointed out, that the shapes in the Submycenaean period underwent a more gradual change than the decoration.

The result of the process described above is the development of the Protogeometric style, which is not, like the Submycenaean, a late phase of the Mycenaean pottery,¹⁶⁶ but a new style of ceramic art. Although it came into being as a result of processes set in motion at an earlier date, and although every element of Protogeometric decoration is present in an embryonic form in late Mycenaean art, the artistic conception expressed in the pottery of the new style differs as widely from that of the Mycenaean period as Geometric art differs from the art of the seventh and sixth centuries.

The preference for linear, abstract patterns and divisions into panels, which characterizes the pottery decoration of the Iron Age, is frequently pointed out as a reversion to earlier conceptions of art. Actually many of the Geometric elements of decoration are found in similar forms on the pottery of the early and middle Bronze Age, but we are hardly justified in assuming that the relation is anything but accidental. It would be as easy to find similar principles of decoration among the pottery of totally unrelated people in distant parts of the world. The recurrent

¹⁶⁵ The base of the skyphos in Figure 49 a is a restoration in plaster, but numerous bases of similar vessels are preserved, usually with the base painted if the body is in the color of the clay, and *vice versa*.

¹⁶⁶ The proposal made by Heurtley (*Q.D.A.P.*, V, 1936, p. 90, note 1) to call Protogeometric L. H. V seems to me entirely wrong for reasons explained above, whereas the designation L. H. IV for the so-called Granary Class is fully justified. The system of triple divisions, in which scholars delight, has no justification except on psychological grounds.

patterns may denote a spiritual and artistic relationship which has nothing to do with ethnology or tradition. It has even been stated that the simple abstractions expressed by the designs on the Protogeometric pottery and foreshadowed in the style of decoration of the Early and Middle Helladic periods, are more characteristic of the truly Greek spirit than, for example, the complicated and highly decorative ornaments of the best pottery of the Mycenaean age.¹⁶⁷ The statement is not illuminating, and the reasons adduced to prove it are purely subjective. Until we can trace with some kind of certainty the cultural affinities of these early inhabitants in the material remains preserved in countries outside of Greece, it is futile to speak of Greek and non-Greek elements in the decorative patterns of the art produced by these people on Greek soil. But there is great fascination in trying to analyse Greek art and the Greek view of life and to decide where and when each ingredient originated, which is the most important and most truly Greek element, or to what extent and where in particular this element is extant today.

The glazed ware from the underground passage falls into five categories differentiated through more or less distinct styles of decoration. The first and most important of these, which might be termed the "traditional style," is based on the patterns in vogue during the preceding period. To it belongs most of the patterned ware. It differs from the earlier pottery chiefly in its preference for vertical divisions,¹⁶⁸ from which it has been called the panel style of decoration. It is further characterized by the simplification of earlier motives and by a predominance of purely abstract elements of decoration, as compared with the naturalistic basis underlying much of the decoration of earlier Mycenaean ware. Some of the designs are new, such as the opposing loops and half-circles, and zigzags between straight lines; while others, like the broken-rope pattern, and the checkerboard pattern, though found on earlier pottery, are far more common on the late ware. Along with these new and less usual designs the common stock in trade of the earlier potters, such as the spirals, the double axe, net patterns, and naturalistic motives continue to be used, but some of them have undergone important changes. The spiral is often found with some filling-ornament like the cross and the hour-glass, and not infrequently it is fringed with rows of dots. The floral designs, such as the papyrus flower and the lily, have become stylized beyond recognition, and the same is true of the patterns whose origin can be traced back to marine motives. Combinations of the old naturalistic designs with simple geometric patterns give rise to new motives, most of which are too bizarre to have any lasting effect on ceramic art, whereas others, continually altered through further stylization, live on in some form or another into the Geometric period.

¹⁶⁷ Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff.

¹⁶⁸ The vertical divisions occur on certain shapes of early Mycenaean pottery, especially on cups with one handle (see Blegen, *Prosymna*, II, p. 164, fig. 655; p. 166, fig. 661; Mylonas, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, A', p. 116, fig. 94).

Two peculiar features of the traditional style deserve special notice, the use of a white or cream-colored paint on a black ground, and the appearance of the reserved technique. The former of these may be traced back to the first period of Mycenaean pottery (L. H. I), in which white is used for details as a subsidiary color; but the rendering of the whole design in white is a late invention.¹⁶⁹ The reserved technique, in which the background is painted in, so as to make the patterns stand out in the color of the clay, is likewise of a late origin. Whether or no there is any direct relation between the simultaneous appearance of these two techniques, it is an interesting fact that the two reappear together at the end of the sixth century in the early period of red-figured pottery.

Of less importance for its future effect, though perhaps more immediately successful, is the so-called "close style" of decoration. The term is used rather loosely, but in its most distinct form it comprises a small class of vases, usually well made and decorated with meticulous care, the characteristic feature of which is the use of various filling-ornaments to cover the whole ground between the larger designs. Many of the latter are borrowed from the traditional style, but birds and marine animals occur frequently. Very few fragments of genuine close style were found in our excavation. These are of thin fabric, of a greenish buff clay, quite distinct from the more common Attic ware of the late Mycenaean period. A related type of pottery, probably produced locally in imitation of the close style, is represented by a handful of sherds, but it is obvious that the close style was comparatively rare in Athens during the period to which the pottery from the underground passage belongs.

A third style, more common and often combined with the traditional style or with the close style or with both, is characterized by broad painted bands alternating with fine parallel lines in dilute paint or by horizontal rows of zigzags between painted lines. This type of decoration, which is derived from the Tell el Amarna style, is so frequently combined with the close style that the distinction between the two is rarely drawn. It occurs frequently, however, by itself without the tell-tale filling-ornaments of the close style. It is particularly common on stirrup vases, sometimes covering the whole vessel, but more often it is applied only on the body while the top is decorated with designs in the traditional style.

A figured style of decoration, rare among the pottery from the underground passage, is one of the new features of the Late Mycenaean pottery. Birds and fishes and a kind of quadruped, often showing some resemblance to the horse, are among the most common representations of this style. Usually the legs of the animals extend below the horizontal lines framing the figured zone. This careless disregard for the proper spacing of the figures seems to indicate that the potters were unfamiliar with

¹⁶⁹ The light on dark decoration of Early and Middle Helladic times belongs to the same category, but there can hardly be any question of a direct connection.

figured decoration.¹⁷⁰ Though more common in other localities, e. g. in the Argolis, and more especially in Rhodes and Cyprus, the figured style at this time never advanced beyond the experimental stage. Its origin is probably to be traced to wall paintings¹⁷¹ rather than to the figured pottery of the Middle Helladic period. It disappears completely in the Submycenaean period, and figured decoration occurs but rarely again before the developed Geometric style comes into existence. It belongs to the Indian summer of Mycenaean art, a brief revival of artistic power exerting itself before the final period of decay set in which marks the end of the late Bronze Age. The warrior vase from Mycenae, the fragments of a krater decorated with a chariot scene from Tiryns,¹⁷² and above all the frescoes from the latest palace at Tiryns are the best products of decorative art preserved from this period.

The least interesting style of decoration, from the artistic point of view, is represented by the so-called Granary Class of pottery. This is characterized chiefly by the omission of decorative motives and a preference for simple lines and broad stripes alternating with reserved bands. In the earliest phase of this style the narrow bands are painted, and the main body of the vase is in the color of the clay. The reverse of this process led to the reserved technique, characteristic of the later phase. A third variety of this style of decoration consists in completely covering the surface with a dark brown or black paint, which marks the final stage in the elimination of ornamental designs. In the subsequent period, the Submycenaean, which is represented by only a few small sherds from our excavation, the paucity of decorative patterns is the most characteristic feature. Wavy lines, zigzags, and concentric half-circles, and a few other simple patterns remain in use, and occasionally some degenerate naturalistic motives occur, and of these the half-circles in particular are handed down to the succeeding age and become the characteristic decoration on the pottery of the early Iron Age.

These five styles of decoration existed side by side for a time, but gradually the patterned type of decoration gave way to the plain linear divisions and alternations of painted and reserved bands characterizing the Granary Class.

It is not necessary to review here the evidence on which the chronology of the late Mycenaean period is based, nor did any imported objects come to light in our excavation that could be of use in determining the date of the pottery. The evidence has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere, a recent summary of which appears in the article by Mackeprang,¹⁷³ repeatedly referred to in the preceding pages. To the three periods of the Late Helladic III style he assigns the approximate dates 1400, 1300, 1200 respectively, and within the framework of this simple chronological scheme he

¹⁷⁰ It should be pointed out, however, that even in the best period of black-figured ware, the extremities of the figures are often allowed to run over into the border.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II, pp. 153 ff.

¹⁷² Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XIV.

¹⁷³ *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 535-559.

has arranged the known building periods of Tiryns and Mycenae. Without entering into a discussion of the merits of this study and the methods employed, we may accept the dates arrived at by Mackeprang, which agree in the main with the conclusions reached by other scholars.

From the foregoing description of the pottery it is evident that the great bulk of it belongs to Mackeprang's third group (L. H. III C), although it is exceedingly difficult in individual cases to determine whether a particular sherd or design should be grouped with the second or the third. We can hardly go far wrong—provided the chronological scheme is correct—in assuming that the stairway was built in the second half of the thirteenth century before Christ. If we allow a quarter of a century for the existence of the fountain, we arrive at approximately the turn of the century for its destruction. At the time when the stairway collapsed and the passage became used as a dumping place, the style of decoration characterizing the third period was in common use and pottery of the Granary Class was just coming into vogue. The shaft continued to fill up at a fast rate until the level of the east cave had been reached. The pottery from that level is mixed with sherds of later periods, and it seems likely that the use of the upper two flights as a means of communication with the North Slope put a stop to the further filling up of the cleft. Whether the east cave was accessible from below at the time when the fountain was functioning cannot be determined with certainty, but even if such was the case it can hardly have been the intention of the builders to leave it open at a time of siege. It is important to bear in mind that the fountain was no natural spring but in reality a well dug in the narrow passage between the two faces of the cleft, and the only reason for its location at this place¹⁷⁴ was to make it inaccessible to a besieging force.

The latest sherds of pottery found in sufficiently large numbers to be important in this connection belong to the Granary Class, which probably continued in use until the middle of the twelfth century, or possibly even later. The pottery of this type, most of which came from the higher levels, is particularly abundant, and it seems unlikely that this was thrown into the passage while the upper two flights of steps were being used. On the other hand, the fragments of Submycenaean pottery¹⁷⁵ and of later ware are so few that they might have been dropped accidentally or washed down at any time even while the upper part of the stairway was in use.

¹⁷⁴ That water can be reached at a comparatively small depth anywhere on the slopes is shown by the numerous wells of classical date found in the same vicinity, ranging in depth between 15 and 27 m. (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 188, 212; *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 445 f.).

¹⁷⁵ The Submycenaean style of pottery, of which the vases from the Salamis graves are the best known examples, developed from the Granary Class and other late Mycenaean ware, but is of a definitely later date, as is shown by the pottery from graves in the Kerameikos. Skeat, *The Dorians in Archaeology*, p. 25, makes the error of assigning the Salamis vases to the same period as the Granary Class. On the other hand, the close style continued in a debased form into the Submycenaean period (cf. Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 77).

The conclusions which we are justified in drawing from these observations may be summed up as follows: The construction of the fountain took place before the end of the thirteenth century, and after a short period of use, about the turn of the century, the stairway collapsed and the chasm began to fill up with débris thrown down from the Acropolis. This continued until the middle of the twelfth century, when, for some reason, the east cave was opened from below and the upper two flights of the stairway were restored to be used as a means of direct communication between the Acropolis and the North Slope.

It has already been pointed out that the construction of the fountain was in all probability part of a general program of defence. Other measures of the same undertaking have left their traces on the Acropolis. In a recent investigation undertaken in connection with his study of the Parthenon, Professor W. Kolbe had occasion to examine the Cyclopean wall at various points to the south and east of the Parthenon Terrace.¹⁷⁶ Among the sherds which he found in the fill of the wall were several fragments of unpainted kylikes, skyphoi, etc., of the same nature as that of the pottery from the fill of the passage and unquestionably belonging to the same late date.¹⁷⁷ A more extensive study might reveal the existence of earlier parts of the fortification, but it is of the utmost importance for the chronology of the period that parts of the Cyclopean wall appear to have been constructed at approximately the same time as the fountain.

The excavations on the northeast slope, along the stairway leading to the postern gate, led to similar chronological conclusions.¹⁷⁸ Here we found the approach to the gate buried beneath an undisturbed deposit of late Mycenaean date and a complex of small houses built over the whole area, some of them constructed directly over the earlier ascent. This can only mean that the postern gate was blocked up and the rear entrance abandoned at some time before the houses were built.¹⁷⁹ The gate does not belong to the strong Cyclopean fortress but to an earlier wall of more modest dimensions and built in a less imposing manner. It may have been closed up some time before the construction of the Cyclopean wall, as Holland concluded, but more likely it was closed while the wall was under construction as a part of the same program of defence.

¹⁷⁶ I am greatly indebted to Prof. Kolbe for the privilege of examining the sherds from his investigation, and for his permission to refer to them as evidence for the date of the wall.

¹⁷⁷ The Mycenaean sherds found by Kolbe were fairly numerous, but in the undisturbed fill of the wall no sherds later than Mycenaean were found. This would seem to dispose of the strange theory propounded by Carpenter "that the Pelargikon is merely the first classical girdle-wall to the Acropolis and hence belongs to the late seventh or early sixth century" (*Corinth*, III, ii, *The Defences of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, p. 34, note 1). His theory is based on a superficial resemblance of the Acropolis wall to certain parts of the wall on Acrocorinth conjecturally dated by him to that period.

¹⁷⁸ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 350-372.

¹⁷⁹ The earlier entrance, blocked with a wall of later date, was discovered by Holland, *A.J.A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 124 ff.

The squatters who took up their abodes under the very shadows of the Acropolis wall did not long enjoy the use of their modest shelters. They were suddenly forced by some threatening danger to abandon their dwellings, leaving their household gear to be buried under the débris from their ruined homes. There is no indication that the houses were burned, but the danger to the lives of the inhabitants must have been very imminent and sudden. By that time the Acropolis wall had probably been finished and could afford protection to these people and to the inhabitants of the whole community. We know from the pottery found on the floors of the houses the approximate time at which these events took place. The better preserved vases—a few were found quite intact—are of the same kind as the bulk of the pottery from the underground passage. The shapes of the vases from the two excavations are nearly the same with one important difference. The latest of the vases from the fill of the fountain are conspicuously absent among the pottery from the houses. Skyphoi decorated in the late traditional style or with plain horizontal bands were common, but of the later type of skyphoi with reserved bands and of those entirely covered with paint no examples came to light on the northeast slope. Two other shapes, both very late, were also lacking: the small cup with one horizontal handle (Shape 8), and the cup with off-set rim and two handles (Shape 9). An earlier, unglazed example of the second of these, but none of the fully developed examples of the type, came from the débris of the houses. Numerous fragments of these two shapes and of the late types of skyphoi were found near the top in the fill of the fountain, but only a few came from the lower levels. From this fact and from their total absence among the pottery from the houses it is safe to conclude that these shapes did not come into common use until some time after the destruction of the fountain.¹⁸⁰

So far as it is possible to judge from the pottery discovered in the abandoned houses on the northeast slope and in the fill of the underground passage, and, furthermore, from the sherds found by Professor Kolbe in the interior stone packing of the Cyclopean wall, the final construction of the Mycenaean fortification on the Acropolis is to be dated in the second half of the thirteenth century. The closing of the postern gate at that time or shortly before, the ingenious and elaborate project designed to provide the citadel with a safe water supply, and the construction of a strong fortification in the style of Tiryns and Mycenae are all links in the same chain of evidence, showing that the rulers of Athens were at this time preparing to match their strength with some invading foe.

The imposing fortifications of Tiryns and Mycenae, and that of Athens as well, are often pointed to as eloquent manifestations of the political power of the princes in whose reign they were constructed. And justly so. But the display of material greatness which arouses the admiration of the visitor to these ruins also testifies to

¹⁸⁰ This is also indicated by their absence from the tombs at the Argive Heraion, the latest of which antedate the appearance of the Granary Class of pottery, Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 423.

the incipient decay of the civilization whose products they are. For centuries the lords of Achaia, in the Homeric sense, whether by conquest or by peaceful development of their material resources had been adding wealth to their realms, and this had enabled them to make rapid advance in cultural pursuits and to attain an unprecedented degree of material comfort. But they had reached the zenith of their attainments, and their chief concern for the future was to keep and protect what they already had. They no longer depended on their armies to keep the hostile forces at a safe distance from their cities, but chose the alternative of making their cities strong enough and of stocking them with the necessary provisions for a siege. In order to do this they had to enlarge the fortified area so as to make room for the whole population and to include within it the approach to a water supply. Both Tiryns and Mycenae extended the circuit of their citadels, and both constructed well protected descents to the city fountains. The galleries at Tiryns and the Granary at Mycenae, which belong to the last building period before the final collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, were probably constructed for the purpose of storing provisions against an imminent siege. Athens, too, took similar precautions for the future, but owing to the very success of these measures, the Athenian Acropolis escaped the destruction to which the citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns, paradoxically, owe their better state of preservation.

We do not know the extent of the Athenian Acropolis at that time, but we may plausibly conjecture that a new addition was then made on the western slope at the same time as the upper wall was rebuilt. This later extension came to be called the Pelargikon or Pelasgikon, and the name was sometimes extended to include the whole Cyclopean wall round the Acropolis. The ancients derived the name from the Pelasgian engineers and stone masons who were called in from the outside to have charge of the constructions. These may have been the builders who had already gained fame from their works at Mycenae or Tiryns or on the island fortress in the Copaic lake.

The event which caused the inhabitants on the northeast slope to abandon their homes and take refuge on the Acropolis took place, according to our present system of dating, toward the end of the thirteenth century before Christ. It is tempting to connect this with the invasion from the north which is generally known as the Dorian invasion, but the traditional date of this event is about a hundred years later. Moreover, according to the tradition recorded by Thucydides the Dorians did not attack Attica but proceeded to more worthwhile conquests in the Peloponnesos. In another account related by Pausanias, Kodros, the last king of Athens, was slain in battle against the Peloponnesians near the Ilissos,¹⁸¹ and this event took place, according to ancient tradition, in the early part of the twelfth century.¹⁸²

The discrepancy in time between the dates handed down for the invasion and the archaeological evidence for a sudden shifting of the population in Athens is not conclusive proof that the two events are unrelated. It is obvious that the so-called Dorian

¹⁸¹ Pausanias I, xix, 6.

¹⁸² See Scherling, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.E.*, s. v. Kodros.

invasion was no organized military campaign on a vast scale but rather a series of barbarian incursions, which continued sporadically for decades to harass the population of Greece until the invaders had gained possession of a large part of the country. In the meantime they had come into close contact with the superior culture of the Achaeans, with whom they became amalgamated. *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*.

Herodotos¹⁸³ relates that the first attempted invasion of the Peloponnesos under Hyllos, son of Herakles, took place a hundred years before the final conquest, and that, as a result of the duel between Hyllos and Echemos, in which the former was slain at the Isthmos, the invaders made a pact that they would not return for three generations.¹⁸⁴ The story was probably invented for the purpose of explaining why so much time elapsed between the first appearance of the Herakleidai and the Dorian conquest of the Argolis. The historical truth to be gleaned from this account seems to be that the unrest caused by the migrations from the north was known to have lasted for about a century. If this interpretation is correct, and if the traditional date of the invasion (1104 B.C.) marks the end of that period, the events indicated by the archaeological finds are in perfect accord with the ancient tradition.

It is a significant fact that several of the Mycenaean sites in the Argolis were destroyed about the same time. The fire at Mycenae, which destroyed the granary and the building close to the Lions Gate, took place probably at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁵ Zygouries seems to have been abandoned just before the Granary Class came into vogue, and the Mycenaean settlement at the Argive Heraion apparently lost its importance about the same time, as is shown by the pottery from the tombs which extends to, but does not include, the Granary Class. At Tiryns, too, there are good reasons to believe that the destruction took place about the same time,¹⁸⁶ but the evidence has been interpreted in different ways with totally conflicting results.¹⁸⁷ Many of the sites—Tiryns, Mycenae, Asine—were rebuilt on a small scale after the destruction, others were left in ruins. Still others like Korakou seem to have survived into the twelfth century and were then abandoned, but all without exception show the effects of the pervading unrest in the steady decline that can be traced both in architecture and ceramic art. No definite limits can be given for this period of destruction, but the available evidence points to the end of the thirteenth century and the first half of the twelfth as the approximate time when all the eastern part of Greece felt the effects of the hostile incursions.

¹⁸³ IX, 26.

¹⁸⁴ An excellent summary of the events connected with the Dorian invasion together with references to the important literature on the subject is found in an article by Franz Miltner in *Klio*, XXVII, 1934, pp. 54 ff.

¹⁸⁵ Heurtley, *Q.D.A.P.*, V, 1936, p. 110; and cf. Wace, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, II, pp. 465 ff.

¹⁸⁶ See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 133.

¹⁸⁷ Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, pp. 2-46; Müller, *Tiryns*, III, pp. 209 ff.; Karo, *Führer durch Tiryns*, pp. 47 f.

It should be emphasized in this connection that the consequences of the invasion were almost wholly destructive.¹⁸⁸ We have been accustomed to look for the introduction of new principles of art, new repertoires of vase shapes and decorative motives, new inventions and customs as the results of foreign invasions. The Dorian invaders have been credited with the introduction of Protogeometric pottery and of the multiple brush indispensable for the painting of concentric circles and similar designs; for the improvements of certain weapons, especially the sword; for the much overrated invention of the safety pin; for beginning to make practical and general use of iron; for the introduction of new types of burial and funeral rites. Actually each one of these innovations can be traced to other sources, too early to have any connection with the coming of the Dorians. In an indirect way they may have been the cause for many of the changes that took place in Greece at the beginning of the Iron Age, but it is incorrect to point to the representatives of an inferior culture as the immediate agents of these new inventions. If the Dorians had been capable by themselves of such marked advance along technical and artistic lines, they would have established a more permanent civilization in their homeland in the north. Their contribution toward the creation of Hellenic culture was far more intangible and less immediate, though none the less real. They furnished the brawn, not the brain, that went into the making of classical Greece.

For the approximate date of the fountain, which must be based chiefly on a study of the pottery from the passage, the relation of this pottery to that found in the graves of the Kerameikos cemetery is of fundamental importance. The earliest of these, dated to the middle of the twelfth century, contained pottery decorated in the Submycenaean style, which is the next step in the development after the Granary Class. A few of the earliest vases from the graves are thus contemporary with the very latest from the underground passage.¹⁸⁹ Some graves of late Mycenaean times, which have come to light in the excavations of the Agora, show that the necropolis of that period was near the Acropolis. We do not know where the settlement of Submycenaean and Protogeometric Athens was located,¹⁹⁰ but it can hardly have been on the Acropolis itself, where very little pottery of these periods has been found. It is a significant fact that the pottery from the fountain extends to, but does not overlap, the period represented by the early graves in the Kerameikos cemetery. Is this an indication that the population had already then begun to move away from the Acropolis and its immediate slopes, and that the area enclosed within its walls was thenceforth devoted chiefly to the uses of religion? Such a change did take place some time before the dawn

¹⁸⁸ Wade-Gery (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, II, p. 525) aptly remarks: "Judged by the material remains, their effect is wholly negative—they destroyed much and brought nothing."

¹⁸⁹ This does not take into account the very limited number of fragments of post-Mycenaean pottery (see above, pp. 401-405).

¹⁹⁰ Traces of a Mycenaean settlement have been found at the Kerameikos (Kraiker and Kübler, *op. cit.*, p. 109), but it is not likely that the main part of the population lived there.

of written history, and it seems probable, for reasons given above, that the change was made as early as the mid-twelfth century.

From the material remains of the late Mycenaean period it is possible to reconstruct some of the main events in the history of the Acropolis at that time, but the subsequent four centuries are veiled in mystery. Our knowledge of that period comes chiefly from graves and from the cults and myths handed down to later times. The actual events leading to the establishment of the various cults are in most cases unknown, and the explanations recorded by classical writers are for the most part inventions of a comparatively late date to account for the origin of the cults.

Numerous cult places are known to have existed on the North Slope in the general vicinity of the Mycenaean fountain. Though later connected in various ways with the established worship of the Olympian deities, many of the cults go back to primitive beliefs and practices, the origin of which is lost in the dim light of the distant past. In classical times the sanctuary of Pandrosos was located on the Acropolis not very far from the descent into the Mycenaean fountain. Aglauros, another of the three daughters of Kekrops, was worshiped on the slope below, and it is likely that Herse shared in the same cult. The rites connected with these cult places gave rise to the story of the mysterious chest and the tragic end of the two disobedient sisters who hurled themselves over the Acropolis wall. A dramatization of this story took place once a year at the Arrephoria, when two young girls in the service of Athena performed a mysterious act which led them to the precinct of Aphrodite and back to the Acropolis. The subterranean passage, through which they had to reach the sanctuary on the northeast slope, is none other than the cleft in the rock which originally served as descent to the only water supply within direct reach of the Acropolis.

The three daughters of Kekrops were originally nymphs, as their names imply, but later they came to be joined to the cult of Athena. The underground passage with its dark and tortuous descent to the fountain, where maidens in the service of the king used to go down to fetch water for the royal household, furnished the proper conditions for the growth of such legends. The collapse of the stairway, whether caused by an earthquake or by the decay of the wooden framework, can hardly have failed to impress the inhabitants, and superstitious fear may have prevented its rebuilding. If the destruction was accompanied by the loss of human life,¹⁹¹ one can easily understand how such an event would have led to the establishment of cult places in which offerings were made and other religious rites performed, and how these, in turn, furnished the material for the mythological fabric.

But if the superstitious mind is prone to explain physical phenomena as the result of supernatural causes, sober reason needs no such explanations. One writer of classical times records the existence and destruction of a source of water on the

¹⁹¹ The scanty skeletal remains (see p. 416) from the fill might be so interpreted.

Acropolis which we may on good grounds identify with the fountain in the underground passage. In Plato's *Kritias* the following passage occurs: ¹⁹²

"There was one fountain in the region of the Acropolis, but this was destroyed by earthquakes, and nothing remains but the small springs which now trickle out all around. But to the inhabitants of that time the fountain afforded a copious flow, being well-tempered both for winter and for summer."

Plato's description of early Athens is highly imaginative, as is the whole background for the dialogue of the *Kritias* with its account of Atlantis and the tale of the war between the two powers. But is the whole story an invention on Plato's part, as modern philologists like to believe, ¹⁹³ or did he to some extent make use of material handed down by tradition and perhaps recorded by writers whose works are now lost? Whatever view we take of his statement that the account was first recorded by Solon who had received it from Egyptian priests, it must be admitted that if this story is his own invention it was so framed as to appear plausible to *Kritias*' interlocutors in the dialogue. Plato knew Athenian mythology and tradition, and he was too careful an author to refer for the background of his dialogues to sources not in keeping with the known accounts. We are justified in assuming that the main sketch of his picture of early Athens and of the buildings on the Acropolis is based on tradition and on accounts known to Plato and believed by him to be true.

In Plato's day two important but not very copious springs existed on the slopes of the Acropolis, the Klepsydra on the northwest slope, and the spring in the Asklepieion on the south side, and possibly there were others which have since been covered over. It was natural for Plato and his contemporaries to connect these with the tradition of the one large spring in or near the Acropolis which was said to have dried up after an earthquake, and the inference was near at hand that the existing springs came into being as the natural result of this event. Actually there can be no direct connection between the destruction of the one and the origin of the others, for it is likely that the springs on the slopes existed in some form even earlier than the man-made fountain on the Acropolis. ¹⁹⁴ But tradition centered about the latter, which at one time in the history of the city had been of such importance to the lives of the inhabitants. It can hardly be doubted that this spring, whose existence was all but forgotten to the Athenians of the fifth century, is the very fountain discovered in our excavations. As the earliest artificial water supply of ancient Athens it occupies a unique position among the scanty remains of that remote period.

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¹⁹² 112 D.

¹⁹³ See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon*, I, 594 and 596, note 1: "Man soll sich für ein Werk der Phantasie kein Modell suchen"; and cf. Shorey, *What Plato Said*, pp. 350 ff.

¹⁹⁴ Measurements taken in February, 1939, showed a water level in the Mycenaean Fountain ca. 4 m. above that of the Klepsydra and ca. 5 m. above that of the spring in the Asklepieion. The difference is explained by the fact that the Mycenaean Fountain, which is in reality a well, has no outlet, whereas the water of the other two springs is in constant flow. The geological formation of the rock may have something to do with it (cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 48, fig. 7).

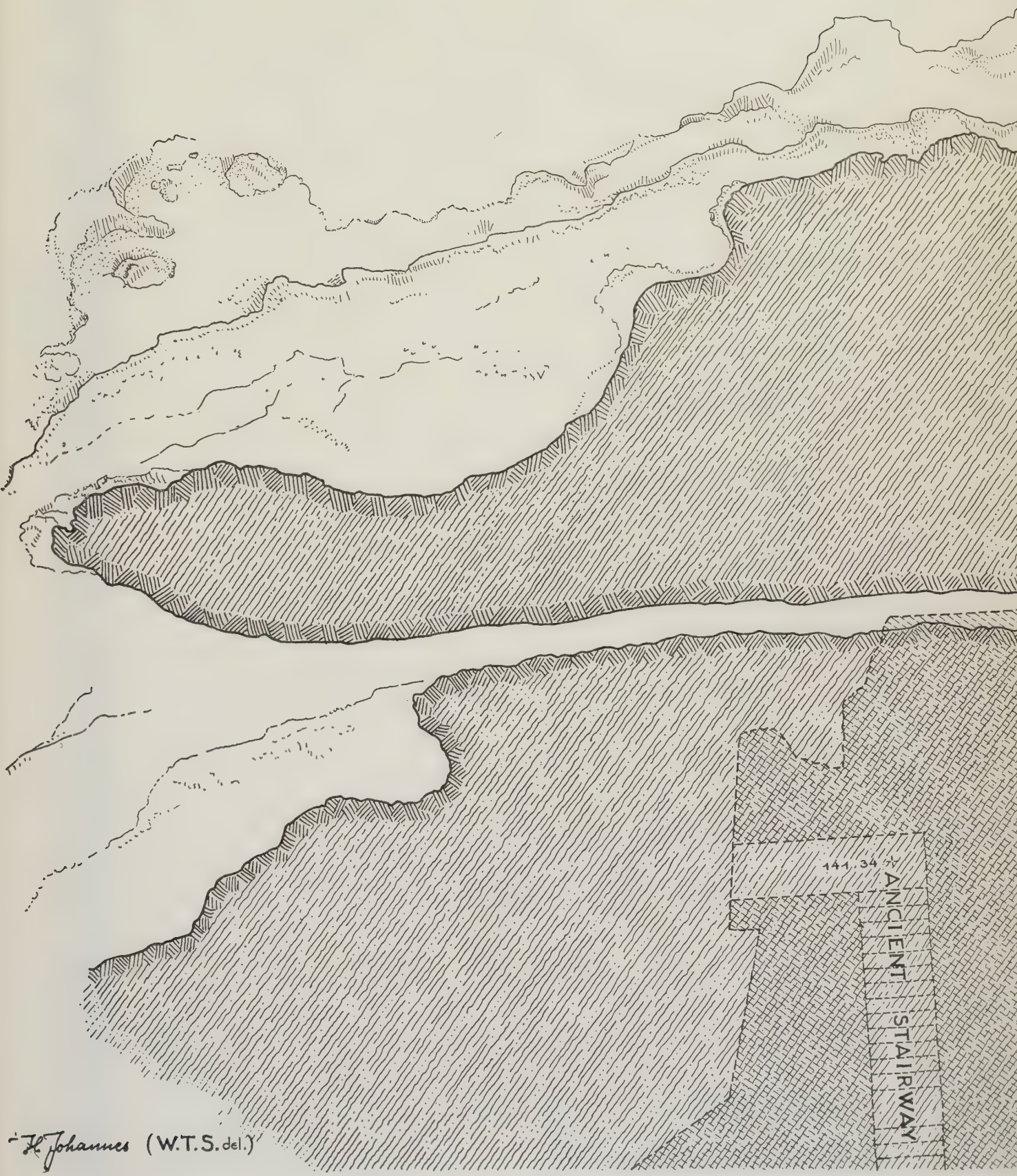
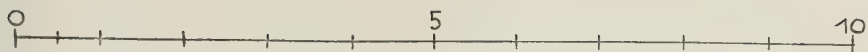
CONCORDANCE OF POTTERY AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Figures in text	Inventory numbers	Figures in text	Inventory numbers	Figures in text	Inventory numbers
23 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2986	26 <i>c</i>	A.P. 2586	32 <i>j</i>	A.P. 2652b
<i>b</i>	A.P. 2992	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2585	<i>k</i>	A.P. 2652a
<i>c</i>	A.P. 3000	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2588	33 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2631
<i>d</i>	A.P. 2990	<i>h</i>	A.P. 2589	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2634
<i>e</i>	A.P. 2985	<i>j</i>	A.P. 2590	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2633
<i>f</i>	A.P. 2989	<i>k</i>	A.P. 2591	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2632
<i>g</i>	A.P. 2991	<i>l</i>	A.P. 2595	<i>e</i>	A.P. 1080
<i>h</i>	A.P. 2994	<i>m</i>	A.P. 2593	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2635
<i>j</i>	A.P. 2996	<i>n</i>	A.P. 2594	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2637
<i>k</i>	A.P. 2987	<i>o</i>	A.P. 2592	<i>h</i>	A.P. 2638
<i>l</i>	A.P. 3158	27 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2598	<i>i</i>	A.P. 2636
<i>m</i>	A.P. 2995a	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2596	34 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2625
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<i>o</i>	A.P. 2988	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2601	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2627
<i>p</i>	A.P. 3001	<i>e</i>	A.P. 2597	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2653
<i>q</i>	A.P. 2997	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2599	<i>e</i>	A.P. 2630
<i>r</i>	A.P. 3157	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2602	<i>f</i>	A.P. 1076
<i>s</i>	A.P. 2993	28 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2604	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2626
<i>t</i>	A.P. 2999	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2606	<i>h</i>	A.P. 2629
<i>u</i>	A.P. 2998	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2605	35 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2621
24 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2958	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2607	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2622
<i>b</i>	A.P. 2960	29 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2609	36 <i>a</i>	A.P. 1071
<i>c</i>	A.P. 2963	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2608	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2667
<i>d</i>	A.P. 2962	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2610	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2663
<i>e</i>	A.P. 2961	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2611	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2666
<i>f</i>	A.P. 2959	<i>e</i>	A.P. 2612	<i>e</i>	A.P. 2665
<i>g</i>	A.P. 2977	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2613	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2662
<i>h</i>	A.P. 2970	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2618	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2664
<i>i</i>	A.P. 2982	<i>h</i>	A.P. 2615	37 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2654
<i>j</i>	A.P. 2966	<i>j</i>	A.P. 2614	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2655
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<i>n</i>	A.P. 2967	<i>n</i>	A.P. 2620	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2656
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<i>p</i>	A.P. 2974		A.P. 2603b	<i>h</i>	A.P. 2659
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<i>s</i>	A.P. 2975	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2643	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2670b
<i>t</i>	A.P. 2976	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2642	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2668
<i>u</i>	A.P. 2979	<i>e</i>	A.P. 2640	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2670a
<i>v</i>	A.P. 2971	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2644	39 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2671
<i>w</i>	A.P. 2973	32 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2645	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2674
<i>x</i>	A.P. 2972	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2646	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2672
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Figures in text	Inventory numbers	Figures in text	Inventory numbers	Figures in text	Inventory numbers
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<i>k</i>	A.P. 2681	<i>j</i>	A.P. 2739	<i>h</i>	A.P. 2795
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<i>j</i>	A.P. 3159	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2747	<i>j</i>	A.P. 2799
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	A.P. 2721b	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2559	<i>n</i>	A.P. 916
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<i>b</i>	A.P. 2557	53	A.P. 2580	59 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2563
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<i>b</i>	A.P. 1074	<i>b</i>	A.P. 2771	60 <i>a</i>	A.P. 2812
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<i>d</i>	A.P. 2719	<i>d</i>	A.P. 2720	<i>c</i>	A.P. 2817
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<i>g</i>	A.P. 2718	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2774a	<i>f</i>	A.P. 2821
<i>h</i>	A.P. 2731	<i>h</i>	A.P. 2774b	<i>g</i>	A.P. 2818
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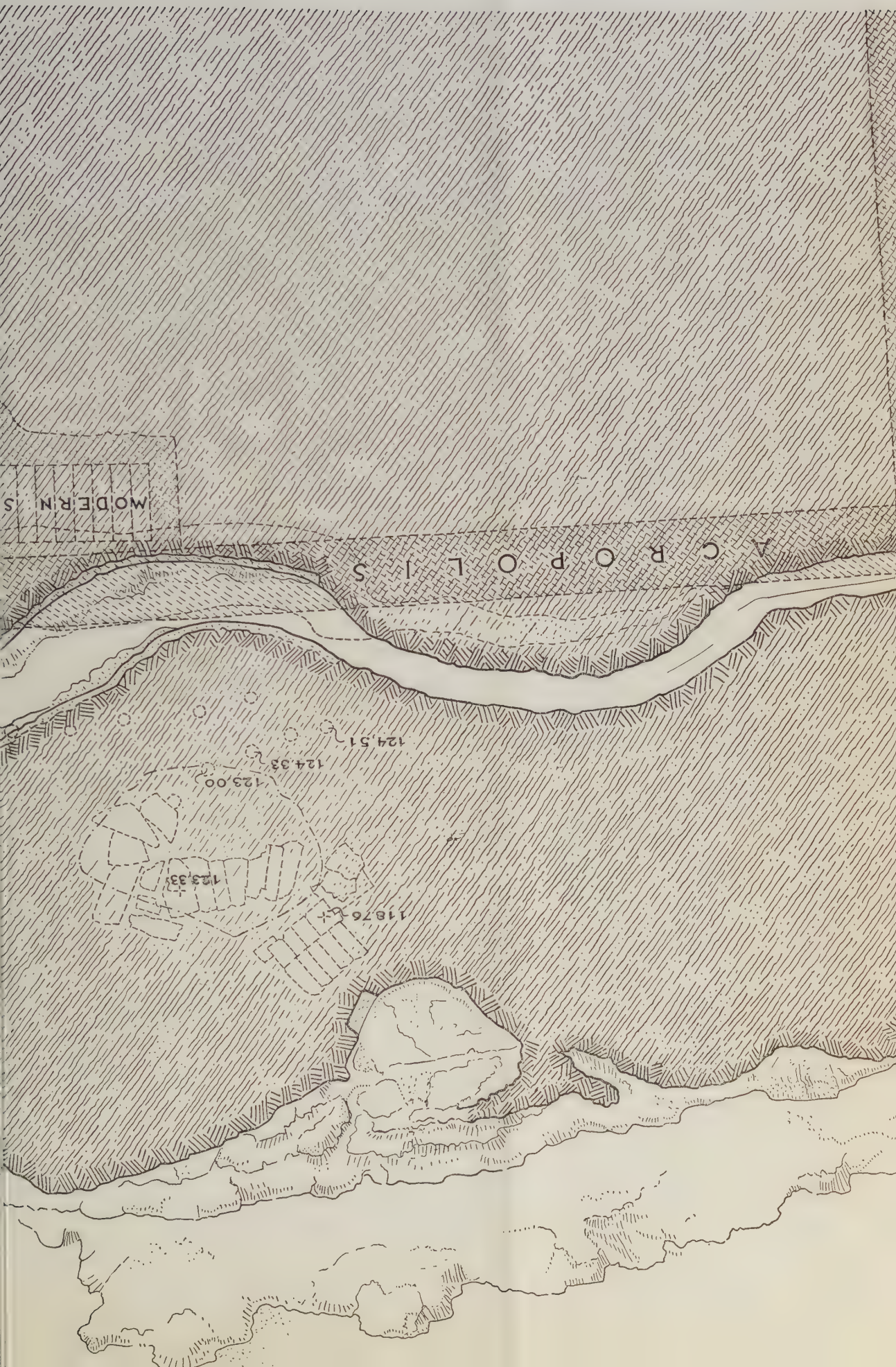
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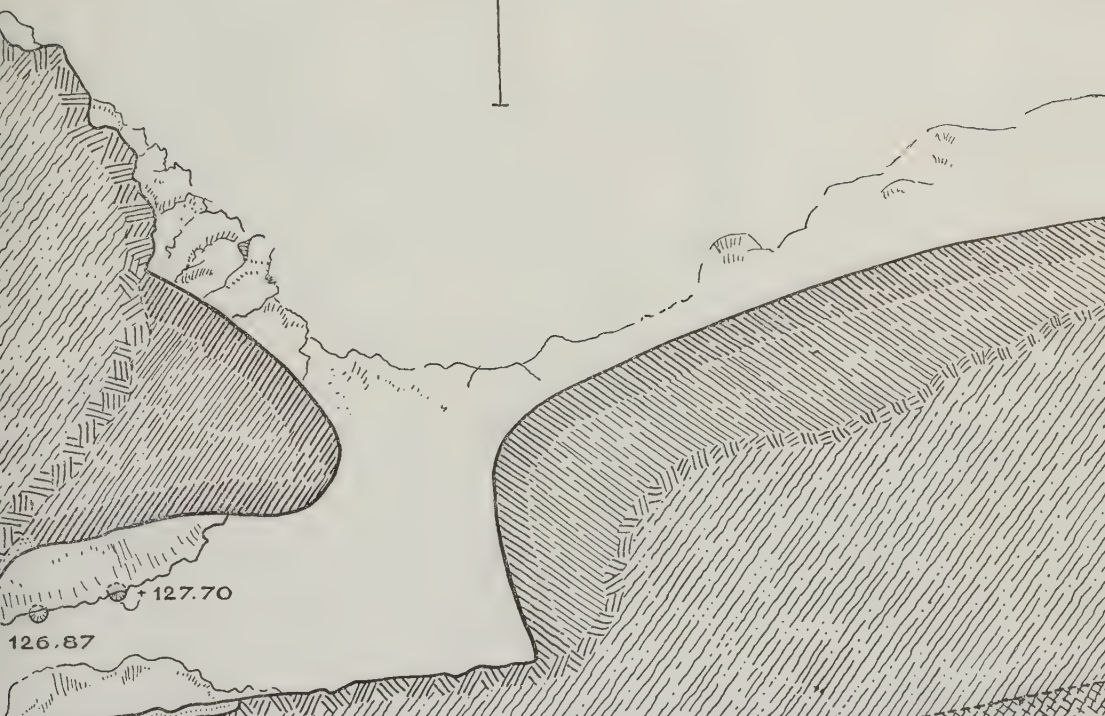
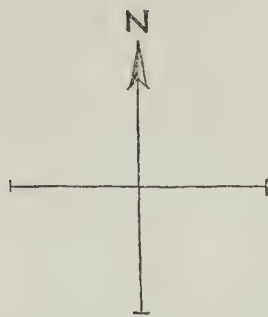
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87 <i>a</i>	A.P. 1069	<i>f</i>	A.W. 108	<i>d</i>	A.M. 262
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88 <i>a, b</i>	A.S. 148	93 <i>a</i>	A.M. 295	<i>b</i>	A.M. 329
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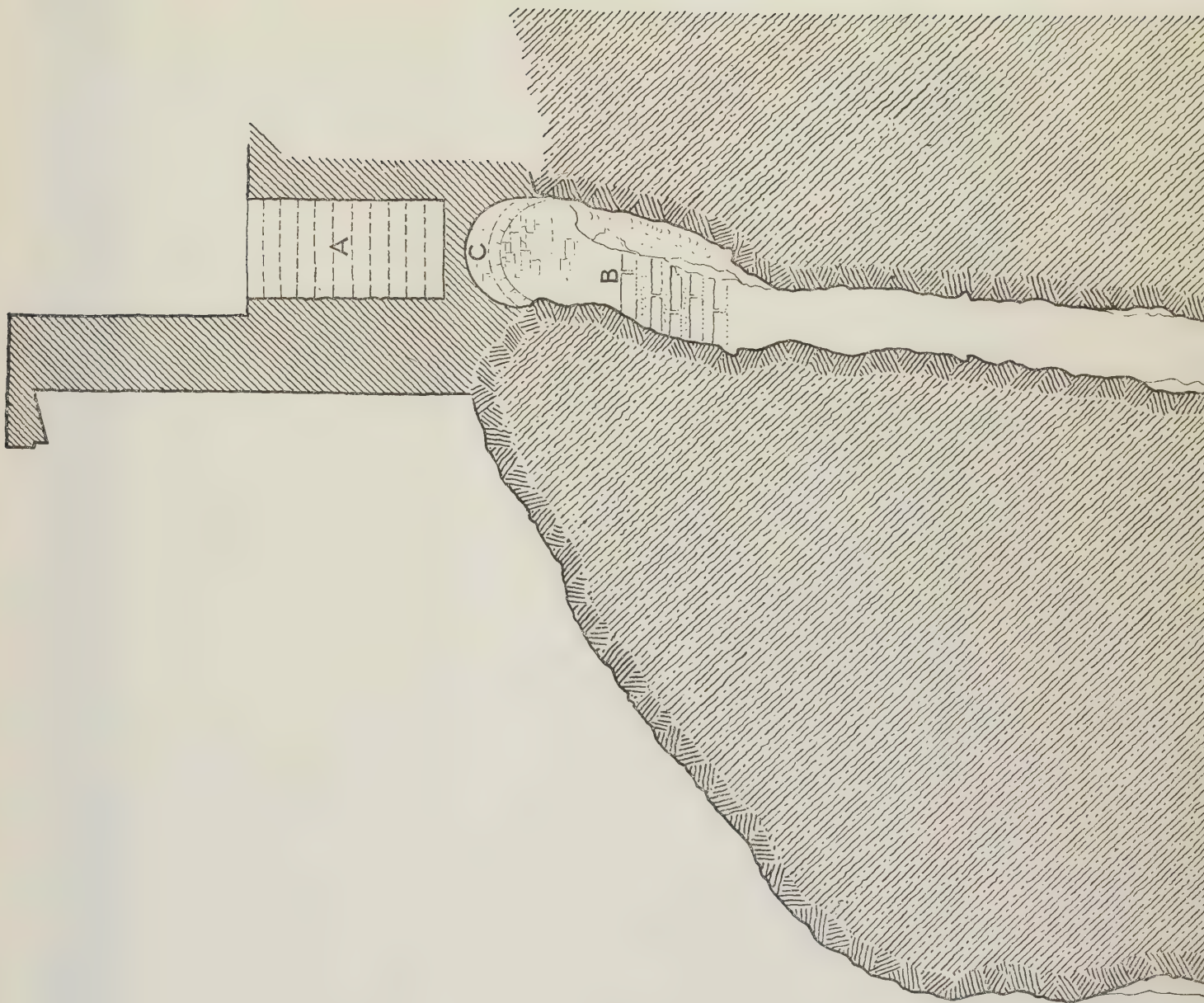


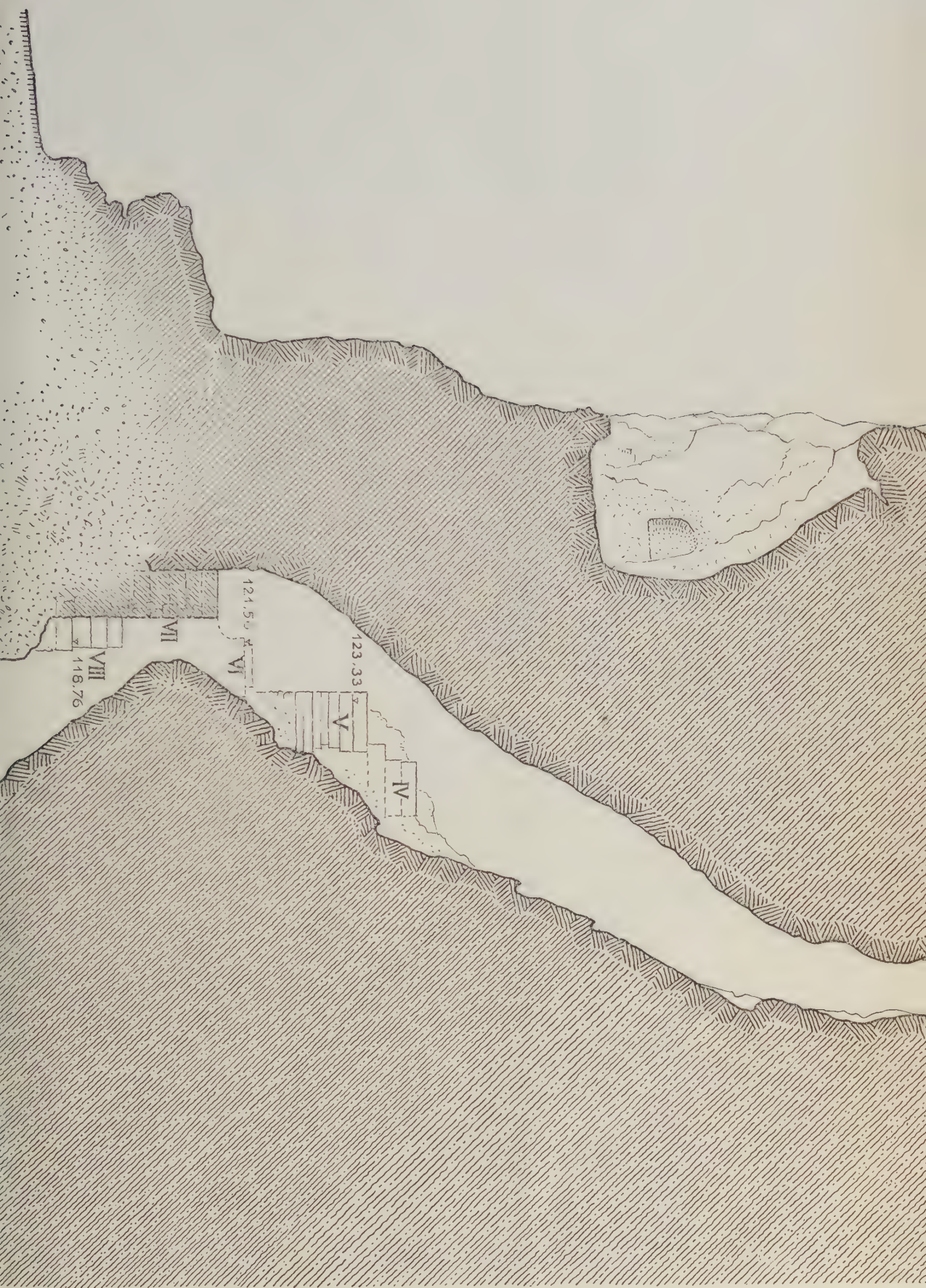
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PLATE XI. Horizontal Section of Underground Passage

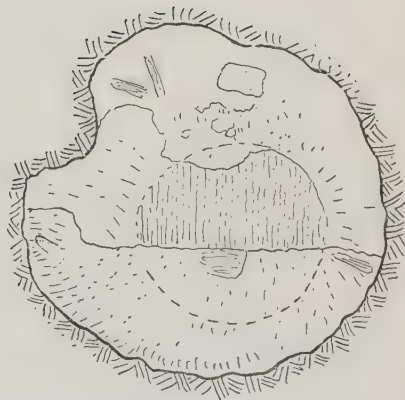
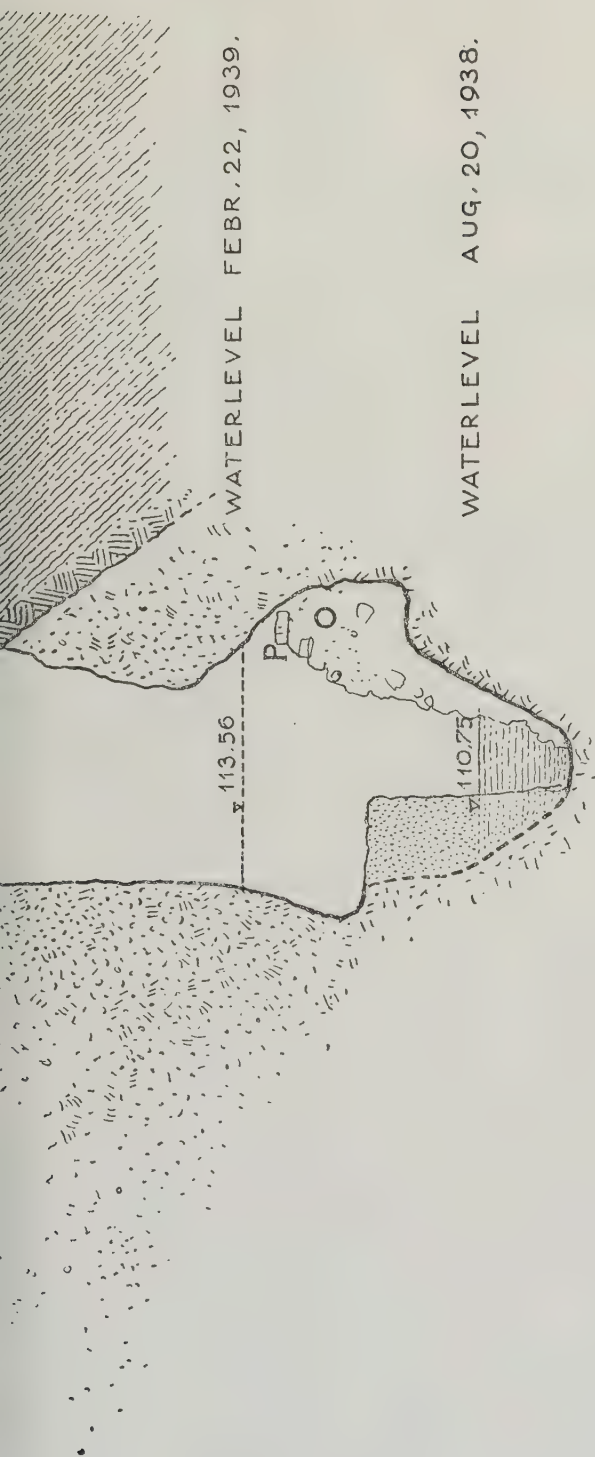








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H. Johannes

PLATE XII. Vertical Section of Passage, Looking East Along Line A-A, Fig. 1; and Plan at Widest Point of Reservoir





PLATE XIII. South Side of Passage, Showing Mycenaean Stairway in Elevation

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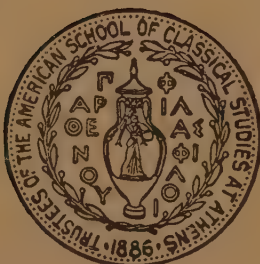
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1687-1688

FROM THE *ISTORIA* OF CRISTOFORO IVANOVICH

EDITED BY

JAMES MORTON PATON

This contemporary account of the occupation of Athens in 1687-1688 by the Venetian army under Francesco Morosini is taken from the unfinished history of the war of the Empire, Poland, and Venice against the Turks by Cristoforo Ivanovich, Canon of San Marco, whose original manuscript is now in the Harvard College Library. In the notes this narrative is supplemented or corrected, partly by the familiar printed sources, but chiefly by unpublished material drawn from the dispatches of Morosini and the bulletins of the Inquisitors of State in Venice and the hitherto neglected reports of the agents of the Grand Duke in the Archives of Florence.

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